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**LARCHER'S
NOTES ON HERODOTUS.**

EDITED BY
W. D. COOLEY.

LONDON :
GILBERT AND RIVINGTON, PRINTERS,
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✓ LARCHER'S NOTES ON HERODOTUS.

HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL

COMMENTS

ON THE

HISTORY OF HERODOTUS,

WITH A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

FROM THE FRENCH OF

P. H. LARCHER,

FORMERLY MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE, &c.

NEW EDITION,

WITH CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS, BY

WILLIAM DESBOROUGH COOLEY.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

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1844.

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FROM THE GREEK

F. H. LARCHER.

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PREFACE.

THIS new edition of Larcher's Notes on Herodotus is due to the public favour which the work has already experienced. There is nothing to be explained, but the principles on which it has been prepared, and the way in which it was found practicable to reduce materially the bulkiness of the notes without impairing their value. Larcher's erudition, and the zeal with which he devoted himself for several years to the study of Herodotus, are well known to all conversant with classic literature; and some, perhaps, may feel inclined to censure the rashness of attempting to improve that which the learned have already so much applauded. Yet the constant progress of critical inquiry, and the increasing perspicacity with which the world, as it grows older, investigates the past, render such an attempt in the present instance a duty. The discoveries and writings of Young, Champollion, and Rosellini, have thrown a flood of light on ancient Egypt; and graven monuments now tell us how little the Greeks knew of the history of that country. The cuneiform inscriptions, interpreted by the labours of St. Martin, Burnouf, Lassen, and others, have in like manner revealed some curious particulars respecting ancient Persia. In short, the contributions made of late years to philology and archæology have been so numerous and important, as even to throw into the shade the consummate learning of the last century. Besides, it must be

allowed that Larcher had great faults of style ;—but for an estimate of his defects, as well as merits, no authority is more decisive than that of M. Letronne, the most accomplished and acute scholar at the present day in France. This writer says ¹ :—

“ M. Larcher was too well informed not to perceive how hard it is to translate faithfully a historian whose meaning is veiled from our eyes in such a variety of ways. It was not enough to have a thorough knowledge of Greek ; a profound study of antiquity also was required to be added to it. It was necessary to read over, pen in hand, all the ancient writers, in order to find the means of clearing up obscure passages by comparison. The deep researches to which he devoted himself, in the course of this undertaking, passed into the notes of his work. Hence that voluminous commentary, the prolixity of which is so justly complained of. It were to be desired that the author had sacrificed some of those digressions, in which he states, at every step, the opinions of others, without ever offering on his own part any satisfactory solution, and in which his chief object seems to be, to show how much he has read. But whatever may be its faults, this work, containing, as it does, an immense number of facts as well as of novel and instructive discussions, is still one destined to maintain for ever an honourable place in the records of learning.”

The prolixity thus complained of has been studiously retrenched in the following pages ; nor was it difficult to find rules, which, systematically adhered to, obviated the chance of dealing capriciously or arbitrarily with a learned and conscientious writer. Larcher in the second edition of his *Herodotus* rarely cancelled those notes or opinions which he deemed erroneous in the first, but satisfied himself with subjoining refutations to them. Many of his notes had reference only to his translation, justifying or explaining his departure from the literal sense of the original. Not a few related to conjectural emendations of the Greek text, and have been rendered totally useless by the labours

¹ *Journal des Savans*, Mars, 1823, p. 149.

of Schweighäuser and Gaisford. Some of Larcher's notes were directed against French critics, now quite forgotten; and others, of a declamatory character, were called forth by the events of the French Revolution.

The useless matter here indicated has been suppressed in this edition; and much as the work is thereby lightened, it is the sincere belief of the Editor that he has not erased a single line which was worth retaining. In adding other notes he has borne it in mind that he had no right to retrench the prolixity of Larcher in order to make way for his own. Brevity has been consulted as far as is compatible with the object in view. The new matter introduced is inclosed in brackets []; errors occurring in the notes or paragraphs thus distinguished, are not to be laid to the account of either Larcher or his translator. In conclusion, the editor trusts that he will be found, not to have mutilated, but rather to have strengthened and simplified the work of Larcher, which, in respect of careful research and varied information, is the most valuable ever offered to the classical student.

W. D. C.

of Sebastianus and Ursula. Some of the most interesting
episodes of the life of the two saints, and others of a dramatic
character, were added to the text of the French version.
The edition of the text is here suggested in this edition.

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W. D. C.

NOTES ON HERODOTUS.

CLIO. I.

1. Ἡροδότου Ἀλικαρνησσοῦ ἱστορίας ἀπόδεξις ἦδε. *Herodotus of Halicarnassus presents to the world these Researches.* Ἀποδείκνυμι conveys more than συγγράφειν; it is taken in the sense of presenting or giving to the public. Ἱστορίη, in Herodotus, means not a History, but researches carefully made; it bears the former signification only with writers much later than Herodotus. Hence the 18th of the Odes ascribed to Anacreon cannot be from that author's pen; for in the 9th verse we find φευκτὸν ἱστόρημα, an odious history. The way in which Herodotus opens his account is exceedingly simple; as, indeed, is the case with most of the ancient authors. Hecataeus of Miletus, a historian anterior to Herodotus, begins his History in a similar manner; "Hecataeus thus speaks: I write these things according to my own impression of the truth; for the accounts of the Greeks differ widely, and, in my opinion, are ridiculous ¹."

I. 2. Περσέων μὲν νυν οἱ λόγιοι. *The Persians versed in History.* Λόγος often signifies, with Herodotus as well as other writers, a History; λογοποιός, a Historian; λόγιος, a man learned in the history and antiquities of his country. Hesychius has it, λόγιος, ὁ τῆς ἱστορίας ἔμπειρος ²: "λόγιος, one versed in history."

[The term λόγος in its various senses of word, discourse, history, has a close analogy with the northern term *Saga*, a thing said, a saw or wise saying, a history: λόγιος then means one versed in Sagas, or a historian.]

3. Ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς καλεομένης θαλάσσης ἀπικομένους ἐπὶ τήνδε τὴν θάλασσαν. *Having come from what is called the Red Sea to this sea* (the Mediterranean). Herodotus, in first mentioning any people, almost invariably goes back to their origin. He here informs us, that

¹ Demetrius Phalereus, pag. 546.

² Hesychius, voc. λόγιος.

the Phœnicians inhabited the coast of the Red Sea before their establishment in the country, called after them Phœnicia. But as that sea was very extensive, to what part of its coast shall we assign them? This point is involved in great uncertainty.

[The ancients gave the general name Erythræan or Red Sea to the seas encompassing the Arabian peninsula: the Persian Gulf, therefore, and Red Sea of the moderns, were both gulfs (κόλποι) of the ancient Erythræan³. Larcher says, "The Homerites, a people of Arabia, whose name in Arabic bears the same signification as Phœnician in Greek, lived on the borders of the sea which took its name from them." By this we are given to understand that the Red Sea was so called from the Homerites, whose name signified bright red or scarlet (φοίνιξ). But this is a mistake; Himyar or collectively Himyarit, the correct name of the people in question, must not be confounded with Ahmar, red, in the plural Ahámir. The descendants of the Himyar are among the fairest of the Arabs, and differ little in complexion from Europeans⁴. Bochart and others have supposed that the Red Sea took its name from the land of Edom (Idumæa), which means *red*⁵. In the fourth century, the Erythræan Sea, or rather the eastern part of it, was sometimes called *Mare Hippalum*, from Hippalus the discoverer of the Monsoons between Dhofar and India, who also gave his name to those winds⁶.]

Some authors maintain that the Phœnicians came from the Persian Gulf; and Strabo⁷ reports this opinion, without confirming it. Yet, elsewhere, quoting a verse of Homer, which mentions the Sidonians, he adds, "It is not certain, whether these Sidonians must be understood to be those who inhabited the shores of the Persian Gulf, of whom ours are a colony⁸." Dionysius Periegetes agrees with Herodotus⁹. "The Syrians," says he, "who live on the sea-coast, and who are called Phœnicians, derive their origin from the Erythræans. They were the first people who ventured to cross the sea in ships." We also find from Hesychius¹, that there were Phœnicians on the borders of the Red Sea².

[Since Herodotus sometimes calls the Red Sea of the moderns the Arabian Gulf, so as to distinguish it from the Erythræan Sea in general³; whereas he always calls the Persian Gulf by the latter name; his expressions respecting the original seats of the Phœnicians may be referred with more probability to the latter gulf than to the former.]

Voltaire ridicules Herodotus, as if the latter had said that the Phœnicians went by sea from the shores of the Erythræan Sea to those of the Mediterranean. A slight knowledge of the Greek language, how-

³ See Hudson, Geogr. Min. I. Agatharchides, p. 2. Herod. VII. lxix.

⁴ Botta, Voyage dans l'Yémen, 1841. p. 142.

⁵ Bochart, Geogr. Sacr. p. 852. See 1 Kings IX. 26.

⁶ Itinerarium Alexandri, ed. Ang. Mai, 1817. § 110.

⁷ Strab. I. p. 73, A.

⁸ Id. XVI. p. 1131, A, B.

⁹ Dionys. Perieg. Orb. Deser. v. 905.

See also the Commentary of Eustathius, p. 158. col. 2. note 2.

¹ Hesychius, voc. Σιδόνιοι.

² Eust. ad Homeri Odyss. IV. p. 1484. lin. 33 et seq.

³ Herod. II. clix. IV. xlii.

ever, would have spared the critic the trouble of those remarks. If Herodotus had meant to show that the Phœnicians went by sea, he would have said εἰς τήνδε instead of ἐπὶ τήνδε. Nor would he have proceeded to observe, that immediately after their settling on the shore of the Mediterranean, they applied themselves to long voyages, as they would have previously accomplished one of much more terrific length, than any which they afterwards undertook. But if any doubt could remain on the subject, the same historian, speaking more pointedly in another place, would be sufficient to remove it. "These Phœnicians," says he, "formerly dwelt on the shores of the Red Sea, as they themselves relate; but having passed over from thence to the maritime parts of Syria, they there established themselves⁴." Ἐνθεῦτεν ὑπερβάντες, "having passed over from thence," gives the idea of a country traversed, mountains climbed, but never of the sea; at least I have found no instance of its being so applied either in Herodotus or elsewhere. Ἐκ δὲ τῆς Κολχίδος οὐ πολλὸν ὑπερβῆναι ἐς τὴν Μηδικήν, ἀλλὰ ἐν τῷ διὰ μέσου ἔθνος αὐτῶν ἐστὶ, Σάσπειρες⁵. "From Colchis to Media is no great distance. Between the two, the nation of the Sasprians alone intervenes, and that passed, we enter the territory of Media." Strabo always employs that word in speaking of a mountainous country: Ἡ ἐπὶ τὴν Κασπίαν ὑπέρβασις⁶, "the crossing over (from Colchis) to the Caspian Sea." Dion Cassius has also, ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν τε Αἴμον ὑπερέβησαν⁷, "when they had crossed over Mount Hæmus."

4. Ἀπαγινέοντας δὲ φορτία, κ. τ. λ. *Carrying freights*. Lycophron⁸ assumes that these Phœnicians were from the town of Carne. "For ever perish," says he, "those dogs of Carnites, those mariners, those mercantile wolves, who carrying off from the shores of Lerna the heifer-faced girl, and taking her to the Prince of Memphis to be his wife, raised the torch of hatred between two continents." It is universally known, that prior to the invention of trumpets, persons dedicated to Mars, in both armies, advanced in front of the ranks, with lighted torches in their hands, and gave the signal for combat, by letting them fall; they were then allowed by both parties to retire behind the ranks. The two continents here intended are Asia and Europe.

5. Τὸ δὲ Ἄργος τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον προεῖχε ἅπασιν τῶν ἐν τῇ νῦν Ἑλλάδι καλειμένη χώρῃ. *Argos at that time excelled in every respect the other cities of the country now called Hellas*. [Larcher mistranslates this passage by making τῶν depend on ἅπασιν, as if the historian had said that Argos excelled *all the cities*, instead of saying, that it was the most eminent, *in all respects*, among the cities, &c.⁹] The country called Hellas, in the time of Herodotus, was known, previous to the Trojan war, and even long afterwards, only by the various names of its inhabitants. Homer speaks of the Danai, of the Argivi, of the Achivi, &c,

⁴ Herod. VII. lxxxix.

⁵ Id. I. civ.

⁶ Strab. II. p. 122, A.

⁷ Dion Cassius, LI. xxiii.

⁸ Lycoph. Cassand. 1291.

⁹ Matthiæ's Gr. Gram. § 400, 7. p. 639,

but he never gives a general name to all the Greeks. Some little tribes of Thessalia were called Hellenes, from Hellen, son of Deucalion. Other little states in the same country, having invoked his aid, took his name, which being communicated from one to another, became, at length, extended to the whole nation¹⁰. [The name Γραικοί belonged originally to a tribe inhabiting some of the mountains of Epirus¹. From Epirus it passed into Italy, but does not appear to have been ever familiarized in Greece.]

6. Σὺν ἄλλῃσιν ἄρπασθῆναι. *That she (Io) was carried off with other women.* It is useful to remark the force of the Greek article. If Herodotus had used it here (and said *the* other women), it would have appeared that all the women who had accompanied Io, to purchase merchandise, had been carried off. The article makes Greek as clear as our modern languages, and certainly gives it a great advantage over the Latin.

II. 7. Λέγουσι Πέρσαι οὐκ ὡς Φοίνικες. *The Persians relate the matter not as the Phœnicians.* I have followed the reading of Aldus, which is found likewise in the margin of the Greek edition of Henry Stephens, 1570; in a MS. in the library of St. Mark, and in the English MSS.: in all the other editions it is, οὐκ ὡς Ἕλληνες, “not as the Greeks².” But Herodotus records only two opinions on the subject of the abduction of Io; that of the Persians, and that of the Phœnicians. He says, § v. “the Persians and the Phœnicians thus relate it,” without mentioning the Greeks. At the commencement of the same paragraph, we have, “Such is the way in which the Persians relate this event. . . . but with respect to Io, the Phœnicians do not agree with them.” Gale affirms that the ordinary reading is supported by a passage in Pausanias; but on examining that passage closely, it will be seen that the author contents himself with saying, that Io arrived in Egypt either in the manner reported by Herodotus, or else as the Greeks relate; Ἰὼ μὲν οὖν Ἰάσου θυγάτηρ, εἴτε ὡς Ἡρόδοτος ἔγραψεν, εἴτε καθ’ ὃ λέγουσιν Ἕλληνες, ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀφικνεῖται³.

8. Μακρῇ νηϊ. *In a long vessel.* The long vessels were ships of war; and the broad ones were merchant-vessels, or ships of burden. Πλοῖω στρογγύλῳ, φορτηγῷ δηλονότι μακρὰ γὰρ τὰ πολεμικὰ ὀνομάζουσιν⁴. The ship of the Argonauts was the first long vessel. “Longâ nave Jasonem primum navigasse, Philostephanus auctor est⁵.” Yet it was not a ship of war, as the Abbé Banier has supposed⁶. In the time of the Argonauts, and much later, the long vessels were used for commerce. It is observable, indeed, that the Phocæans, who in the time

¹⁰ Thucydides, I. iii.

¹ Aristotle, Meteorol. I. 14.

² [Of subsequent editors, Schweighäuser and Gaisford prefer the latter reading: Baehr reads Φοίνικες.]

³ Pausan. II. xvi. p. 145.

⁴ Ulpian. in Orat. Demosth. contra Leptinem, p. 599, E.

⁵ Plin. Nat. Hist. VII. lvi.

⁶ Mém. de l’Acad. des Bell. Lett. vol IX. Mém. p. 69.

of Cyrus, that is to say, about seven centuries after the expedition of the Argonauts, went for commercial purposes to Tartessus, sailed thither in long vessels⁷. [This is erroneous: Herodotus does not say that the Phocæans used long vessels, but that they made long voyages, *ναυτιλίῃσι μακρῇσι πρῶτοι ἐχρήσαντο*.]

9. Οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνοι Ἰοῦς τῆς Ἀργείης ἔδοσαν σφι δίκας. *The Colchians gave no compensation for the Argive Io*. It might be said, that Io having been carried off by the Phœnicians, it belonged not to the king of Colchis to atone for this outrage. But all the people of Asia constituting a single body, according to the Persians, who regarded themselves as masters of the whole⁸, a wrong done by any one of its nations was thought to involve all, in the same manner as the whole Asiatic body resented insults offered to any one of its members: so also it will be seen (§ iv. infra), that the Persians considered the Greeks as enemies, from the time of the siege of Troy.

IV. 10. Εἰ μὴ αὐταὶ ἐβουλέατο, οὐκ ἂν ἡρπάζοντο. *Unless they had been willing, they could not have been carried off*. This is one of those general maxims which depend only on moral inference, and can deceive nobody. Plutarch, a sensible writer, but unable to digest the harsh truths which Herodotus had uttered respecting his countrymen, the Bœotians, has been pleased to take vengeance on our historian, in a work entitled 'On the Ill-nature of Herodotus.' This maxim furnishes the grounds of one of his accusations. But Plutarch has been refuted by the Abbé Geinoz in several learned dissertations⁹.

11. Τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, λέγουσι Πέρσαι, ἀρπαζομενέων τῶν γυναικῶν λόγον οὐδένα ποιήσασθαι. *The Persians say, that they, the Asiatics, kept no account of the women stolen from them*. How could the Persians assert that the Greeks committed hostilities in Asia, before the Asiatics had carried war into Europe? The Strymonian Thracians¹, afterwards called Bithynians, had been transported from Europe to Asia by the Teucrians and the Mysians². Cadmus came from Phœnicia to establish himself in Bœotia³, and Pelops from Phrygia to the Peloponnesus. Were the Persians ignorant of these usurpations, and of many others which it would be tedious to relate?

[These reasonings of the Persians evidently belong to the theoretical framework of history: nations are personified, and made to speak at the discretion of the historian. But Larcher misunderstands the argument: the Persians do not lay stress on the prior aggression, but on the greater weight of offence on the side of the Greeks. While they kept no account of *the women* stolen from them, the Greeks levied an army and destroyed Troy for the sake of *a woman*.]

⁷ Herodot. I. clxiii.

⁸ Id. I. iv. IX. cxv.

Mém. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lett. vols. XIX. XXI. & XXIII.

¹ Herod. VII. lxxv.

² Id. II. lxix.

³ Id. VII. xi.

12. Οἰκείευνται. *Claim as their own.* The Persians assumed to themselves the empire of all Asia, (see IX. cxv.) and consequently they resented as an insult offered to themselves, an injury done to any people of Asia whatever.

VI. 13. Ἐξίει πρὸς βορῆν ἄνεμον. *Issues towards the north.* There is a difference of opinion as to the course of this river. Arrian⁴ maintains that it does not flow from the south, but from the rising of the sun. [Larcher, desirous to reconcile the contradictory statements of ancient writers on this point, follows D'Anville, and supposes that there were two rivers named Halys; one from the south, the other from the east. The fact is, that the Halys, now called Kizil-Irmak, rises in the mountains N.E. of Sivas, and flows for the first 200 miles of its course nearly S.W. It then runs N.W. an equal distance, and, finally, 300 miles N.E. till it reaches the Black Sea. Its circuitous course, therefore, explains the apparent contradiction of Herodotus and Arrian. It is remarkable that the former of these writers elsewhere states that the sources of the Halys are in the Armenian mountain, an expression which evidently carries them eastward⁵. The course of the Kizil-Irmak has been traced at intervals by several recent travellers⁶.]

14. Κιμμερίων. *Of the Cimmerians, &c.* Strabo fixes the incursion of the Cimmerians at the time of Homer⁷, or a little before the birth of that poet. Mr. Wesseling thinks, and with reason, that the authority of that geographer is of less weight than that of our historian, who places it in the time of Ardy⁸. For my own part, I am inclined to believe that there were two distinct expeditions: that Herodotus speaks only of the second; since there were no Greek villages in Asia Minor, in the time of the first; and that he wishes to show that the second in no respect affected the liberty of the Greeks. With regard to the first, we may suppose it to have been even anterior to the time fixed on by Strabo, and that it preceded by a few years the siege of Troy. Euripides alludes to it. In fact, in what other incursion could the female captives, who compose the chorus of Iphigenia in Tauris, have been carried off⁹? They speak of towns taken, of towers overthrown, and of their captivity in Tauris, in a manner that authorizes us to suppose, that all these things happened in the invasion of the Cimmerians, who inhabited the Chersonesus, until the Scythians expelled them thence. Indeed there is reason to suspect that the poet, having founded his story on this invasion, has supposed Greeks to have been in Asia at a period much earlier than the true one. Yet Ion had passed into Asia, and founded some slender establishments there, 107 years before the first incursion of the Cimmerians.

⁴ Arrian. Peripl. Ponti Euxini, p. 16. p. 222, c.

⁵ I. lxxii.

⁸ Herodot. I. xv. IV. xii. See also

⁶ See Journal of the Royal Geogr. Society, vol. X. 1841.

M. Bouhier's Dissert. on Herodotus.

⁹ Euripid. Iph. in Taur. 1106 et seq.

⁷ Strab. Geograph. I. p. 12, B. III.

VII. 15. Κανδαύλης. *Candaules, &c.* Painting was already in esteem before the time of this prince. He purchased, for its weight in gold, a picture of Bularchus¹, representing a battle of the Magnetes. This is the most ancient painting of which history makes mention.

If Pliny be not mistaken with respect to Bularchus, this painter must have flourished a little after the siege of Troy. But when he adds, that Candaules died in the same year as Romulus, he is grossly deceived, since that prince died 500 years before the founder of Rome.

16. Ἀπ' ὅτεν ὁ δῆμος Λύδιος ἐκλήθη. *From whom the Lydian nation took its name.* All the editions have ἀπό τευ. But τεῦ is taken for σοῦ or for τινός, which cannot be right in this place. [Struve² defends, by numerous examples, the reading ἀπ' ὅτεν against the objections of Matthiæ, who doubts whether ὅστις can be used in reference to a determinate person³. But in truth it here refers to a class, and is employed emphatically in conformity with the grammarian's own rules. Herodotus does not say, "Lydus, who gave his name to the nation," but "Lydus, the one (of the kings) who gave his name," &c.]

17. Παρὰ τούτων Ἡρακλεῖδαι ἐπιτραφθέντες, ἔσχον τὴν ἀρχήν. *The Heraclidæ being entrusted by those kings with the management of affairs, got possession of the sovereignty.* Ἐπιτραφθεῖς is the first aorist of the passive ἐπιτρέπομαι: "meæ curæ traditur," "mihi committitur:" ᾧ λαοὶ ἐπιτετράφεται, says Homer, "to whom peoples are given in charge⁴:" Herodotus often uses this expression⁵.

18. Ἐκ δούλης τε τῆς Ἰαρδάνου γεγονότες καὶ Ἡρακλέος. *The offspring of Hercules and a female slave of Jardanus.* Some authors, and amongst them Scaliger⁶, assert, that this family of the Heraclidæ did not descend from a slave, but from Omphale, the wife, or rather the daughter of Jardanus. But writers of ancient date, and therefore more credible than modern ones, confirm the opinion of Herodotus. Hellanicus affirms⁷ that the woman in question was named Malis, and that she was a slave of Omphale queen of Lydia. Diodorus Siculus⁸ relates, that whilst Hercules served Omphale, he had a son by a slave of the Queen, before he had one by the Queen herself. That son was called Acellus, according to Hellanicus, or Cleolaus, according to Diodorus Siculus. "Hercules," says Dio Chrysostom⁹, "did not disdain the bed of a slave of Jardanus, and from this connexion descended the kings of Sardis."

Sophocles says that Hercules¹⁰ was the slave of Omphale for a year. The ancient Scholiast remarks on this verse, that he served that Queen three years; and he relies upon the testimony of Herodotus. As this historian, however, does not mention the particular fact cited, we must

¹ Plin. Nat. Hist. VII. xxxviii. clv. clvii.]
XXXV. viii.

² Quæst. de Dialecto Herod. Specimen I.

³ Gr. Gram. 483. p. 804.

⁴ Homeri Ilias, II. 25.

⁵ [See Bk. I. cviii. II. cxxi. III. Brunckii.]

⁶ Scal. Isagog. III. p. 327.

⁷ Stephanus Byzant. voc. Ἀκίλη.

⁸ Diodor. Sic. IV. xxxi.

⁹ Dio Chrysost. Orat. xv. p. 236, B.

¹⁰ Sophoc. Trachin. 253. ex ed.

even correct the Scholiast, and read "Herodorus." Omphale herself had been a slave, as will be seen further on ².

19. Ἀρξάντες μὲν ἐπὶ δύο τε καὶ εἴκοσι γενεὰς ἀνδρῶν, ἕτεα πέντε τε καὶ πεντακόσια. *Having reigned 505 years, in twenty-two generations.* The Abbé Sévin finds insurmountable difficulties in the chronology of Herodotus. This historian, he says³, makes the Heraclidæ to reign 505 years, in twenty-two generations; but unless we reckon Alceus, Belus, and Ninus, the ancestors of Agron, we shall not be able to make out 505 years; and these, according to Herodotus himself, were subject to the Atyadæ. We cannot, then, admit them into the reckoning; and particularly as our historian positively asserts, that Agron, son of Ninus, was the first of the Heraclidæ who reigned in Lydia, and that it is with him that the 505 years must commence; and therefore the Abbé does not hesitate to correct the text of Herodotus, which he thinks palpably erroneous, and reads 405 instead of 505 years.

It appears to me, that the Abbé Sévin⁴ has fallen into this mistake, only because he wished to make the chronology of Herodotus agree with that of later chronologists. We must explain our author from his own works, and not subject him to the hypotheses of writers who lived many centuries after him. M. Sévin relies principally upon Eratosthenes and Apollodorus, who followed a course very different from that of our historian. For example, they count but 704 years⁵ between the siege of Troy and the entrance of Xerxes into Greece; Herodotus reckons 790. The calculation of the latter seems to me the more correct; and moreover, as he lived nearer to the events, he had opportunities of being better informed. My Essay on the Chronology of Herodotus, chap. xiv. may be consulted on this point.

Gyges began to reign in the 715th year before the Christian era. The house of the Heraclidæ having filled the throne for 505 years, Agron, the first king of that family, must have commenced his reign in the year 1220, or, according to Euphorion⁶, in the year 1213; for this author affirms that Gyges reigned in the 18th Olympiad, which is the 708th year before the Christian era. If you add 505 to 715, you will have 1220 for the commencement of the reign of Agron. Then add 166 years for the five generations, going back from Agron to Hercules, and you will have the year 1386 before the vulgar era, which differs but two

² See Note on § xciii.

³ Mém. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lett. vol. V. Mém. p. 258.

⁴ M. Fréret, reproaching M. Sévin (Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript. vol. V. p. 285.) with having rejected this chronology, only because it differed from that of Eratosthenes, cites in the margin Diodorus Siculus, I. Preface; but this author does not name Eratosthenes either in his preface or elsewhere. But perhaps M. Fréret meant Apollodorus, whose opinions on chronology are cited by Dio-

dorus in the preamble to his first book.

⁵ Apollodorus (Diod. Sic. I. v. p. 9.) counts 80 years from the end of the Trojan war to the return of the Heraclidæ to the Peloponnesus, and 328 years from that event to the first Olympiad. Xerxes passed into Greece, according to Herodotus, (VIII. li.) in the Archonship of Calliades, which falls in the 4th year of the 74th Olympiad, and makes 296 years. These three numbers added together make 704 years.

⁶ Clem. Alex. Strom. I. vol. I. p. 389.

years from the epoch of the birth of Hercules, according to Herodotus himself. If then there be an error, it is not in this number of 505, as M. Sévin supposes, but in the number of generations⁷.

VIII. 20. Δοκέω. *It seems to me, &c.* Dionysius of Halicarnassus⁸ cites the remainder of this paragraph, and that which follows it, to prove that the arrangement of the words adds more grace to the style, than even the choice of phrases; and, lest it should be supposed that the Ionian dialect gave it this superiority, he has throughout substituted the Attic.

21. Ὡτα γὰρ τυγχάνει ἀνθρώποισι ἐόντα ἀπιστότερα ὀφθαλμῶν. *Man's ears are less credulous than his eyes.* Dionysius of Halicarnassus⁹ remarks, that Herodotus, in here introducing a Barbarian, has made use of a figurative expression suitable to Barbarians, attributing to the eyes and the ears, what belongs to language and the sight of objects:—

Segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem,
Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus. HOR. *Ars Poet.* 180.

22. Ἀμα δὲ κιθῶνι ἐκδυομένῳ συνεκδύεται καὶ τὴν αἰδῶ γυνή. *A woman casts aside her modesty with her garments.* A true maxim, which Plutarch nevertheless, who undertook to criticise Herodotus, does not hesitate to impugn. He says very properly¹, “that a chaste woman robes herself in modesty instead of her garment; and the mutual respect which husband and wife have for each other is the strongest proof of their reciprocal affection.” Ἡ σώφρων ἀντενδύεται τὴν αἰδῶ, καὶ τοῦ μάλιστα φιλεῖν, τῷ μάλιστα αἰδεῖσθαι συμβόλῳ χρῶνται πρὸς ἀλλήλους. It must be thus read, and not τῷ μάλιστα φιλεῖν, τὸ μάλιστα, &c. as all the editions have it, but which is without meaning.

But however this maxim may be, Ennius remarks, with much justice, of men,—

Flagiti principium est nudare inter civis corpora. ENNI *Fragm.* p. 300.

Among the ancient Tuscans it was not held at all scandalous for women to appear naked before the men.

IX. 23. Ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου. *When from the throne.* The Greek throne was a sort of arm-chair with a footstool attached. This kind of seat was confined to people of free condition³; Ὁ γὰρ θρόνος, αὐτὸ μόνον ἐλευθέριος ἐστὶ καθέδρα σὺν ὑποποδίῳ. The κλισμὸς and δίφρος were seats of a different kind.

X. 24. Μαθοῦσα τὸ ποιηθὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρός, οὔτε ἔδοξε μαθέειν.

⁷ [Larcher in his translation of Herodotus has substituted 15 generations for the 22 in the text. But Herodotus, in estimating a generation at 33½ years, (II. cxli.) does not establish a principle of so rigorous a kind as to justify that change.]

⁸ Dionys. Halicar. de Comp. Verb. p. 3. lin. 36. p. 5. lin. 37. et p. 6.

⁹ Id. *Ars Rhetorica*, xi. 4. p. 117.

¹ *Præcepta Conjugalia*, vol. II. p. 139, c.

² Athen. *Deipn.* XII. iii. p. 517, D.

³ Athen. V. iv. p. 192, E.

Knowing what had been done by her husband, she affected not to know it.

There are many instances in Herodotus and other writers of the preposition *ἐκ* used for *a* or *ab* after a passive verb. I shall confine myself to the notice of these three: ⁴ τὰ γεγόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, “quæ facta sunt ab hominibus.” ⁵ Τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς προσταχθέντα, “that which had been enjoined by his father.” ⁶ Δεινῶς γὰρ ἐκ γυναικὸς οἴχεται σφαγεῖς, “he perished miserably, murdered by a woman.”

The historian adds, that nakedness was thought shameful in most Barbarian (that is, foreign) countries. Plato ⁷ also informs us, that the Greeks in his time had not been long used to consider it scandalous for a man to be seen naked, although exposure of the person was thought reprehensible among the greater part of the Barbarians.

XI. 25. Οὐδὲν δηλώσασα. *Without discovering.* “The wife of Candaules, whose name is omitted by Herodotus, was, according to Hephaestion, called Nysia. It is said of her, that the pupil of her eye was double, and that by means of a dragon stone, her sight was exceedingly piercing, so that she perceived Gyges as he was going out ⁸. Some say that she was named Tudous, others Clytia, and Abas calls her Abro. It is said that Herodotus suppressed her name, because Plesirrhous, to whom he was attached, loved a young woman of Halicarnassus, of the same name. This young man not having been able to enjoy his mistress, hung himself in despair. Herodotus looked on Nysia as an odious name, and abstained on that account from recording it.”

XII. 26. Ὑπείσδους Γύγης. *Gyges stealing in, &c.* There are various opinions as to Gyges, and the manner in which he killed Candaules. Plato ⁹ makes him a shepherd of the king of Lydia, who had taken a ring from the finger of a man, whom he had found dead, and enclosed within the flanks of a brazen horse. This shepherd having discovered in this ring the property of rendering the wearer invisible, when the gem was turned towards the inside of the hand, caused himself to be deputed to the court by the other shepherds, seduced the Queen, and assassinated Candaules. Xenophon ¹ says that he was a slave. This does not at all destroy the account of Plato; since the ancients were

⁴ Herod. I. præfat.

⁵ Id. II. cxxi.

⁶ Euripid. Iph. in Taur. 552.

⁷ Plato, De Rep. V. vol. II. p. 452, c.

⁸ Photii Biblioth. p. 484. lin. 30 et seq.

The Latin translator makes his author say, that the sight of Nysia was so piercing, that she saw Gyges through the door; an absurdity, which it is superfluous to impute to an author who has otherwise but too many to reproach himself with. [It is not easy to exclude absurdity from fabulous and mythological

traditions. If Nysia had double sight, and the magic stone called δρακοντίτης, we must admire her miracles without deeming them absurd. Bekker reads Τουδοῦν the accusative from Τουδῶ, Toudo. For Abro he has Habro.]

⁹ Plato, de Republicâ, II. vol. II. pp. 359, 360.

¹ The first of my ancestors who reigned, says Croesus, became a freeman and king at the same moment. Xenoph. Cyri Instit. II. ii. 7.

served by slaves only. Plutarch asserts² that Gyges took up arms against Candaules, and that with a powerful succour of Mylassenses conducted by Arselis, he defeated that prince, who was left dead on the field. The account of Herodotus is to be preferred. Born in the neighbourhood of Lydia, he was better able than any one else to acquire correct information as to facts connected with that kingdom.

27. Ἀρχίλοχος ὁ Πάριος. *Archilochus of Paros (living at the same time).*

Tatian³ places Archilochus about the twenty-third Olympiad, at the time that Gyges reigned in Lydia, 500 years after the destruction of Troy; for he supposes, with Eratosthenes and Apollodorus, that that city was destroyed 1184 years before our era. St. Clement of Alexandria positively asserts, that⁴ he flourished after the 20th Olympiad, which accords pretty well with the account of Tatian. Cicero⁵ relates that he lived in the time of Romulus. In this case we must throw him back to the 15th Olympiad. The latter opinion is confirmed by the epoch of the Parian colony established at Thasos. Archilochus was at the head of that colony, according to CEnomaus⁶, or at least was among the colonists whom poverty induced to remove to that island⁷. It was he who explained to the Parians the meaning of the oracle delivered to his father Telesicles⁸. It is very possible that he was not then known, and that he acquired celebrity only about the first year of the 22nd Olympiad, 692 years before our era, which is a middle term between the dates fixed by St. Clement of Alexandria and Tatian. Thasos had been first peopled about the year 1550 before the common era, by a colony of Phœnicians under the guidance of Thasus⁹, son of Agenor¹, and brother of Cadmus, who gave it his name, five generations before the birth of Hercules. On its becoming afterwards depopulated, the Parians sent thither a colony in the 15th Olympiad. Those who wish for more information as to Archilochus, may consult Fabricius².

The verses which he composed on the loss of his buckler caused him to be expelled from Sparta³. These verses consist of two distichs; the first of which is preserved by Aristophanes and Strabo⁴. In Strabo, and the editions of Aristophanes, anterior to that of Brunck, ἐντὸς is read as if it were an adverb; instead of which it is the singular

² Plutarch. Quæst. Græc. p. 302, A.

³ Tatian, Orat. adv. Græc. p. 109.

⁴ Clem. Alex. Stromat. p. 398. See on this passage Potter's note. But it may be answered, that Archilochus accompanied his father while he was yet young; and it is very probable, from the reputation he acquired, that he survived by many years the foundation of the colony in Thasos.

⁵ Cic. Tusc. Quæst. I. i.

⁶ Eusebii Præp. Evang. VI. vii. p. 256.

⁷ Æliani Hist. Var. X. xiii. vol. II. p. 663.

⁸ CEnomaus says in express terms, that Archilochus was the son of Telesicles. According to Stephanus of Byzantium,

under the word Θάσσος, Telesicles, on the contrary, was the son of Archilochus; but there is strong reason to suspect that the text has been altered, and that we should read, τῷ πατρὶ τοῦ Ἀρχιλόχου, instead of τῷ τοῦ Ἀρχιλόχου. This conjecture is confirmed by Berkelius, who has found πατρὶ in the manuscripts.

⁹ Herodot. II. xlv. VI. xlvii.

¹ Pausan. V. xxv. p. 445. Conon. Narrat. xxxvii. apud Photium, Cod. clxxxvi. p. 444.

² Biblioth. Græc. I. p. 547.

³ Valerius Max. VI. iii. Extern. i.

⁴ Aristoph. Pax, 1298.—Strabo, X. p. 702. & XII. p. 827.

of ἔντεα, which plural form is much more frequently used. Plutarch⁵ gives the first two verses, the end of the third, and the fourth; and Sextus Empiricus⁶ has fortunately preserved the first two and what was wanting of the third. Mr. Brunck has collected these scattered fragments, and moreover he has the merit of substituting ἔντος for ἐντὸς, which is the erroneous reading of all the copyists. He has thus given them in his *Analecta*⁷:

Ἀσπίδι μὲν Σαίων τις ἀγάλλεται, ἣν παρὰ θάμνῳ,
 Ἐντος ἀμώμητον, κάλλιπον οὐκ ἐθέλων.
 Αὐτὸς δ' ἐξέφυγον θανάτου τέλος. Ἀσπίς ἐκείνη
 Ἐρρέτω· ἐξαῦθις κτήσομαι οὐ κακίῳ.

“Some Saian is boasting over the irreproachable shield, which I, against my will, left near a bush; but I escaped death. Farewell that shield; I shall one day get another, quite as good.”

A similar adventure to that of Archilochus befel Horace, “relictâ non bene parmula;” but Horace, wiser than Archilochus, went no more to the wars, whereas the latter returned to them and perished in battle. The talents of this poet were held in such estimation, that the Pythian Priestess⁸ would not permit Calaudes, surnamed Corax, who had killed him, to enter the temple until he had appeased his Manes.

XIV. 28. Ἀλλ' ὅσα μὲν ἀργύρου ἀναθήματα ἔστι οἱ πλεῖστα ἐν Δελφοῖσι. *But his offerings, as many as were of silver, are most of them in Delphi.* Ὅσα ought to be joined to πλεῖστα; that mode of expression was very common amongst the Greeks. They say πλεῖστον ὅσον, ἀμήχανον ὅσον, ἀμύθητον ὅσον, θαυμαστόν ὅσον, &c. The Latins have imitated them. Cicero⁹: “*Sales in dicendo mirum quantum valent.*” Ammianus Marcellinus, speaking of the Hyrcanians¹, “*vescuntur venatibus, quorum varietate immane quantum exuberant.*” The construction might be, however, ἀλλ' ὅσα μὲν ἔστιν ἀναθήματα ἀργύρου ἐν Δελφοῖς, τούτων τὰ πλεῖστα ἔστιν οἱ, “the greater part of the silver offerings which are in Delphi come from Gyges.” [This latter mode of construction is preferred by Matthiæ. See Gr. Gram. 445, c.]

29. Σταθμὸν ἔχοντες τριήκοντα τάλαντα. *Having thirty talents weight.* The Attic talent was, within a few grains, 52 French pounds, 6 ounces and 2 grains over, according to M. de la Barre, in his treatise on Measures, chap. vii. The cups which Gyges consecrated in the temple of Apollo at Delphi weighed then from 3143 to 3144 marks of gold.

[The Attic talent has been estimated by Letronne at 492,800 Fr. grains². But Böckh, after careful investigation, fixes it at 493,200

⁵ Plutarchi Inst. Lac. p. 239, B.

⁶ Sext. Empir. in Pyrrhon. Hypotypos. III. ccxvi. p. 181.

⁷ *Analecta Vet. Poët. Græc.* vol. I. p. 40. vol. III. p. 6.

⁸ Plutarch. de Serâ Numinis Vindictâ, p. 560, E.—Dio Chrysost. Orat. xxxiii.

p. 397. Suidas, voc. Ἀρχίλοχος.

⁹ Cic. Orator, xxvi.

¹ Ammian. Marcellin. XXIII. c. vi. p. 295. See also Viger's Idioms, c. iii. 7.

² *Considérations Générales sur l'Évaluation des Monnaies Grecques et Romaines*, 1817, p. 102.

gr. or 52lbs. 6 $\frac{8}{9}$ oz. French, equal to 404,242 gr. or 70lbs. 2 $\frac{5}{14}$ oz. English troy weight³. Supposing the gold of the talents, therefore, to have been of equal fineness with that of our coinage, the thirty talents were worth 98,360 pounds sterling. This valuation exceeds by one eleventh that adopted by Larcher; the chief cause of the discrepancy being, that the Abbé Barthélemy, whom Larcher followed, took it for granted that in ancient Greece, as well as in modern France, silver was the standard of value, and reduced the gold therefore to its equivalent in silver, in the proportion of 1 to 13, which Herodotus states (III. xcv.) to have existed between those metals in his time. Gold, in Europe, is now worth above fifteen times its weight in silver.]

Gyges⁴, Alyattes, and Cræsus drew their riches from certain mines between the Mysian cities, Atarneus and Pergamum. The riches of Gyges became proverbial; witness this verse of Archilochus,

Οὐ μοι τὰ Γύγειω, τοῦ πολυχρύσου, μέλει⁵,
 "The riches of Gyges affect me not."

As were subsequently those of Cræsus:

Divitis audita est cui non opulentia Cræsi⁶?

30. Κυψέλου τοῦ Ἡετίωνος. *Of Cypselus, the son of Ætion.* Herodotus here says, that the cups of gold which Gyges sent to Delphi were there deposited in the treasury of the Corinthians; though in truth the treasury so named did not belong to the republic of Corinth, but to Cypselus, the son of Ætion, and the first tyrant of Corinth.

There were in the temple of Delphi certain chapels or rooms, which belonged to different cities, to kings, and some to rich individuals. The offerings made to the god were severally deposited in these apartments. What Plutarch says of the house⁷ which Cypselus caused to be built at Delphi must be understood of one of these chapels. A thousand similar examples are to be found in the ancient authors. I shall cite only the following⁸: τὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἀνάθημα ποιησάμενος ἀνατίθησιν εἰς τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων θησαυρὸν, καὶ ἐπέγραψε τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ὄνομα. "Having prepared the gift for Apollo, he placed it in the treasury of the Athenians in Delphi, and inscribed his own name on it."

I am aware that Mr. Hutchinson, with some learned men whom he quotes in his note upon this passage, thinks, that the Greeks as well as the Romans placed their treasures in the temples; but should that circumstance be as fully ascertained with regard to the former, as it is with regard to the latter, it is equally certain that they did not place them in the temple of Delphi. The Athenians kept theirs in their citadel, as well as the tribute which they collected from the rest of the

³ Metrologische Untersuchungen, &c. 1838, p. 124.

⁴ Strab. XIV. p. 999, A.

⁵ Analecta Vet. Poët. Græc. vol. I. p. 42. &c. [See also Anacreon, Carm. xv.]

⁶ Ovid, Epist. ex Pont. IV. Ep. 3.

⁷ Plutarch. Sept. Sapient. Conviv. p. 164, A. Id. de Pythiæ Oraculis, p. 400 D.

⁸ Xenoph. de Cyri Exped. V. p. 373. Oxon. 1735. in 4°.

Greeks for the defence of the country against the Persians. This money was originally deposited not in Delphi, but in Delos; from which place the Athenians caused it to be transported to Athens.

31. Μετὰ Μίδην τὸν Γορδῖεω. *After Midas, the son of Gordias.* There were in Phrygia several kings of the name of Midas, as well as of Gordias. Dodwell⁹ suspected it, but the late President Bouhier¹⁰ has proved it. The Midas here mentioned was probably the same that Eusebius states to have commenced his reign in Phrygia in the fourth year of the tenth Olympiad, which would be the year 3977 of the Julian era, and 737 B. C. Γορδῖεω is the genitive case of Γορδίης, Ionic for Γορδίας. [An ancient inscription has been found with the name of Midas; probably one of the Lydian kings¹.]

32. Σμύρνην. *Smyrna.* Dositheus relates² in the third book of his history of Lydia, that the inhabitants of Sardes, having laid siege to Smyrna, declared that they would never desist from it, until the Smyrnæans had yielded up to them their wives. Pressed by necessity, they were on the point of conceding this demand, when a female slave of pleasing appearance advised her master to dress all the female slaves handsomely, and send them instead of their wives to the besiegers. This plan was carried into execution; and the Sardians so exhausted themselves with these slaves, that the Smyrnæans made them prisoners. In commemoration of this event, there was celebrated even in the time of Plutarch a festival, called 'Eleutheria,' or the festival of Liberty; and on that day the female slaves were dressed like free women.

If this statement be correct, the event to which it relates occurred probably in the war which Gyges waged against the Smyrnæans. It cannot be referred to that carried on against them by Alyattes; this prince having taken Smyrna, as related by Herodotus (lxvi.), whereas, on the occasion alluded to by Plutarch, the Smyrnæans captured the warriors of Sardes.

Mimnermus³ composed some elegiac verses on the battle of the Smyrnæans against Gyges, which fate has denied us. That poet, the contemporary of Solon, flourished in the 37th Olympiad⁴.

XV. 33. Σάρδεις πλὴν τῆς ἀκροπόλιος. *They took Sardes, with the exception of the citadel.* According to Strabo⁵, the expedition of the Cimmerians into Asia was much anterior to the time fixed by Herodotus; but I am of opinion that these authors speak of two distinct invasions (see note on § vi.). Strabo⁶ supports in another place the statement of Herodotus, borrowing it from Archilochus and from Callinus⁷. These poets being contemporary with Gyges, might, at an advanced age, have witnessed the second expedition of the Cimmerians.

⁹ Dodwell de Cyclis in Addend. p. 909.

¹⁰ Recherches sur Hérodote, p. 78, &c.

¹ Leake's Trav. in Asia Minor, p. 23.

² Plutarch, Parall. p. 312, E, F.

³ Pausan. IX. xxix. p. 766.

⁴ See Fabricius, Bibl. Græc. I. p. 733.

⁵ Strab. I. p. 12, B. III. p. 222, c.

⁶ Id. XIII. p. 930. XIV. p. 958.

⁷ Clem. Alex. Stromat. I. p. 398.

Lygdamis, who was at their head⁸, advanced as far as Lydia, and even to Ionia. He took the city of Sardes, and perished in Cilicia. He threatened, in his anger⁹, to burn the temple of Ephesus; and, if we may believe Hesychius¹, he even carried his menaces into effect.

XVI. 34. Οὗτος δὲ Κυαζάρη ἐπολέμησε. *But he (Alyattes) waged war with Cyaxares.* This is perfectly consistent. Phraortes, the father of Cyaxares, reigned in Media at the time that Ardys, grandfather of Alyattes, was on the throne of Sardes. Phraortes reigned twenty-two years; he commenced his reign in the year 656, and was killed in the year 634 before our era. Ardys succeeded to the throne of Lydia in the year 677, reigned forty-nine years, and died in the year 628.

Smyrna is called by our historian a colony from Colophon, because the inhabitants of Colophon² occupied it after having driven from thence the Æolians. This statement, therefore, does not refute that of the author of the life of Homer³, who says that Smyrna was a colony from Cyme.

35. Ἀπὸ μέν νυν τούτων οὐκ ὥς ἠθελε ἀπήλλαξεν. *From them he got off not to his liking.* Such is the manner in which the Greeks soften down any passages of a narrative which they think might sound harshly. The chorus, in the *Andromache* of Euripides, addressing Peleus, to whom men are bringing the dead body of his grandson, say to him⁴, "You receive into your palace the son of Achilles, *not as you would wish to receive him,*" &c.

XVII. 36. Ἐστρατεύετο δὲ ὑπὸ συρίγγων. *He marched to the sound of pipes, &c.* Ὑπὸ συρίγγων: this is the Greek mode of expression. In speaking of instruments of music, they employed the preposition ὑπὸ instead of μετά. Upon these words of the third verse of the fourth Olympic of Pindar, ὑπὸ ποικιλοφόρμιγγος ἀοιδᾶς, the scholiast says, τῇ ὑπὸ, ἀντὶ τῆς μετὰ κέχρηται, ἵν' ᾗ, μετὰ ποικιλοφορμίγγων ᾠδῶν. Hesychius says, ὑπ' αὐλοῦ, μετ' αὐλοῦ. Proclus in his *Chrestomathia*, p. 9. ὑπόρχημα δὲ, τὸ μετ' ὀρχησέως ἀδόμενον μέλος ἐλέγετο. Καὶ γὰρ οἱ παλαιοὶ τὴν ὑπὸ ἀντὶ τῆς μετὰ πολλάκις ἐλάμβανον. "Ὑπόρχημα is an air sung with dancing; for the ancients often employ the preposition ὑπὸ for μετά⁵." Μέλπετε τὸν Διόνυσον βαρυβρόμων ὑπὸ τυμπάνων. "Chaunt Bacchus to the sound of the deep-resounding drum."

37. Καὶ αὐλοῦ γυναικείου τε καὶ ἀνδρῆιου. *And of the flute masculine and feminine.* Aulus Gellius says⁶, that according to Herodotus, Alyattes had in his army women who played on the flute. Herodotus, however, does not say that there were in the army of Alyattes women who played on the flute, but that there were masculine and feminine flutes. I am led to imagine, that there were two kinds of flute, one of which pierced

⁸ Strab. I. p. 106, B.

⁹ Callimach. Hymn. in Dian. 251.

¹ Hesych. voc. Λύγδαμις.—[For the Ionic accusative plural Σάρδεις, see *Matthiæ, Gr. Gram.* § 80.]

² Herodot. I. cl. Pausan. VII. v. p. 532.

³ Vita Homeri Herodoto tributa, § ii.

⁴ Euripid. *Androm.* 1168.

⁵ Euripid. *Bacch.* 155.

⁶ Aul. Gell. *Noct. Attic.* I. xi.

with a small number of holes gave a deep tone, the other pierced with a much greater number of holes yielded a more shrill and acute sound, and that Herodotus styles the first of these a masculine, and the second a feminine flute.

Flutes were anciently made from the thigh-bones of a fawn. The invention is attributed to the Thebans⁶, but without foundation. Flutes were known in the East long before there were any Thebans.

[Larcher appears to have supposed that the acuteness of sound of the flute, or the height of its pitch, is proportioned to the number of holes with which it is pierced. But it is the length of the instrument, and the mode of blowing it, rather than the number of holes in it, which essentially determine the gravity of its tone. The male and female flutes of the Greeks were probably tuned in unison with the male and female voice, so as to answer to our tenor and treble. Böttiger⁷ conjectures that the *tibia dextra* and *tibia sinistra* of the Romans corresponded to the male and female flutes of the Lydians. A somewhat similar relationship is indicated by the names of two modern reed instruments, namely, the *haut-bois* (*hautboy*), and the *bas-son* (*bassoon*).]

XX. 38. [Ὅκως ἂν τι προειδὼς πρὸς τὸ παρεὸν βουλευέται. *In order that being forewarned, he might devise some measure suited to the emergency.* For the expression ὅκως ἂν, consult Buttman's larger Gr. Gram. 2d edit. p. 384.]

XXI. 39. Ὁ μὲν δὲ ἀπόστολος εἰς τὴν Μίλητον ἦν. *The messenger went to Miletus.* The Greek word ἀπόστολος may signify a vessel fit for transporting passengers, merchandise, &c. There is usually added to it ναῦς or πλοῖον, as πλοῖον ἀπόστολον; at least, one or other of them must be understood, for ἀπόστολος in this sense is always an adjective. The author of the life of Homer, attributed to Herodotus, § xix. has employed it in the same way. But it signifies more commonly a maritime expedition, a fleet, as in this passage of Plutarch⁸: οἱ σύμμαχοι καὶ οἱ νησιῶται τοὺς Ἀθήνηθεν ἀποστόλους πολεμίους νομίζοντες, "the allies and the islanders taking the Athenian fleets for enemies." This has induced Gronovius to make the herald go by sea to Miletus, though it would have been more natural to send him by land. My opinion, which is also that of Mr. Wesseling, and I may say of M. Belanger, is further confirmed by the consideration that this word also signifies a person⁹ sent to any place with orders. Στόλος is said of a body of people who go either by sea or land to execute an undertaking¹. Στόλος δὲ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ πρᾶξιν τίνα πορευόμενον πλῆθος, εἴτε ἐπὶ νεῶν, εἴτε καὶ πεζῇ. Polyænus records the artifice of Thrasybulus².

⁶ Athen. Deipnosoph. II. xxv.

⁷ On the Lydian double flute, in Wieland's Attisches Museum, I. p. 334.

⁸ Plutarch, in Phocion. p. 746, F.

⁹ Timæi Lexic. Voc. Platon. voc.

Ἀπόστολα.

¹ Scholiast. Apoll. Rhod. I. ver. 704.

² Strateg. xlvii.

XXIII. 40. [Ἀρίωνα τὸν Μηθυμναῖον ἐπὶ δελφῖνος ἐξενειχθέντα ἐπὶ Ταίναρον. *Arion the Methymnaean was borne on a dolphin to Tænarus.* Arion borne by the dolphin is represented on the coins of Methymna³, a town of Lesbos, which island is now called Mitilini. The dolphin of the Greeks is the Delphinus Delphis of naturalists⁴; the reputation of which for suavity of disposition, and friendliness to man⁵, may have originated in the circumstance, that it shows itself only in fine weather.]

41. Κιθαρωδόν. *Player on the cithara.* The κιθαρωδός⁶ differs from the κιθαριστής. But to understand this difference, it must be known that the ancients called the lyre not only λύρη, but also κίθαρις, and that κιθάρα is the cithara, whence our word guitar. Apollo invented the lyre, and Mercury the cithara. Homer in his Hymn to Mercury, 47th and following verses, gives a description of the cithara. Taking this for granted, the κιθαριστής played on the lyre, and the κιθαρωδός on the cithara, accompanying his voice.

42. Διθύραμβον ποιήσαντα. *Who composed the Dithyrambus.* St. Clement of Alexandria⁷ attributes the invention of the Dithyrambus to Lassus of Hermione. This Lassus is the same whom Herodotus and Suidas call⁸ Lasus. He flourished in the 58th Olympiad, and under Darius the son of Hystaspes, according to Suidas; who must, however, be mistaken; for Darius reigned not till towards the end of the third year of the 64th Olympiad. But, at all events, he was posterior to Arion of Methymna, who lived in the 38th Olympiad⁹; and yet it appears from Pindar, and from his scholiast¹, that this species of poetry was so ancient, that its real inventor was unknown. We learn, however, that Pindar, in the songs which he composed to be accompanied by dances, ἐν τοῖς Ὑπορχήμασιν, said that the Dithyrambus had been invented at Naxos, and that in the first book of his Dithyrambi he asserted that it was at Thebes; but in the 25th verse of the 13th Olympic he thought with Herodotus², that this species of poetry was first known at Corinth. Archilochus³, anterior both to Lasus and to Arion, uses the word Dithyrambus in those truly dithyrambic verses which Athenæus has preserved⁴, but which are found much more correct in the 1st volume of Brunck's *Analecta*, p. 46.

Διωνύσοιο ἄνακτος
Καλὸν ἐξάρξαι μέλος οἶδα, διθύραμβον, οἶνω
Συγκεραυνωθείς φρένας.

“ I know how to commence the Dithyrambus, that beautiful hymn in

³ Eckhel, *De Numism. Vet.* II. p. 502.

⁴ The dolphin, according to Blumenbach (*Handbuch der Naturgesch.* p. 115. 12th edit.) is called in English the porpesse; but this is probably only an old form of porpoise, which name is now confined to the Delphinus Phocæna.

⁵ Plin. *Hist. Nat.* IX. viii.

⁶ Ammon. *περὶ ὁμοίων καὶ διαφορῶν*

λεξέων, voc. Κίθαρις.

⁷ Clem. Alex. *Stromat.* vol. I. p. 355.

⁸ Herodot. VII. vi. Suidas, voc. Λάσος.

⁹ Suidas, voc. Ἀρίων.

¹ Schol. Pind. ad Olymp. xiii. 25.

² Ibid. p. 145.

³ See the note on xii.

⁴ Athen. *Deipn.* XIV. 6.

honour of Bacchus, when my brain is struck with the lightning-flash of wine."

The poet Ion, who wrote comedies, epigrams, songs, and elegies, acquired great reputation in this species of poetry⁵; as did also Melanippides, who lived about the 65th Olympiad: ἐπὶ δὲ Διθυράμβῳ Μελανιππίδην τεθαύμακα⁶. Aristophanes rallies Ion on his Dithyrambic poetry in his comedy entitled Peace. With regard to this poet, the reader may consult Richard Bentley's letter to Mill, 50th and the following pages.

The Dithyrambus⁷ was composed in honour of Bacchus, who was also called Dithyrambus; either because he was brought up near the town of Nysa, in a cavern with two entrances; because he issued from the thigh of Jupiter, the seams by which he was there enclosed being unstitched; or else on account of his seeming to have had a double birth, from the womb of Semele, and from the thigh of Jupiter. Euripides would convey this meaning, when he says⁸, "His father Jupiter snatched him from the midst of the immortal fire, and placed him within his thigh, crying, Enter, O Dithyrambus, into my own body; preserved by my care, Thebes shall celebrate you by this name."

He who obtained the prize for Dithyrambic composition was rewarded with an ox, as we learn from Pindar⁹, who calls the Dithyrambus, Βοηλάτης, "ox-driving;" and from the lexicon of Apollonius, which we owe to the labours of M. Villoison, we find that a heifer was the prize of Dithyrambic poetry¹, τοῖς Διθυράμβοις ἄθλον ἦν ἡ βοῦς.

The Dithyrambic poets spoke only of exalted objects, and their bold and frequently turgid style was lost in metaphors, and, as one may say, in the clouds: which occasioned Trygæus, who had ascended to heaven to implore Jupiter to grant peace to the Greeks², to say, "that on his road thither, he had encountered the souls of two or three Dithyrambic poets. What were they doing? inquires his servant. They were collecting some preambles that were fluttering about in the air, answers Trygæus."

43. Καὶ διδάξαντα ἐν Κορίνθῳ. *And taught it in Corinth.* It is well known that the expression "docere fabulam" was applied to the poet who gave his composition to the public, or caused it to be represented. Dio Chrysostom³ uses the very same expression as Herodotus. The Dithyrambic, the Tragic, and the Comic poets were distinguished by the title διδάσκαλοι, teachers⁴. But this term was not so exclusively

⁵ Schol. Aristoph. ad Pacem, 835.

⁶ Xenoph. Socrat. Mem. I. iv. 3. Conf. Suidas in hac voce.

⁷ Procli Chrestomath. apud Photium, p. 985.

⁸ Euripid. in Bacch. 515. ex edit. Brunckii.

⁹ Pindari Olymp. Od. xiii. 25.

¹ Apollonii Lex. Homeri, p. 796. voc. ταύρου.

² Aristoph. Pax, 829.

³ Dio Chrysost. Orat. xxxvii. p. 455,

⁴ Harpocrat. voc. διδάσκαλος, p. 51.

applied to poets, but that musicians were sometimes called by it, as may be seen in many inscriptions collected by Spon, in his Travels.

[Our historian says further on, (VI. xxi.) ποιήσαντι Φρυνίχῳ δράμα Μιλήτου ἄλωσιν, καὶ διδάξαντι, ἐς δάκρυά τε ἔπεσε τὸ θέητρον. "Phrynichus having written a play entitled the taking of Miletus, and taught it (that is, having given a public representation of it), the whole theatre was in tears."]

XXIV. 44. [Τοὺς δὲ ἐν τῷ πελάγει ἐπιβουλεύειν, τὸν Ἀρίονα ἐκβαλόντας, ἔχειν τὰ χρήματα. *They (the mariners), when on the deep, conspired to throw Arion overboard, and keep his riches.* Larcher translates the expression ἐν τῷ πελάγει, "on board," being afraid to render it in its full and proper force, "at sea," or "on the deep," because such an interpretation appeared to him replete with difficulties. He comes, in short, to the conclusion, that the scene of the adventure here related was the bay of Tarentum, and not far from shore, so that the escape of Arion may be easily explained. But the truth is, that semi-credulity is always surrounded by difficulties. If we suppose the story of Arion and the dolphin to be a fable, we must not expect throughout its minor details the consistency characteristic of truth.]

45. Διεξελθεῖν νόμον τὸν Ὀρθιον. *Executed the Orthian air.* The Greek has it, "the Orthian Nomos." This Nomos was calculated for particular instruments—for example, the cithara; upon which, as Plutarch says⁵, "it was not formerly permitted, as it is now, to compose extempore airs. The musician was extremely careful to preserve to each of those airs the tone which properly belonged to it; hence they were called Nomoi, that is to say, fixed and regulated examples, because it was forbidden to transgress the particular law (νενομισμένον) regulating the tone of each." Aristotle asks⁶, "Why are the airs that are sung called νόμοι? Was it that, before the use of letters, they sang the laws, τοὺς νόμους, that they might not be forgotten, as is now the practice with the Agathyrsi, whence the first of their later songs retain the original name?"

The Orthian Nomos⁷ was an air composed for the flute or the cithara. The modulation was dignified, the rhythm remarkably lively and spirited, which rendered it very well adapted to encourage warriors. Dio Chrysostom says⁸, that Timotheus did not play before Alexander soft and effeminate airs on the flute, such as might dispose to sloth and relaxation; but he played the Orthian air, or Nomos. This air was also called, according to the same writer, the air of Minerva. Polymnestes⁹ introduced the Orthian Nomos into Sparta.

[The explanation given above of the Orthian Nomos, though generally

⁵ Plut. de Musica, p. 1133.

⁶ Aristot. Problem. XIX. xxviii.

⁷ Schol. Aristoph. ad Acharn. 16.

⁸ Dio Chrysost. de Regno, p. 1.

⁹ Plut. de Musica, vol. II. p. 1134.

received, is yet far from satisfactory ; nor does Larcher, in his translation of Plutarch, deal fairly with that author, who merely says, that “ anciently airs (κιθαρωδίας) could not (οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν) be made as at present ; nor could harmonies and metres be changed.” It appears that certain laws (νόμοι) were discovered in the musical scale, the transgression of which laws by the musician’s fancy is spoken of in terms applicable to moral impossibility (οὐκ ἐξῆν)¹. It is probable that the νόμοι referred to the fixed measures, and the succession of intervals, or the time, and the key, the symbolic marks of which are prefixed to modern music². As musical knowledge increased, and instruments were improved by the addition of semitones, harmonies began to be transposed, and variations to be made (μεταφέρειν τὰς ἁρμονίας καὶ τοὺς ῥυθμούς). Baehr’s explanation of ὄρθιος, which he supposes to mean high-voiced, or having an elevated pitch, is inadmissible³. That word properly means *erect*, and was probably used to denote the Nomos, from which all the others were thought to be deviations ; just as we speak of *the natural key*. According to this explanation, the νόμος ὄρθιος must have been the most ancient of the Greek musical scales ; it is not wonderful, therefore, that the airs composed in it should have a martial character. The style of the Scottish pibroch was determined by similar circumstances.]

46. Ταῦτα μὲν νῦν Κορίνθιοί τε καὶ Λέσβιοι λέγουσι. *Thus say the Corinthians and the Lesbians also.* Herodotus does not warrant the truth of this story. He contents himself with reporting the popular tradition of the Lesbians and the Corinthians.

The probability is, that Arion threw himself into the sea, in the port of Tarentum, or rather at an anchorage near that port, that he gained the shore, and that the Corinthians without further inquiry set sail. If there be any truth in the remainder of the story, he probably met with a vessel that was ready to sail, which being swifter than that of the Corinthians, he reached the port before them. There was at the prow of each vessel a figure called παράσημον τῆς νεῶς, from which the vessel frequently took its name. Such were the Centaur and the Pistris of Virgil. The vessel which Arion entered the second time, had probably a dolphin at her prow ; and it will be easily perceived, without further observation, that this circumstance may have given rise to the story of Arion and the dolphin.

[It is ingeniously conjectured by Müller, that this story owes its origin to a symbolical representation, or metaphorical legend of the Lacedæmonian colony conducted by Phalanthus from Tænarus to Tarentum⁴. The chief would naturally be figured as borne by a dolphin, an animal favoured by Neptune, to whom the colony was dedicated.

¹ See Buttmann’s Larger Gr. Gram. 2d edit. 1841. p. 440.

² The key is marked by the signs of flat or sharp affixed to certain lines or intervals ; the time is noted fractionally,

as $\frac{3}{4}$, which means that there are three quavers in each bar.

³ Baehr’s Herod. Leipsic, 1830. not. ad loc.

⁴ Hist. of the Dorians, II. 369.

Such a legend, if it once had existence, might be easily inverted, or transferred to a new hero. Heyne thinks that the monument raised to the memory of Arion, and which represented him in accordance with the mythic ideas of that time, as carried by a dolphin, gave rise to the fable, future ages not caring to distinguish between fact and allegory⁵. Creuzer inclines to the belief, that an ancient and general symbol of navigation, a man borne by a dolphin, was credulously supposed to commemorate a personal adventure of Arion⁶. The ample information collected by the last-named writer respecting the importance of the dolphin in ancient Greek or Pelasgian mythology, renders it unnecessary to follow Larcher in the attempt to reduce to matter of fact the miraculous preservation of Arion⁷.]

47. Ἀνάθημα χάλκεον οὐ μέγα. *A little statue of bronze*. If this statue really be an offering of Arion, it designates emblematically the vessel on which he embarked, and which carried at her prow the image of a dolphin. On the base of this statue was the following inscription, or, as the ancients express it, epigram: "This conveyance, under the guidance of heaven, saved from the sea of Sicily, Arion the son of Cylon." Ælian, who has preserved this inscription⁸, adds a hymn of thanksgiving by the same Arion in honour of Neptune, in which, filled with gratitude towards the dolphin which saved his life, he celebrates that animal's love of music⁹.

XXV. 48. Καὶ ὑποκρητηρίδιον σιδήρεον κολλητόν. *An inlaid iron salver*. This salver was still to be seen in the time of Pausanias; who, as well as St. Jerome, speaks of it in the language of Herodotus¹.

Inlaying is the art of engraving or cutting into iron or steel, and filling up the cavity so made with a wire or slip of some other metal. It is the insertion of this wire that Herodotus names κόλλησις. Gold as well as silver was used for this purpose, as appears from these verses of the Larissæi², a tragedy by Sophocles, of which only a few fragments remain³:

Πολὺν δ' ἀγῶνα πανξένοισι κηρύσσεται,
Χαλκηλάτους λέβητας ἐκτιθεὶς φέρειν,
Καὶ κοῖλα χρυσόκολλα, καὶ πανάργυρα
Ἐκπώματ' εἰς ἀριθμὸν ἐξήκοντα δίδς.

"Acrisius proclaimed to all strangers great games, and offered for prizes, cauldrons of brass, drinking-cups incrustated with gold, and others of massive silver, six score in number."

⁵ Commentat. Soc. Gotting. XIV. p. 117.

⁶ Dissert. de Mythis ab artium operibus profectis. 1803. p. 29.

⁷ Symbolik, II. p. 389. 1st edit.

⁸ Ælian de Nat. Animal. XII. xlv. p. 715.

⁹ Analecta vet. Poet. Græc. vol. III. p. 327.

¹ Pausan. X. xv. Euseb. Chronic. Olymp. xxv. 4.

² Called Acrisius in Brunck's edition of Sophocles.

³ Athen. Deipn. XI. iii. p. 466 B.

The manner of setting precious stones was called λιθοκόλλησις. Eratosthenes⁴ says, in a letter to Hageton the Lacedæmonian, "They offered to the gods a cup not made of silver, nor enriched with precious stones, but of the clay of the promontory Colias." Κρατῆρα γὰρ ἔστησαν τοῖς θεοῖς, οὐκ ἀργύρεον, οὔτε λιθοκόλλητον, ἀλλὰ τῆς Κωλιάδος. Theopompus⁵ makes use of the same word, in his description of the preparations made by the king of Persia on his entrance into Egypt: ἐκπώματα καὶ κρατῆρες, ὧν τοὺς μὲν λιθοκολλήτους, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἀκριβῶς καὶ πολυτελῶς ἐκπεπονημένους. "drinking-cups and vases, some of which were set with precious stones, and others richly and skilfully wrought." This salver doubtless gave rise to the proverb Γλαύκου τέχνη, "the art of Glaucus," of which Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra⁶, has given several explanations.

The art of soldering is very useful, and its inventor, whoever he be, certainly deserves praise; but will it be believed that this art should have been styled THE ART, *par excellence*; and that an iron salver, which possessed no other merit than that of being soldered, should have appeared one of the most curious of all the offerings seen in Delphi?

I find, moreover, that the Latins have sometimes expressed the beautiful art of inlaying ("la damasquinure") by "ferruminare," from the coarse manner in which it was then executed, though that word generally signifies nothing more than to solder. Thus Petronius says⁷, "Habebat in minimo digito sinistræ manûs, annulum grandem subauratum . . . totum aureum, sed plane ferreis veluti stellis ferruminatum." If any doubt remained that the art which made the salver of Glaucus so remarkable, was that of inlaying, the following passage of Athenæus might remove it⁸. Εἶδομεν δ' αὐτὸ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀνακείμενον ἐν Δελφοῖς ὡς ἀληθῶς θεᾶς ἄξιον διὰ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐντετορευμένα ζωδάρια, καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ ζωύφια καὶ φυτάρια. "We have ourselves seen it in the temple of Delphi, where it was consecrated. It is certainly worth seeing, from the little animals, insects, and plants represented on it." It was then from these representations of animals, insects, and plants, represented on the salver, that it became an object of attraction to the curious.

[The mere fact, that figures were represented on the salver, is not sufficient to show that it was inlaid. The word ἐντετορευμένα signifies carved into, and describes very inadequately, to say the least of it, the curious art of inlaying. But Pausanias⁹, speaking of the same salver, appears to describe an embossed work, or figures soldered on plate.]

The discovery of iron, and the method of working it, are very ancient. The bed of Og, king of Basan, was of iron¹. This prince was con-

⁴ Macrob. Saturnal. V. xxi.

⁵ Longin. de Subl. xliii. p. 138. ex edit. Zach. Pearce.

⁶ Eusebius contra Marcellum, I. iii. pp. 15, 16.

⁷ Petronii Satyræ. xxxii.

⁸ Athen. Deipn. V. xiii. p. 210, c.

⁹ Paus. X. xvi. 1.

¹ Deuteronom. iii. 11.

quered, according to Father Petau, in the year 3222 of the Julian period, 1492 years before our era. The Scriptures mention works of iron at a much earlier period. [Tubal-cain, "an instructor of all who work in brass and iron," was seventh in descent from Adam².]

But to confine ourselves to the profane writers,—the author of the poem entitled Phoronis³ says, that Celmis, Damnameneus, and Acmon, by birth Phrygians, and inhabitants of Mount Ida, first discovered the ingenious art of Vulcan, and worked in iron by means of fire. Now Phoroneus, in honour of whom this poem was written, was, according to Acusilaus, the first of men⁴. This is certainly not to be taken literally, for he acquired that epithet by being the first who changed the barbarous manners of the Argians⁵; and who assembled them together in a common place of abode, called after himself Phoronis⁶. Phoroneus was the son of Inachus, and reigned about the year 2788 of the Julian period, 1926 years before our era.

Thrasyllus⁷ fixes the discovery of iron 114 years before the foundation of Troy, and 247 years before the rape of Helen. Troy was built in the 3291st year of the Julian era; and Helen was carried off in the year 3424 of the same period. Iron, then, was discovered in the year 3177 of the Julian period, 1537 years before our era.

The Oxford Marbles⁸ place Celmis, Damnameneus, and the discovery of iron, in the year 3282, which is widely different from the calculation of Thrasyllus reported by St. Clement of Alexandria; but perhaps Thrasyllus supposed the taking of Troy to have been in the year 1209 before our era, as do the Oxford marbles. In that case, they nearly coincide. However that may be, it is evident that the discovery of iron is very ancient. But was this metal still of high value under Alyattes, king of Lydia? Alyattes began to reign in 4098; Orestes died in 3521, that is to say, 577 years before the reign of Alyattes. His coffin was of iron⁹; and it is to be presumed that they did not then, any more than now, employ the most valuable of materials for the enclosing of dead bodies.

In the time of Lycurgus, iron was looked on as a base metal; and that legislator flourished, according to Eratosthenes¹, 108 years before

² Gen. iii. 22.

³ The Scholiast of Apollonius Rhodius has preserved, in the 1129th verse of the 1st book of the Argonautics, the fragment of this poem, of which I have just given the substance. Strabo also (Geogr. X. p. 725), and St. Clement of Alexandria (Stromat. I. p. 362), mention these Idæan Dactyls.

⁴ Clem. Alex. Stromat. I. p. 380.

⁵ Tatiani Orat. ad Græcos, lx. p. 131.

⁶ Pausan. II. xv. p. 145. This town was afterwards named Argos, from the grandson of Phoroneus.

Clem. Alex. Stromat. I. p. 401.

⁸ Marmora Oxon. epoch. xi. p. 21.

The date of this epoch appears to be 1168, but it includes the year 1432 before our era, and consequently the year 3282 of the Julian period.

⁹ Herodot. I. lxxviii. [This passage states, that the remains of Orestes were found beneath the floor of a smithy, but does not say that his coffin was of iron. Larcher's memory deceived him. Baehr blunders still more unaccountably, for he relies on Larcher as having proved that iron, discovered 577 years before Alyattes, was still a precious metal in that prince's age.]

¹ Clem. Alex. Strom. I. p. 402.

the first Olympiad, that is to say, 268 years before Alyattes. He proscribed in Lacedæmon the use of gold and silver, and substituted iron in their place. This metal was then of so little value, that Plutarch² observes that it required a carriage drawn by two oxen to transport the value of ten minæ.

The cup of Glaucus acquired great celebrity. In the romance of Achilles Tatius³, when the father of Clitophon gives a superb repast, he displays a cup or vase consecrated to Bacchus, which was next in estimation to that of Glaucus, μετὰ τὸ Γλαύκου τοῦ Χίου δεύτερον.

Herodotus adds, Θέης ἄξιον διὰ πάντων τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἀναθημάτων, "Worth seeing above all the offerings at Delphi:" the preposition διὰ is here used for πρὸ, and betokens excellence⁴.

XXVI. 49. Ὁς δὲ Ἑλλήνων πρῶτοις ἐπέθηκατο Ἐφεσίοισι. *The Ephesians were the first of the Greeks, whom he (Cræsus) attacked.* Ælian⁵ relates that Cræsus having sent orders to Pindarus, his nephew, to submit to his authority, and not being obeyed, laid siege to the town. A tower, afterwards called "the Betrayer," having fallen down, Pindarus advised the Ephesians to join by a cord the gates and walls of the city to the columns of the temple of Diana, as if they gave their city to the goddess, (hoping by this means to secure it from pillage,) and then to seek Cræsus, who, laughing at their device, nevertheless received them favourably. He granted them their liberty, and permission to remain in their town, but ordered Pindarus to quit Ephesus.

50. Ἐξάσαντες ἐκ τοῦ νηοῦ σχοινίον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. *Fastening a rope from the temple to the wall of the city.* The object of the ancients in thus consecrating their towns was to retain, as it were by force, the gods on their side, and prevent them from forsaking them; for it was conceived that when a town was about to be taken, the gods abandoned it⁶. Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, having rendered himself master of the island of Rhenæa, consecrated it⁷ to the Delian Apollo, by joining it with a chain to Delos. [The Tyrians in like manner, when besieged by Alexander, fastened the image of Apollo, who was seen in a vision to desert them, with a golden chain to the altar of Hercules⁸.]

XXVII. 51. Πιπτακὸν τὸν Μυτιληναῖον. *Pittacus of Mytilene.* Herodotus believed that Pittacus was still living in the reign of Cræsus. This opinion is likewise confirmed by Diogenes Laërtius, who frequently mentions, in his life of that philosopher, the offers made to him by Cræsus, and he even gives a letter sent from Pittacus to this prince. Plutarch

² Plutarch. in Lycurg. vol. I. p. 44.

³ Achilles Tatius, de Amor. Leucipp. et Clitophon. II. iii.

⁴ This use of διὰ is not frequent in the Attic writers. Matth. Gr. Gram. § 580, f. Yet see Dio Cass. XXXVII. xx. and Aristid. Orat. Plat. i. pro Rhet. p. 109.

⁵ Æliani Hist. Var. III. xxvi.

⁶ Æschyl. Septem advers. Thebas, 219, 220.

⁷ Thucyd. Hist. III. civ.

⁸ Q. Curtius, IV. iii. and Plut. vit. Alex. xli. Tacitus, Hist. V. xiii.

held the same opinion⁹; for he relates, that the king of Lydia having asked this philosopher if he was rich, the other replied, that he was twice as rich as he wished to be, for his brother was dead. It is true that Plutarch does not name this king of Lydia; but we have reason to infer that he speaks of Cræsus.

It appears evident, then, that Pittacus was alive when Cræsus succeeded to the crown. There are two opinions as to the year in which this philosopher died; one is positive, the other inferential. Diogenes Laërtius¹ says that he died in the third year of the 52nd Olympiad; that is, the year 4144 of the Julian period, and 570 years before the common era. It is certain that Cræsus did not ascend the throne till the second year of the 55th Olympiad, the year 4155 of the Julian period, and 559 B. C. Ancient writers in general assign but fourteen years to his reign; though Eusebius gives him fifteen²; doubtless, because the fifteenth year of his reign had begun when he was made prisoner.

It is known that Eastern rulers usually associated their eldest sons with them on the throne. Now, although we have no direct proof that Alyattes thus associated Cræsus, we may presume the fact, if we suppose, with Diogenes Laërtius, that Pittacus died in the third year of the 52nd Olympiad; and thus the reign of Cræsus may have begun in the year 4140 of the Julian period, and 574 years before the common era.

But as to the death of Pittacus, there is another hypothesis, which does not force us upon this supposition. Suidas³ fixes the birth of this philosopher in the 32nd Olympiad, the year 4062 of the Julian period, or 652 B. C. Lucian assigns⁴ a hundred years to his life. If this last opinion be correct, Pittacus died in the first year of the 57th Olympiad, the year 4162 of the Julian period, and 552 years before the vulgar era, which is seven years after the accession of Cræsus to the throne.

But however this may be, Pittacus of Mytilene⁵ killed Melanchrus, the tyrant of Lesbos. Shortly afterwards, the Mytilenians entrusted to him the conduct of the war which they had to sustain against the Athenians on the subject of the country of Achillitis. He killed Phrynon, the enemy's general, by stratagem. The Mytilenians, from gratitude, appointed him *Æsymnetes*, that is to say, Tyrant; for the *Æsymnetia* was an elective Tyranny, constituted for a determinate time and object⁶. But to return to Pittacus, he governed ten years, and then retiring, lived ten years more as a private individual. Some one asking him⁷ why he abdicated, he answered: "Periander at the commencement of his reign was the father of the Corinthians; but his morals grew

⁹ Plutarch. de Fraternali Amore, p. 484, c.

¹ Diogen. Laërt. in Pittaco, I. lxxix.

² Euseb. Chronic. Canon. p. 162.

³ Suidas, voc. Πιττακός.

⁴ Lucian. de Macrob. xviii. vol. III. p. 221.

⁵ Diog. Laërt. I. lxxiv, lxxv.

⁶ Aristot. Politic. III. xiv, xv.

⁷ Zenobii Cent. vi. Prov. xxxviii.

corrupt, and he became their tyrant: it is difficult to remain always virtuous."

This prince retained in his exalted station the utmost simplicity of manners; he used even to grind his own corn, as appears from the song which Thales⁸ heard sung at Lesbos, by a woman turning a mill: "Grind, O! mill, grind the grain; Pittacus, king of the great Mytilene, himself turns the mill."

[52. ὦ βασιλεῦ, προθύμως μοι φαίνεται εὐξασθαι νησιώτας ἱππευομένους λαβεῖν ἐν ἡπείρῳ, οἰκότα ἐλπίζων· νησιώτας δὲ τί δοκέεις εὐχεσθαι ἄλλο, ἢ, λαβεῖν ἀρώμενοι Λυδοὺς ἐν θαλάσῃ; *O king! I deem that with well-founded hopes, you heartily pray that you may catch the Islanders on horseback on the continent. But what do the Islanders pray for, think you, but that they, with a vengeance, may catch Lydians at sea?* The word ἀρώμενοι has caused not a little trouble to the editors and translators of Herodotus, being supposed by them to repeat the sense of εὐχεσθαι. But εὐχομαι signifies merely to pray for the fulfilment of wishes; ἀράομαι means to offer up prayers or vows inspired by strong feelings, to pour out curses and imprecations. As it belongs to the language of passion, the poets use it sometimes, though rarely, in a good sense also; it properly expresses malediction. Thus, ἀραῖος, ὡς ἡράσατο, "blasted with his own curses;" ἐπεύχομαι δὲ παθεῖν, ἅπερ τοῖσδ' ἀρτίως ἡρασάμην, "I pray that I may feel the curses which I have just pronounced on them;" ἐπεὶ τὰ σκληρὰ πατρὸς κλύετε τοῦδ' ἀρωμένου, "since you hear this father uttering dire curses⁹." Ἀρώμενοι thus interpreted gives not a little energy to the reply of Pittacus.]

XXVIII. 53. Εἰσὶ δὲ οἷδε, Λυδοὶ, Φρύγες, Μυσοὶ, Μαρνανδύνοι, Χάλυβες, Παφλαγόνες, Θρήϊκες, οἱ Θυνοὶ τε καὶ Βιθυνοὶ, Κᾶρες, Ἴωνες, Δωριεῖς, Αἰολεῖς, Πάμφυλοι. *They are these; Lydians, Phrygians, Mysians, Mariandynians, Chalybes, Paphlagonians, Thracians (both the Thynians and Bithynians), Carians, Ionians, Dorians, Æolians, Pamphylians.* [The mention of the Lydians in this place creates some confusion in the context. Larcher suppressed that name, therefore, in his second edition; and is followed by Schaeffer. Schweighaeuser seeks to justify the MSS., which all have Λυδοὶ, by observing that Herodotus does not here mean to enumerate the nations which Cræsus had subjugated, κατασρεψάμενος, so much as those which he ruled, ὑπ' ἐωυτῷ εἶχε. But why then does the historian add, "those being subjugated, and Cræsus joining them to the Lydians," κατεστραμμένων δὲ τούτων καὶ προσεπικτωμένου Κροίσου Λυδοῖσι? It is surely absurd to talk of annexing the Lydians to the Lydians. Let the proper use of οἷδε and οὗτος be here remarked, the former referring to what follows, the latter to what precedes¹: εἰσὶ δὲ οἷδε must not be translated "those are," but "they are these."

The Mariandynians dwelt on the shore of the Euxine between Bithynia

⁸ Plutarch. Sept. Sap. Conviv. p. 157. 251. Œdip. Col. 1406.

⁹ Sophocles, Œdip. Tyr. 1291. *ibid.* ¹ Buttmann's Larger Gram. p. 334.

and Paphlagonia, and were thought to be of Thracian origin². The Chalybes here mentioned, and whose exact position is undetermined, were probably a colony from the great tribe of the same name dwelling further eastward, beyond Trebizond³.]

54. *Θρήϊκες*. *The Thracians, that is to say, the Bithynians and the Thynians*. The Thracians here mentioned were originally of Europe, whence they were driven by the Teucrians and the Mysians⁴. They were then called Strymonians⁵; but passing over into Asia, they took the name of Bithynians. Eustathius affirms⁶, that there were Thracians in Asia, and that they had come there under the conduct of a certain Patarus. Strabo informs us⁷, that Bithynia, originally inhabited by Mysians, took its name from a Thracian people who subsequently occupied it. In his time, there was still in Thrace a tribe called Bithynians. To this may be added the authority of Xenophon, who calls Bithynia, Thrace, or Bithynian Thrace. "The Arcadians," says he⁸, "having obtained vessels from the inhabitants of Heraclea, embarked first with the purpose of falling on the Bithynians by surprise, and making a considerable booty. They landed at Calpe, a port near the middle of *Thrace*." "The port of Calpe," says the same author in another place⁹, "is in *Asiatic Thrace*." Arrian states the boundaries of this country in his Survey of the Euxine Sea: "The Bithynians," says he, "a people of Thrace, extend as far as the river Parthenius¹."

XXIX. 55. *Οἱ πάντες ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος σοφισταί*. *All the wise men from Greece*. The appellation Sophist, honourable in its origin, in process of time became odious. Plutarch² reproaches Herodotus for having applied it to the seven wise men of Greece. Isocrates and other authors, however, apply the same term to Solon. We read in Aristides³, "Has not Herodotus called both Solon and Pythagoras *Sophists*? Has not Androtion said, the seven *Sophists*, in speaking of those whom I denominate wise men?" What, does not Plutarch himself apply that term to Chilo, one of the seven wise men⁴? *Τὸ δὲ τοῦ Σοφιστοῦ Χίλωνος, ἀληθές*, "That which was said by the Sophist Chilo, is true." The word was understood in a good sense, in the age of Alexander. Æschines, addressing the Athenians, says to them⁵, "You have killed Socrates the Sophist," *Σωκράτην τὸν Σοφιστὴν ἀπεκτείνετε*. Plato employs it also

² Strabo, XII. pp. 542. 816.

³ Xenoph. Anab. V. v. 1.

⁴ Herodot. VII. lxxv.

⁵ Id. *ibid.*—Steph. Byzant. voc. *Στρυμών*.—Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. 793.

⁶ Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. 322.

⁷ Strab. XII. p. 816, B, C.

⁸ Xenoph. Hell. III. ii. 2, and Anab. VI. ii.

⁹ Xen. Anab. VI. iv.

¹ Arrian. Peripl. Pont. Eux. p. 14.

² Plutarch. de Malign. Herodot. p. 857, F.

³ Aristid. Orat. pro Quatuor Viris, fol. 159.

Plutarch. de Amicorum Multitudine, vol. II. p. 96.

⁵ Æschin. in Timarch. p. 287.

in the same way⁶. "If," says he, "neither the Sophists (the philosophers) nor the virtuous can teach virtue, is it not plain that none else can teach it?" Apollonius, in his explanation of those terms of Herodotus⁷ which in the course of time had become obscure, remarks, that the historian gives the name Sophists to the heads of schools, or sects, *νῦν Σοφιστὰς, τοὺς διατριβῶν προΐσταμένους*. It was beginning to be taken as a term of reproach, however, as may be seen by some passages of the same orator (pp. 42. 51. of Stephens's edition). This change took place when the profession of wisdom began to be adopted for the sake of gain. "Him," says Xenophon⁸, "who sells wisdom for money to the first comer, we call Sophist."

56. *Τῶν νόμων τῶν ἔθετο*. *The laws which he had established*. Kuster⁹ maintains, in his treatise on the Middle Verb, that *θεῖναι νόμον* is always said of the legislator who makes the law, and *θέσθαι νόμον* of the people who cause the law to be made, or accept and ratify it. Moschopulus¹ expresses himself thus: *Θέσθαι, τὸ δέξασθαι καὶ κυρῶσαι*. *Θεῖναι γὰρ λέγουσι τὸν νομοθέτην τὸν νόμον*. *θέσθαι δὲ, τὸν δῆμον, ἡγουν δέξασθαι καὶ κυρῶσαι*. It is true that the Attic authors scrupulously observe this rule². *Τότε δὲ ἀκίνητα θεμένους, ἥδη χρῆσθαι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων νόμων, οὗς ἔταξε κατ' ἀρχὰς ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῖς νομοθέτης*. "Ratifying these laws as irrevocable, to observe them in like manner as the others which their legislator gave them at the beginning." But the example before us proves that the ancients did not rigorously abide by this rule³.

XXX. 57. *Ὁ Σόλων ἀπῆκετο ἐς Σάρδεις παρὰ Κροῖσον*. *Solon came to Sardes to the court of Cræsus*. Respecting this interview of Solon with Cræsus, Plutarch remarks as follows⁴: "Some authors reject the interview of Solon with Cræsus as a matter irreconcilable with chronology; but I do not feel disposed to give up so fine a conversation, attested by so many authors⁵, and, what is more, so consistent with the character of Solon, and so worthy of his wisdom and greatness of soul, for the sake of what are called chronological canons, which many learned men are to this day trying to set to rights, without being able to reduce their contradictions into any thing like agreement."

M. Fréret⁶, who disbelieves this interview, places it, supposing it to have occurred, towards the close of Solon's life; and he founds his conjecture upon the calculation of Phanias of Ephesus, who asserts⁷, that

⁶ Plato in Menone, vol. II. p. 96.

⁷ Etymol. Mag. p. 722.

⁸ Xenoph. Socr. Mem. I. vi. 13.

⁹ Kuster de Verbis Græcorum mediis, p. 131. Lips. 1752.

¹ Moschopul. περὶ Σχεδῶν, p. 10.

² Plato de Legibus, VI. vol. II. p. 772. [See also Wolf. in Prolegom. ad Demosth. Leptin. p. cxxvi.]

³ Herodotus violates it again in his

next sentence.

⁴ Plutarch. Vit. Parallel. vol. I. p. 3, B.

⁵ [Diodorus Siculus in the Fragments published by Ang. (now Cardinal) Mai (Nova Script. Vet. Collect. II. p. 14) attests the interview in question.]

⁶ Mém. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lett. tom. V. 277.

⁷ Plutarch. Vit. Parall. in Solone, p.

96.

this philosopher died somewhat less than two years after the commencement of the tyranny of Pisistratus. But why should he prefer the testimony of Phantias to that of Herodorus of Pontus, who, according to Plutarch himself⁸, affirms, that Solon lived many years after Pisistratus had seized on the sovereign power?

Solon witnessed the representation of at least the earlier pieces of Thespis; Plutarch distinctly asserts this. The *Alcestes* of Thespis was acted in the year 272 of the Attic era, as appears from the Oxford Marbles⁹, p. 27; which corresponds with the first year of the 61st Olympiad, or the year 536 before the vulgar era. It is very probable that this was not the first production of the poet, which is the opinion of Father Corsini¹; but when this learned man asserts that Plutarch proves that the earlier pieces of Thespis appeared before the tyranny of Pisistratus, because, as he makes that author say, Solon thought those pieces had excited the criminal ambition of Pisistratus, I am tempted to believe him in error; at least I find nothing in the text of that author to justify such an opinion².

The Oxford Marbles, p. 27, fix the taking of Sardes in the year 278, i. e. the third year of the 59th Olympiad, or the year 542 before the vulgar era, and the commencement of the reign of Cræsus in the year 292, which corresponds with the first year of the 56th Olympiad, or the year 556 before the vulgar era; which makes fourteen years, as Herodotus has it. (I. lxxxvi.)

Pisistratus seized on the sovereign power in the archontate of Comias, about January in the year 4154 of the Julian era, 560 years before our era, and the fourth year of the 54th Olympiad. I do not see how, according to these calculations, supported by the authority of Heraclides of Pontus, Diogenes Laërtius, and the Oxford Marbles, there can remain a doubt of the interview of Solon with Cræsus.

I cannot however deny that these calculations are founded on conjecture only, which, though possessing the highest probability, I should be sorry to be suspected of passing for incontestable truths.

The epoch of the death of Solon will always remain involved in obscurity; the authors who have spoken on this subject being much at variance with each other.

There is almost as much uncertainty as to the end of the reign of Cræsus, and consequently as to the year when he ascended the throne. The Chronicle of Paros, which has been referred to in the view of fixing the year when that prince was taken prisoner, throws no light whatever on the subject, the figures being partly effaced, and the editors having supplied the chasm only with their own conjectures. As to the commencement of his reign, this Chronicle is quite silent.

⁸ Plutarch. *ibid.* Diog. Laërt. in Solone.

⁹ The figures are partly effaced; the editor of the Marbles has put 273, on what authority I know not. I think, from

Suidas, that we should read 272.

¹ *Fast. Attic.* vol. III. p. 116.

² It is not Plutarch who says so, but Diogenes Laërtius, I. lx.

The Chronicle of Paros (epoch 36) mentions the year when Alyattes ascended the throne; but the beginning of the date is effaced, and the editors have supplied it from conjectures, which seem to me wholly without foundation. Indeed, if we place the commencement of the reign of Alyattes in the year 341, that will correspond with the 605th year before our era. If from this last number we subtract 71 years, the sum total of the reigns of Alyattes and Croesus, we shall have the year 534, that is, the 3rd year of the 61st Olympiad, for the date of the taking of Sardes; which is contradicted by all writers, and will neither accord with subsequent nor preceding events. The learned Father Petau³ places the commencement of this reign in the 2nd year of the 41st Olympiad; Eusebius differs from him. Among so many and such various opinions, how shall we decide? I fix the epoch when Croesus ascended the throne, in May in the year 4155 of the Julian era, which is the 1st year of the 55th Olympiad, and 559 years before our era. I make my calculation from the eclipse of the sun which terminated the war between Alyattes and Cyaxares, which happened on the 9th of July in the year 4117 of the Julian period, or 597 years before our era, and from other grounds.

I wish to add a few words respecting the Chronicle of Paros, which I have several times mentioned in this note⁴. It is to be found in the Oxford Marbles, 19th and following pages. This little digression will not be without its advantage to those persons for whose use this translation and these remarks were chiefly intended; who might otherwise be much at a loss to find the correspondence of the years of the Olympiads with the years preceding our common era.

The author of this Chronicle starts from a fixed epoch. He dates every event which he relates from the archontate of Astyanax in Paros, and that of Diognetes in Athens. That of Diognetes fell in the 1st year of the 129th Olympiad, or 264 years before our era. It is material to remark, that at that time the Athenian year began with the summer solstice, as did also the Parian year, and that the Archons entered on their office at that season.

³ Petav. de Doctr. Temp. vol. II. p. 304.

⁴ I was surprised to find on reading M. Dorigny's work on the Chronology of Egypt, that in speaking of the Marbles of Paros, (tom. I. p. 101, note,) he should have sought to perpetuate an odious suspicion against a man of letters, an Englishman by birth, who certainly does not merit it. The facts are these: A Mr. Peiresc had bought these Marbles for 50 louis-d'or, by the intervention of a Frenchman named Samson. The Turks, urged by avarice and mistrust, seized the Marbles, and threw Samson into prison. Some time afterwards, Mr. Petty, a man of letters, whom the Earl of Arundel had sent into Greece, to col-

lect monuments of antiquity, bought these same Marbles at a much higher price, and was fortunate enough to convey them to England. That is the whole truth of the story. Difference of country ought never to bias our judgment, and make us lose sight of natural justice. These Marbles were transported to England; but the civil war shortly after occurring, they were neglected, and indeed part of them used in repairing the Earl's house. The Duke of Norfolk, grandson of the Earl of Arundel by the mother's side, presented them, in the year 1667, to the University of Oxford.—See the Observations of M. Gibert on the Parian Marbles in the *Mém. de l'Acad. d. Inscr.* XXIII. p. 61.

With this key it is easy to clear up any difficulty which might arise from the last edition of the Marbles, in which the commentaries are omitted. Diognetes was archon in the year 264 before the Christian era. We have then but to add the year 264 to the date expressed in the Chronicle, and we shall have the year before Christ in which the event occurred. For example, the Alcestes of Thespis appeared in the year 272; add 264, and you will have 536, which is the year before the vulgar era in which this tragedy was represented.

58. Ἐπιστρεφέως. *With vivacity.* Herodotus has said (VIII. lxii.) λέγων μᾶλλον ἐπεστραμμένα, “speaking with more vehemence.” It is by thus comparing different passages of an author that we come to understand him.

59. Τοῦ βίου εὖ ἤκοντι, ὡς τὰ παρ’ ἡμῖν. *Being well off in the world, according to our mode of thinking.* The Abbé Geinoz has very satisfactorily proved⁵ that βίος here signifies wealth, or worldly goods. [It means “a livelihood,” and it is remarkable that it should occur twice in the same sentence, and in different senses. Further on, (xxxii.) we read, πολλοὶ δὲ μετρίως ἔχοντες βίου, εὐτυχέες, “Many who are ill off for a livelihood, are happy.”]

Though wealth does contribute to happiness, yet I am somewhat astonished that the ancient philosophers should have thought it impossible to be happy without it. Nevertheless, we find this sentiment in Theognis and a thousand other authors. Sophocles says, in his tragedy of Creusa⁶: “Men value nothing but riches: some think him happy who enjoys good health, but a poor man is never in good health; for, methinks, his state is that of perpetual disease.”

XXXI. 60. Τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν. *That their mother.* Hyginus⁷ four times names this priestess Cidippe (we should read Cydippe). Philargyrius⁸ calls her the same; and the name Cydippe is still found in an unedited epigram of the Anthologia, which was communicated to me by M. de la Rochette. I give it as it appears in the MS. of the Vatican, with that learned man’s corrections:

Οὐ ψευδὴς ὁδε μῦθος, ἀληθείη δὲ κέκασται,
Κυδίππης παίδων εὐσεβίη ’ς θυσίην.
Ἡδύχαρις γὰρ ἔην σκοπὸς ἀνδράσιν ὦριος οὗτος.
Μητρὸς ἐπ’ εὐσεβίῃ κλεινὸν ἔθεντο πόνον.
Χαίροιτ’ οὖν ἱεροῖσιν, ἐπ’ εὐσεβίῃ κλυτοὶ ἄνδρες,
Καὶ τὸν ἀπ’ αἰώνων μῦθον ἔχοιτε μόνοι.

“This is not a fabulous story; its truth is its greatest recommendation. It treats of the piety of the sons of Cydippe, and of their respect

⁵ Mém. de l’Acad. des Bell. Lett. p. 19.
XXIII. Hist. p. 111.

⁶ Stobæi Sentent. Serm. 89. p. 503.
See Fragments of Sophocles by Brunck,

⁷ Hygini Fabul. ccliv. pp. 363, 364.

⁸ Ad Virgilii Georg. III. 532.

for sacrifices. How grateful to their hearts was the object they had in view—that of arriving in time for the ceremony! The labour undertaken to gratify the piety of their mother has rendered them illustrious. Oh! may you derive happiness from our sacrifices, men so renowned for piety! and may you alone be the theme of discourse for ages!”

The history of Cleobis and Bito formed the subject of the 18th picture affixed to the columns of the temple raised at Cyzicus, in honour of Apollonis, mother of Attalus and Eumenes.

61. Ἐκκληϊόμενοι δὲ τῇ ὥρῃ οἱ νεηνίαι. *The young men being compelled by (the shortness of) the time.* [Ἐκκληϊόμενοι means literally *precluded* from any other course; having no alternative. It was absolutely necessary (ἔδεε πάντως) that the mother of Cleobis and Bito should be drawn to the temple in the carriage, but the cattle not having returned in time from the pasture, the young men, precluded from choice of measures, by want of time (ἐκκληϊόμενοι τῇ ὥρῃ), put their own shoulders in the yoke, and drew the carriage. Servius says⁹, that the oxen in Argolis were at that time destroyed by a pestilential disease. In favour of the reading ἐκκληϊόμενοι, M. Coray has the following note:—]

“ I add two very pointed passages; one is from Cicero¹: ‘ Sic illi a negotiis publicis, tanquam ab opere *aut temporibus exclusi*,’ &c. The other is from Cæsar²: ‘ Huc biduo pervenit: castris ante oppidum positis, *diei tempore exclusus*, in posterum obpugnationem differt.’ The author of the Book of Maccabees has employed the word συγκλείεσθαι in the same sense as Herodotus does ἐκκλείεσθαι ἀνέλυσαν ὑπὸ τῆς ὥρας συγκλειόμενοι. Ἦν γὰρ ἡ πρὸ τοῦ σαββάτου³. It may be added, that Herodotus employs ἐξέργεσθαι as synonymous with ἐκκλείεσθαι, in the sense of κωλύεσθαι, or βιάζεσθαι, ἀναγκάζεσθαι; as ἀναγκαίῃ ἐξέργομαι (VII. xcvi. and cxxxix.), and ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου ἐξεργόμενος (IX. cx.)” [Diodorus employs ἀποκλείεσθαι in the same sense⁴.]

Stobæus has preserved⁵ an ancient epigram, which says nothing more than what we have just seen in Herodotus: it deserves reading nevertheless, because it is of the good times.

62. Ἀργεῖοι δὲ σφῆων εἰκόνας ποιησάμενοι. *The Argives getting statues made of them.* There was at Argos, in the temple of Apollo Lycius, a statue of Bito, carrying a bull upon his shoulders. In the same temple was also a representation in marble of Cleobis and Bito drawing their mother on a car to the temple of Juno⁶.

XXXII. 63. Ἐπιστάμενόν με τὸ θεῖον πᾶν ἐὸν φθονερόν] *Knowing the jealousy of all that is divine.* The Abbé Geinoz, who has success-

⁹ Servius ad Virgil. Georg. III. ver. 532.

¹ De Orat. III. xv.

² Bell. Gall. VII. xi.

³ II. Macc. viii. 25, 26.

⁴ Diodor. II. xxvi.

⁵ Stob. CXIX. p. 603. Brunck, Analecta, III. Lect. et Emend. p. 274.

⁶ Pausan. II. xix, xx.

fully defended Herodotus against the greater part of the attacks of Plutarch⁷, has endeavoured to justify this passage; but I am not sure that he has here been so successful as in other points of his defence. The early Pagans had very inadequate notions of the Divinity. Hence the bitter complaints against the gods, with which Homer and the tragic poets abound. The philosophers apparently had juster conceptions. "Envy," says Plato⁸, "is not found amongst the gods:" a maxim which has been praised by Philo-Judæus, and Maximus of Tyre⁹. Plutarch had much sounder notions of the Divinity than the ancients in general. It is to be presumed that he derived them from the sacred writings, which were much circulated in his time. "God," says he¹, "is the author of all good, and from him do all good things proceed. We must not believe that he can do any evil, or feel any pain; for his nature is good, and what is good partakes not of envy, nor fear, nor anger, nor hate." But since men, and especially those of exalted station, are apt to forget in their prosperity that they are men, and like unto others; God is frequently obliged to remind them of their nature, by the troubles with which he afflicts them. Such is the language of Scripture. It is to be presumed that Herodotus thought in the same manner; for he elsewhere says, (VII. x.) "God delights to abase that which exalts itself . . . for he permits no one besides himself to be glorified and exalted." Plutarch was therefore wrong to reprove our historian².

64. Τοῦτερον τῶν ἐτέων μηνὶ μακρότερον γίνεσθαι. *That every other year be a month longer.* This is one of the most difficult passages in Herodotus. All the commentators and all the chronologists have exercised their ingenuity to the full stretch upon it. Solon fixes the life of man at seventy years, which, according to him, are 25,200 days, without reckoning an intercalary month. If this month be taken in every two years, we shall have thirty-five additional months for the seventy years, which, at thirty days each, will give 1050 days; and these numbers together make a total of 26,250 days.

If the first number be correct, the year must have comprised 360 days; but if the second number be likewise true, the year would contain 375 days, or ten days more than it ought to have: the seasons would, according to this calculation, soon cease to fall in fixed times of the year; and yet, according to Herodotus, it was to regulate the seasons, and prevent their confusion, that the intercalation was used.

[Wytttenbach³ summarily removed the difficulties of this passage by changing τοῦτερον into τοῦκτον, and making corresponding alterations in the numbers which follow, so that the intercalary month falling every

⁷ Mém. de l'Acad. des Inser. tom. XIX. Mém. p. 163, &c.

⁸ Plato in Phædro, vol. III. p. 247.

⁹ Philo, vol. II. p. 447.—Maxim. Tyr. Dissert. XLI. iii.

¹ Plutarch. Refut. Epicuri, p. 1102.

² Plutarch. de Malign. Herod. p. 857. See Dodwell, Dissert. Cyprian. pp. 32. 109.

³ Select. Princ. Hist. p. 348.

sixth instead of every alternate year, the length of the year should be 365 days. Larcher approved of this change of the text, and translated Herodotus in conformity with it.

But it is one thing to amend the calendar of the Greek historian, and another to restore or maintain his genuine text. The change of *τοῦτερον* into *τοῦκτον* is objectionable, not merely because it is unsupported by the authority of any MS., but still more, because it supposes Solon to have been acquainted with a cycle of six years, and a mode of amending the calendar based wholly on artificial years and months, which cycle and mode of calculation certainly never had existence. It is not merely a bold measure of emendatory criticism; it is also an unwarrantable interpolation in the history of science.

In early times the Greeks were guided in their calculation of time wholly by the observation of the heavenly bodies. It is now impossible to trace accurately the growth of the artificial system to which those simple observations may be presumed to have given birth. Homer's year is evidently the tropical year; he calls the moon *μήνη*, whence it may be at once inferred that he knew of no month but the lunar month⁴. Aratus describes the course of the lunar month⁵; and Hesiod speaks of the 30th day of the month in terms which show plainly that he knew the length of the synodic month to be not exactly thirty days⁶.

It was remarked of the Athenians, that they reckoned time by lunar months; *τὰς ἡμέρας κατὰ σελήνην ἄγειν*⁷. It can hardly be doubted that this system formed part of Solon's institutions. Plutarch ascribes to that legislator the improvement of the calendar⁸. It was he who gave to the last day of the month the name *ἐνὴ καὶ νέα*, "old and new," or rather "complete and new," a name calculated to connect indissolubly the civil month with the lunar revolution⁹. From his time therefore may be dated the succession of months consisting alternately of twenty-nine and thirty days, and giving a mean differing little from the period of a lunation or twenty-nine days and thirteen hours.

Since twelve lunar months make but 354 days, or $11\frac{1}{4}$ days less than the solar year, some contrivance was necessary to establish harmony between the lunar and solar revolutions. For this purpose an additional month was added to every alternate year, so as to give a mean year of $12\frac{1}{2}$ lunations, or $368\frac{3}{4}$ days, which is $3\frac{1}{2}$ days too much. This cycle was styled the Trieteris, which Censorinus¹ explains to mean a period of two years (*biennii circuitus et re verâ διετηρίς*) though called triennial, because it placed the intercalation at the beginning of the third year, or perhaps rather from a peculiarity of ancient Greek idiom in expressing intervals. At all events it is manifest that Herodotus, in

⁴ Iliad XIX. 374. XXIII. 455.

⁵ Phænom. 733.

⁶ Oper. et Dier. 392.

⁷ Diog. Laërt. I. 59.

⁸ Plut. in Sol. 25.—See also Proclus in Tim. Plat. I. 26.

⁹ Diog. Laërt. I. 57.

¹ Cens. de Die Genitali, xviii.

saying (II. iv.) that the Greeks intercalated a month *διὰ τρίτου ἔτεος*, alluded to the cycle called *τριετηρὶς*, and consequently meant to say that they added a month at the end of *every second year*, according to our idiom. This was the same thing as to say, that they added a month *τοῦτερον ἔτος*, *every other year*; so that so far our historian speaks consistently with himself, and with what we know of the Athenian calendar at that time in use.

The *τετραετηρὶς* appears to have been a cycle of four solar years, rendered complete by the addition of a day to four ordinary years of 365 days each. But how this period was adjusted with the lunar months we are not informed. It may be doubted whether this cycle ever came into common use: though mentioned by Censorinus, it is passed over in silence by Geminus². But its advantages belong also to the *Octaeteris* or cycle of eight years, which, as it comprehended ninety-nine lunations and six days, allowed of a nearer approach to accuracy in the arrangement of the artificial year. This was followed (87th Olymp. 432 B.C.) by the discovery of the Metonic cycle of nineteen years (*ἐννεακαιδεκαετηρὶς*), which brought the lunar and solar periods into almost perfect incidence.

But the Greeks in ordinary discourse took no account of fractions of time, and consequently the month was assumed to contain thirty instead of twenty-nine and a half days; the year also, in popular language, was reckoned at 360 days; the convenience of a general expression, in round numbers, counterbalancing its inexactness³. This mode of speaking was used even by philosophers of a well-informed age; Aristotle reckons seventy-two days to a fifth of a year, sixty days to a sixth⁴. Nine months and ten days, according to Hippocrates, make 280 days⁵. This language appears to have misled Pliny, who thought that in the time of Demetrius Phalereus (117th Olymp.) the year of the Greeks still consisted of only 360 days⁶.

It is not surprising that Herodotus should make Solon address Cræsus in popular instead of technical language, and assign the lengths of the year and month in round numbers. The historian also correctly represents the intercalation then in use, but he certainly errs grievously by amplification, when he proceeds to compute with such inaccurate elements. We may reasonably believe, however, that in his time little importance was attached to inaccuracies of that kind, which did not affect the argument in hand. It is remarkable that this inaccuracy of Herodotus was copied long after by a writer who is generally exact; for Geminus⁷ says, that "the ancients, reckoning thirty days to the month, added a month every other year;" *Οἱ μὲν ἀρχαῖοι τοὺς μῆνας τριακονθημέρους ἦγον, τοὺς δὲ ἐμβολίμους παρ' ἐνιαυτόν.*

² Ideler's *Handbuch der Technische Chronologie*, I. p. 274.

³ Diog. Laërt. I. 91.—Stobæus, I. p. 240.

⁴ Arist. Hist. Anim. VI. 20.

⁵ Hippocr. de Carnibus, p. 254.

⁶ Hist. Nat. XXXIV. 12.

⁷ Elem. Astron. Lugd. B. 1603. p. 128.

As it cannot be admitted that Solon spoke of an intercalation every sixth year, so neither can Pontedera's supposition be allowed, that the year referred to was the Lydian year⁸. For what could be more absurd than to apply the intercalation of one calendar to the year of another; and would not the seasons run equally into confusion with an artificial year of 375 days, whether Greek or Lydian?

It is worthy of remark that the name *τριετηρίς* was given to a cycle of only two years (re verâ *διετηρίς*); in like manner the *τετραετηρίς*, or cycle of four years, was originally named *πενταετηρίς* "quod quinto quoque anno redibat," and the *ὀκταετηρίς* bore the title of a nine years' cycle (quæ tunc *ἐννεαετηρίς* vocitata). These expressions seem to point out an early Greek idiom hitherto unnoticed. If it be once admitted that *διὰ τρίτου ἔτεος* means every second year, a great many passages in Herodotus will receive a new sense in consequence. The assertion of Ideler, that according to Latin idiom *tertio quoque anno* signifies every second year, seems hardly defensible⁹.]

66. Πᾶν ἐστὶ ἄνθρωπος συμφορῇ. *Man is all accident.* [Wesseling translates *συμφορῇ* by "misfortune;" but Larcher contends that it means "accident," and he is so far right, but he ought to have acknowledged that it means "accident" taken in an unfavourable sense. The expression *συμφορῇ* is never applied to a turn of good fortune. The language of Herodotus is stronger, therefore, than that of Plutarch, who renders *συμφορῇ* by *τύχη*, in the conversation of Solon and Cræsus¹; ἢ τύχαις ὁρῶσα παντοδαπαῖς χρώμενον αἰεὶ τὸν βίον, "seeing that life is subject to all kinds of vicissitude." The meaning of Herodotus is aptly illustrated by a sentence of Plato², τύχας εἶναι σχεδὸν ἅπαντα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα πράγματα. "All human affairs are little else than chance." The latter writer in the same passage has *τύχαι δὲ καὶ συμφοραὶ*, which mean, as our liturgy expresses it, "the changes and chances of this mortal life."]

67. Ὀλβιος. *Happy.* Ὀλβιος signifies, "he who is happy all his life, who enjoys uninterrupted happiness." Ὁ διὰ τοῦ ὅλου βίου μακαριστὸς, says Hesychius under the word Ὀλβιος. [No attention is due to this puerile etymology. If it were correct, the epithet Ὀλβιος could be justly applied only to the dead. Ὀλβιος is derived from ὄλβος, a term which is justly applicable, as Solon explains, only to stable felicity; yet it is no solecism to apply it where stability is wanting. A little further on, Herodotus says, πολλοῖσι γὰρ δὴ ὑποδέξας ὄλβον ὁ θεὸς, προῤῥίζουσ ἀνέτρεψε. "Many after receiving felicity from God, have been utterly cast down by him;" and he makes (lxxxvi.) Cræsus, on the pile, recal to mind the Athenian philosopher, who with all the felicity of the Lydian king before his eyes, θεησάμενος πάντα τὸν ἑωυτοῦ ὄλβον, thought little of it.]

68. Πρὶν δ' ἂν τελευτήσῃ. *Before he shall have met his end.* So-

⁸ Antiq. Gr. et Lat. p. 176.

⁹ Handbuch d. Techn. Chr. I. p. 270.

¹ Plut. in Solone, p. 94, B.

² Plat. de Leg. IV. p. 709.

phocles has paraphrased this sentence of Solon in his *Œdipus Tyrannus*: he ends the piece by these verses, which he puts into the mouth of the Chorus:

“Ὡστε θνητὸν ὄντ’, ἐκείνην τὴν τελευταίαν ἰδεῖν
Ἡμέραν ἐπισκοποῦντα, μηδέν’ ὀλβίζειν, πρὶν ἂν
Τέρμα τοῦ βίου περάσῃ, μηδὲν ἀλγεινὸν παθῶν.

“Fix your views upon the latter days of life, and give to no mortal the title of happy, before he shall have finished his career, without experiencing misfortunes.”

This maxim was so much to the taste of the Greeks, that it is found in all their authors³. Aristotle lays it open completely, and after most triumphantly refuting it, he proves that happiness can consist only in virtue⁴.

XXXIV. 69. Τῶν οὐτερος μὲν διέφθαρτο, ἦν γὰρ δὴ κωφός. *One of whom had an infirmity, for he was dumb.* The Greek word properly signifies “dumb,” κοφθεὶς καὶ ἀφαιρεθεὶς τὴν ὄπα. The ancients have always used it in this sense. Homer applies it only to inanimate objects that yield no sound. Pindar also uses it for dumb⁵:

Κωφὸς ἀνὴρ τις, ὃς Ἡ-
ρακλεῖ στόμα μὴ παραβάλλει.

“He must be dumb who sings not the praise of Hercules.”

When the Pythian oracle answers Cræsus, it says⁶,

Καὶ κωφοῦ συνίημι, καὶ οὐ φωνεῦντος ἀκούω.

“I understand the dumb; and I hear him who speaketh not.”

As dumbness, however, is frequently a consequence of the want of the sense of hearing, the word κωφός came to be used to signify the latter privation⁷. But Herodotus, who is a very ancient writer, always takes it in the first sense. It might be imagined that he gave it likewise the second, because in the thirty-eighth paragraph he seems to explain κωφὸν by διεφθαρμένον τὴν ἀκοήν; but I rather think that these latter words τὴν ἀκοήν have been added by a copyist, who did not know the real meaning of κωφός. And I am the more persuaded of this, as in the eighty-fifth paragraph it is three times mentioned that the son of Cræsus was dumb, ἄφωνος, that Cræsus made every effort in his power to get him cured, and that at length he had recourse to the Oracle of Delphi, praying that it would untie the tongue of his son. If this young prince had been deaf also, why should not Cræsus have mentioned it in this place, and why does he not beg of the Oracle to restore his son to hearing likewise? Libanius has also taken this word in the same sense, when he says⁸, Πάντες ἄνθρωποι ἀτυχοῦντές εἰσι λαλίστε-

³ Euripides, *Androm.* 99.

⁴ *Ethic. Nicomach.* I. x.

⁵ Pindar. *Pythic. Od.* ix. 151.

⁶ Herod. I. xlvii.

⁷ Eustath. ad Hom. *Odyss.* V. 58.

⁸ Villosion, *Anecd. Græc.* II. p. 13.

ροι· καὶ τὸν γε Κροίσου τοῦ Λυδοῦ παῖδά φασι κωφὸν ὄντα πρότερον, ῥῆξαι τὴν φωνὴν ἐν τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς συμφορᾷ. "All men like to talk under misfortune; and they say that the son of Crœsus the Lydian, who was previously dumb, cried out at the misfortune of his father." Aulus Gellius⁹, who has here translated Herodotus, contents himself with saying, that the prince was dumb, without mentioning his deafness: Maximus Tyrius, on the other hand, speaks of his deafness and not of his dumbness¹. [Larcher was unwilling to believe that the son of Crœsus was deaf as well as dumb, because since the deaf and dumb cannot speak without previous instruction, the cure related by Herodotus would be naturally impossible. But is it not equally certain, that one deprived of speech by any organic malformation, would be unable, on the removal of the hindrance, to articulate or use language without some previous exercise and training of his organs? The story of tongue-tied persons acquiring the use of speech, from the impulse of strong emotion, is popular in all countries, but such a fact is unknown to medical experience. If in the case of the Lydian prince we reject the miracle, no difficulty remains; he was deaf and dumb.]

XXXV. 70. Παρελθὼν δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὰ Κροίσου οἰκία, κατὰ νόμους τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους καθαρσίῳ ἐδέετο κυρῆσαι. *He, coming into the dwelling of Crœsus, according to the laws of the country, begged to obtain purification.* Eustathius says², that it was a custom among the ancients for him who committed an involuntary murder to fly from his country and retire into the house of a rich man; that there sitting down, with his head covered, he entreated him to purify him. No writer has described more at length or more correctly the ceremonies observed in expiations than Apollonius Rhodius³. The criminal sat in silence by the fire-place, his eyes cast down, and thrust the instrument of the murder into the earth. He of whom protection was asked, knew by these signs that he begged to be purified from a murder. Then he took a young sucking-pig, killed it, and rubbed the hands of the suppliant with its blood. He then used the lustral water, invoking the name of Jupiter Expiator. Every thing used in the expiation was taken out of the house. He then burned certain cakes, pouring forth water and invoking the gods to appease the anger of the furies, and to propitiate Jupiter.

71. Ἐπίστιος. *At the hearth.* The Greek phrase is an Ionism for ἐφ' ἐστίος. The Scholiast of Apollonius Rhodius explains it very clearly⁴, ἐπὶ τῇ ἐστίᾳ ὦν, "who keeps near the fire-place," that is to say, a suppliant.

We see in Homer a very decided example of this custom. Ulysses,

⁹ Aul. Gellii Noct. Attic. V. ix.

¹ Maxim. Tyr. Dissert. XL. p. 479. or Dissert. XXIV. p. 250. edit. Varior.

² Ad Iliad. XXIV. 480.—See also

Euripides, Orest. 511.

³ Apoll. Rhod. IV. 690, & seq.

⁴ Scholiast. Apoll. Rhod. IV. 747.

after imploring the succour of Alcinous and of Aretæus, sits down upon the cinders close to the fire-place⁵. Themistocles, in the same manner⁶, disarms the anger of Admetus, king of the Molossi.

72. Γορδῖέω μὲν τοῦ Μίδεω εἰμι παῖς. *I am the son of Gordias, the son of Midas.* It should seem, says Wesseling, that Midas, the father of Gordias, is the same that Herodotus has already mentioned (xiv). Chronology contradicts this. The latter reigned in Phrygia, some time before Gyges filled the throne of Lydia. The illustrious and learned president Bouhier⁷ has very satisfactorily proved that there had been in Phrygia several kings named Midas and Gordias: and this repetition of the same name has not a little contributed to perplex chronologists. The Gordias mentioned here was tributary to Cræsus, this prince having subdued the Phrygians, as we have seen above (xxviii).

XXXVI. 73. Ὅς τὰ ἔργα διαφθείρει. *Which ravages the cultivated fields.* Ἔργα means not only the harvest, but the vines, trees, in short all that forms the labour and produce of the country. Xenophon says, ἔργων ἐπίστασις⁸, "the care, the inspection of agriculture;" which has been ill rendered by "operum cognitio." Ἐργάται and ἐργαστῆρες⁹ are "agriculturists, cultivators," and ought not to be translated by "operarii," or "operas facientes," (labourers) as the translator has it.

XXXVII. 74. Νῦν τε τεοῖσί με χρὴ ὄμμασι φαίνεσθαι; *With what eyes will people look on me?* [Or, what must they now think of me? The sense of φαίνεσθαι is very positive; that verb means not merely to seem, to appear, but to be thoroughly seen, to be deemed: so above (xxxii) we read, ἐμοὶ δὲ σὺ καὶ πλουτέειν μὲν μέγα φαίναι, "I plainly see that you are very rich;" and in xxvii. also μοι φαίναι implies the absence of doubt.] There is another turn of expression sometimes used by the Greeks in the like case¹. Τίσι δ' ὀφθαλμοῖς, πρὸς Διὸς, ἑωρῶμεν ἂν τοὺς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀνθρώπους ἀφικνουμένους; "If we had abandoned, without giving battle, those things for which our ancestors would have braved every danger, with what eyes, in the name of Jupiter, could we look upon the people visiting the city?" [How could we look people in the face?]

XLI. 75. Ἐγὼ σε συμφορῇ πεπληγμένον ἀχάρι, ἐκάθηρα. *When you were involved in the consequences of an untoward accident, I absolved you.* [Συμφορῇ ἀχάρι is translated by Larcher, "disagreeable misfortune," and he adds, that this expression exemplifies the figure called by grammarians λιτότης, which exaggerates by appearing to depreciate. But it is manifest, from the passages which he quotes for illustration, that he did not understand his author. Πεπληγμένον signifies smitten (we

⁵ Homer, *Odyss.* VII. 153.

⁶ Plut. in Themist. p. 124, A.

⁷ Recherches et Dissertations sur Hérodote, p. 78, &c.

⁸ Xenoph. *Socr. Mem.* I. v. 2.

⁹ Xenoph. *Æcon.* IV. ix, xiii. 10.

¹ Demosth. *Orat. pro Coronâ*, p. 174.

have elsewhere ἐχόμενος²) by συμφορῇ, which may be here rendered "misfortune." Ἀχαρις (from which the Ionians made in the dative ἀχάρι³) means untoward, unseemly. The grace and beauty of the whole sentence lies chiefly in the extreme delicacy (of which indeed many examples may be found in Greek phraseology) with which Cræsus reminds Adrastus of the dreadful deed, from the legal consequences of which he had absolved him. There is no exaggeration here, nor occasion for it; but, on the contrary, there is the restrained language becoming the person, who, in the exercise of a solemn and religious duty, had washed out the stain of the crime alluded to, and who lays claim to the gratitude of him whom he addresses.]

XLIV. 76. Ἐπίστιόν τε καὶ ἑταιρήιον—θεόν. *As the tutelary deity of hospitality and of friendship.* Jupiter was worshipped under various names, according to the situation and circumstances under which his authority was appealed to. Hence the expressions, Ἀγοραῖος Ζεὺς, Μειλίχιος, Ἰκέσιος, Ἐφέστιος, Φίλιος⁴, &c. [The epithets of Jupiter are given by Creutzer in his Meletemata Critica, p. 17, from a MS. in the Vatican, together with copious references to the authors who use them.]

XLV. 77. Τὸν καθήραντα ἀπολωλεκώς. *Destroying the person who had absolved him.* [A difficulty is here started by Larcher, inasmuch as it is stated above (xxxv) that Adrastus was absolved or purified by Cræsus; whereas it would appear from these words that he had received that service from the king's son. But to this it may be replied, that the expression ἀπολωλεκώς, "having ruined or undone," might be applied to Cræsus, whose son was destroyed; and still further that the services rendered by the father might well be imputed to the son, in addressing Adrastus, whose gratitude was due not merely to the individual who absolved him, but to that individual's house and family.]

78. Εἷς δὲ οὐ σύ μοι τοῦδε τοῦ κακοῦ αἴτιος. *It is not you who have caused me this ill.* "Confession of faults," says Hermogenes⁵, "appeases anger, and is a good defence. Homer taught this, and Herodotus has imitated him. Helen, for example, was the cause of all the evils that befel the Greeks and the Trojans, and especially the latter. What does she do when in conversation with a Trojan? she confesses her fault, and becomes her own accuser. This confession answers the purpose of a defence, appeases anger, and excites commiseration. Old Priam, who hated her, forced to change this sentiment, and himself touched with compassion, answers her⁶: 'You are not the cause of these evils, the gods alone are the authors of them.' In Herodotus,

² Herod. I. xxxv.

³ Buttmann's Gram. § 51. obs. 3.

⁴ See Schol. Aristoph. Equit. 498.—
Schol. Eurip. Hecub. 345.

⁵ Hermogen. περὶ Μεθόδου δεινότητος,
p. 158.

⁶ Homer, Iliad III. 164.

Cræsus loads Adrastus with benefits, purifies him from a murder, and sends him to the chase with his son, that he may watch over his safety. Adrastus kills Atys. Cræsus is indignant. The murderer gives himself up, condemns himself, and begs of the unfortunate father to order his death. Cræsus, moved with compassion, answers him nearly in the words of Priam in Homer: 'You are not the author of this murder, I impute it to the god who foretold it to me.'"

Diodorus relates¹ that Cræsus, in the first transport of his grief and indignation, threatened to burn Adrastus alive.

XLVI. 79. Τοὺς μὲν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἰέναι, τοὺς δὲ ἐς Ἀβας τὰς Φωκέων, τοὺς δὲ ἐς Δωδώνην· οἱ δὲ τινες ἐπέμποντο παρά τε Ἀμφιάρεων καὶ παρὰ Τροφώνιον· οἱ δὲ, τῆς Μιλησίης ἐς Βραγχίδας. *Some were sent to Delphi, some to Abæ in Phocis, and some to Dodona; others again were despatched to the shrines of Amphiaraus and Trophonius, and others to Branchidæ in the territory of Miletus.* The Oracle of Delphi is well known. I shall mention those of Abæ and of Trophonius in the notes on VIII. cxxxiv. For that of Dodona, the reader may consult Herodotus, II. lii, liv, lv. and the note on this last chapter. Respecting the temple of the Branchidæ, see the note on V. xxxvi.

Amphiaraus was the son of Œcleus², and great-grandson of Melampus. He had no suspicion that he was a prophet; when having one day entered a house at Phlius³, and having passed the night there, he immediately grew inspired. From that time the house was shut up. It is known that he was betrayed by his wife Eriphyla, and that being pursued by the Thebans⁴, he was swallowed up together with his chariot, about twelve stadia from the town of Oropus; though some authors assert, that this befel him on the road from Thebes to Chalcis, at a place which was named from it Ἀρμα, a chariot. Strabo tells⁵ the same story; but Stephanus of Byzantium⁶, and Eustathius⁷, give another version of it: viz. that Amphiaraus having taken refuge, with his chariot, in a certain part of Bœotia, the inhabitants would not give him up to the Thebans, and that the place from that circumstance was called Harma, a chariot.

The Oropians raised a temple to him, in which they placed his statue, of white marble. A ram was sacrificed to him, after which the votaries lay down to sleep on the skin of the victim, and there awaited such dreams as it should please the hero to send them⁸.

A part of the altar of Amphiaraus was consecrated to his son Amphiloehus. Livy speaks of the temple of the latter hero, without naming Amphiaraus⁹: "inde Oropum Atticæ ventum est; ubi pro deo vates

¹ Diod. Sic. Excerpt. de Virt. et Vit. II. p. 553.

² Pausan. VI. xvii. p. 494.

³ Id. II. xiii. p. 141.

⁴ Id. I. xxxiv. p. 83, 84.

⁵ Strab. Geograph. IX. p. 619, B.

⁶ Stephan. Byzant. voc. Ἀρμα.

⁷ Eustath. ad Iliad. B. p. 206.

⁸ Pausan. I. xxiv. pp. 83, 84.

⁹ Tit. Liv. XLV. xxvii.—See Herodotus VIII. cxxxiv. note on III. xci.

Amphilochus colitur ; templumque vetustum est, fontibus rivisque circa amœnum."

XLVII. 80. 'Απ' ἧς ἂν ἡμέρας ὀρμεθέωσι ἐκ Σαρδίων, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἡμερολογέοντας τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον, ἑκατοστῇ ἡμέρῃ χρῆσθαι τοῖσι χρηστηρίοισι. *Reckoning the time from the day of their leaving Sardes, they were to consult the oracles on the hundredth day.* This passage, corrupted in all the editions of Herodotus, had given rise to a thousand conjectures. Stephen Bergler¹ clearly perceived that in the words ἑκαστος τῇ was concealed the day on which the god should be consulted, and restored it in the most satisfactory manner, by suppressing a single letter, and reading in one word ἑκατοστῇ.

[Bergler's correction is now universally adopted ; yet the MSS. are all against it ; for they have either ἑκαστος τῇ or ἑκαστον τῇ ; and it is worthy of remark, that by the insertion of μιῇ between τῇ and ἡμέρῃ, the sense may be restored in a more simple and natural manner, than is effected by Bergler's alteration. The passage will then run thus : Cræsus ordered his messengers, "keeping an account of the time from the day on which they left Sardes, to consult the oracles, each on the same day (ἑκαστος τῇ μιῇ ἡμέρῃ)." "ἑκαστος is liable to objection as being ungrammatical ; but considering the change of number in that word, such an anacoluthon does not ill accord with our historian's style, though, perhaps, it would be better to read ἑκαστον. If Herodotus had written ἑκατοστῇ, would he not have said further on, that Cræsus boiled the lamb and tortoise on the hundredth day, instead of using the general expression, appointed day?]

81. 'Οδμή μ' ἐς φρένας ἦλθε. *The odour reached my senses.* I cannot bring myself to think with M. Rollin², "that God, to punish the blindness of the pagans, sometimes permitted dæmons to give them answers conformable to the truth." Had the dæmon who gave the oracles at Delphi more sagacity, or a more delicately organized smell, than those of Ammon, of Dodona, of Abæ in Phocis, and of the Branchidæ ? Cicero appears to me to have more reason on his side, when he says³ : "Cur autem hoc credam unquam editum Cræso ? aut Herodotum cur veraciorem ducam Ennio ? num minus potuit ille de Cræso, quam de Pyrrho fingere Ennius ?" Yet do I not think that Herodotus invented this story. He found it established in popular belief, because it was in conformity with the superstition of the country. It is with regret we find this learned and judicious historian infected so deeply with this infirmity, and thus paying a tribute rather to the weakness of his nation than to that of the age in which he lived. This evil was always epidemic amongst the Greeks, and exercised an influence almost as potent over men of condition as over the multitude, over the philo-

¹ Acta Eruditor. ann. 1716. p. 421.

³ Cic. de Divinat. II. lvi.

² Hist. Ancienne, vol. I. p. 387.

sophers as over the ignorant. Xenophon, a great philosopher, and a greater captain, consulted the entrails of victims, not in public, from conformity to popular usage, but alone, and for the purpose of regulating his conduct. And Plutarch, the judicious Plutarch, does he not, on a hundred occasions, appear as credulous as an old woman?

Lucian agreeably rallies the Delphian deity⁴. "It was very well of Apollo to have a delicate sense of smelling, or Cræsus would certainly have laughed at him."

XLVIII. 82. Τε καὶ προσεδέξατο. *And adored it.* [This adoration or salutation appears to have consisted in uttering some reverential or propitiatory words.]

While Xenophon was exhorting his soldiers to defend themselves bravely, some one happened to sneeze, and the soldiers, with one accord, adored the god⁵. Aristophanes, who never let slip an opportunity for a joke, makes the pork-butcher, in the comedy of the Knights, say⁶: "hæc meditantī mihi a dextra pepedit cinædus quidam, et ego adoravi."

L. 83. Κτήνέα τε γὰρ τὰ θύσιμα πάντα. *Victims and sacrifices of all kinds.* We must render πάντα by ἐκάστου γένους, of each species. We find a similar phrase in IX. lxxx. Πανσανίη δὲ πάντα δέκα ἐξαιρέθη, "they chose for Pausanias ten of all kinds." Thyus⁷, king of the Paphlagonians, caused to be served up at his repast ἑκατὸν πάντα, which must be translated, "a hundred of all sorts," and not "a hundred in all." The expression of Homer⁸, οἱ δ' ἐννέα πάντες ἀνέστην, is very different; it signifies, they rose up, nine in all,—that is to say, no less than nine. In this sense Cicero uses the expressions "decem ipsos dies," and "annis octoginta ipsis⁹."

This astonishing profusion was characteristic of the genius of these religious people. Theodoretus¹ reproached the Greeks for their hecatombs and chiliombs, i. e. their sacrifices of 100 and of 1000 oxen. He doubtless did not recollect that at the dedicatory feast of the temple at Jerusalem, Solomon² sacrificed 22,000 oxen and 120,000 sheep, a number which would appear incredible, if it were not asserted in the inspired writings.

84. Καταχεάμενος χρυσὸν ἄπλετον, ἡμιπλίνθια ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐξήλαυνε· ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ μακρότερα, ποιέων ἐξαπάλαιστα· ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ βραχύτερα, τριπάλαιστα· ὕψος δὲ, παλαιστιαιᾶ· ἀριθμὸν δὲ, ἑπτακαίδεκα καὶ ἑκατόν. *Causing an immense quantity of gold to be melted down, he had it beaten into ingots; the longer, of six palms; the shorter, of three palms;*

⁴ Lucian, Bis Accusat. i. vol. II. p. 793.

⁵ Xenoph. Anab. III. ii. 5.

⁶ Aristoph. Equit. 638.

⁷ Athen. Deipnosoph. IV. x.—Cornelius Nepos (in Datame, XIV. ii.) relates an anecdote exhibiting the luxurious

habits of Thyus.

⁸ Homeri Iliad. VII. 161.

⁹ See Ernesti, Clav. Cic. v. Ipse.

¹ Theodoret. Orat. vii. ad Græcos, p. 104.

² 1 Kings viii. 63.

in height, one palm; their number, a hundred and seventeen. This passage appearing to me sufficiently easy, I should not have noticed it, had not the Abbé Barthélemy, a man of uncommon erudition, shortly after my translation appeared, raised a difficulty, which I ought not to pass over in silence. This learned man thinks that Herodotus meant to speak of the three dimensions of these demi-plinths; of their length, ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ μακρότερα, of their breadth, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ βραχύτερα, and of their thickness, ὕψος δέ. If we admit this explanation, we must translate: "Cræsus caused to be made 117 demi-plinths of gold, which were six palms in length, three in width, and one in thickness."

These 117 demi-plinths being equal in length, breadth, and thickness, it is evident that those of fine gold must weigh heavier than those of pale gold, that is, gold which contains an alloy. And yet the contrary is the case; for Herodotus adds: "There were four of fine gold, of the weight of a talent and a half; the others were of pale gold, and weighed two talents." By adopting the explanation of the learned Abbé, we must come to the conclusion, that Herodotus thought that the demi-plinths of fine gold weighed less than those of gold that had an alloy, though both were of the same dimensions. It is difficult for us to believe that Herodotus did not know gold to be the heaviest of all metals.

85. Καὶ τουτέων, ἀπέφθον χρυσοῦ τέσσαρα. *And of these, four of fine gold.* This translation is somewhat ambiguous, as we may understand by it, either that the gold was fine in its nature, or that it had been refined by fire or some other process. Herodotus has used the term ἀπεφθοῦς in the first sense. The Greeks expressed the same idea also by the words ἄπυρος, αὐτοφνής.

[It is not easy to understand how a word implying unrefined or untouched by fire should come to signify fine in its nature. Though Larcher is supported in his interpretation of ἀπεφθοῦς by Saumaise³ and Niclas⁴, yet the preponderance of authority is against him. Ἀπεφθοῦς is compounded of ἀπὸ and ἐφθός, and signifies, thoroughly refined or purged with fire (percoctus); it, is in fact, said for euphony instead of ἀφέφθοῦς⁵. Boiled water is called ὕδωρ ἀπεφθον in a verse quoted by Athenæus⁶. The participle ἀφεψηθεὶς is applied to refined gold by Strabo⁷. The words ἀνέψητος and ἀνεφθοῦς, on the other hand, are used in the sense of crude, or unrefined⁸.]

86. Τρία ἡμιτάλαντα ἕκαστον ἔλκοντα. *Each weighing a talent and a half.* The Abbé Geinoz⁹ has ably proved that τρία ἡμιτάλαντα are three half-talents, or in other words a talent and a half, and ἑβδόμον ἡμιτάλαντον six talents and a half: on which he cites a passage from

³ Exercit. ad Solinum, p. 757.

⁴ Not. ad Aristot. de Mir. Ausc. xlv.

⁵ Locella in Eckhel, Doctr. Num. Vet. I. p. xxiii.

⁶ Athen. Deipn. III. p. 122.

⁷ Strab. IV. p. 319.

⁸ Geoponic. x. 67.—Xenocr. de Alim. in Fabr. Bibl. Gr. IX. 465.

⁹ Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. tom. XXIII. Hist. pp. 114, 115.

the 9th book of Julius Pollux, wherein that author explains this mode of calculation.

There is then a great difference between *τρία ἡμιτάλαντα* and *τρίτον ἡμιτάλαντον* : the first means a talent and a half; the second two talents and a half. This mode of expression is not peculiar to Herodotus; many examples of it are to be found in other writers, even amongst the Latins. When the Greeks demanded of Cyrus an increase of pay, he promised them *ἡμιόλιον πᾶσι δώσειν, οὗ πρότερον ἔφερον, ἀντὶ δαρεικοῦ τρία ἡμιδαιρικὰ τοῦ μηνὸς τῷ στρατιώτῃ*, "half as much again as they had before, that is to say, a daric and a half a month per man, instead of a daric¹." Festus says, in like manner: "sestertium, id est², duos asses et semissem tertium." Volusius Mæcianus thus expresses himself³: "Sestertius duos asses et semissem, quasi semis tertius, Græcâ figurâ, ἑβδομον ἡμιτάλαντον. Nam sex talenta et semitalentum eo verbo significantur. Lex etiam XII. tabularum argumento est, in quâ duo pedes et semis sestertius pes vocatur."

[This entire passage of Herodotus respecting the size and weight of the golden plinths, or ingots, presents difficulties which the translators and editors of Herodotus have all felt, without perhaps fully comprehending them. The Abbé Barthélemy supposed the historian, as above stated, to describe the three dimensions of the plinths, or hemiplinths, as they are here called. According to this interpretation, therefore, the hemiplinths were all of one size, and consequently there arises a difficulty in the next sentence, which represents the hemiplinths of purest gold, as being lighter than those of alloyed gold.

To get rid of this incongruity, Larcher rejected the Abbé's mode of interpretation, and assumed the words *μακρότερα* and *βραχύτερα* to refer not to two dimensions of the hemiplinth, but to two different sizes of hemiplinth, so that the hemiplinths of fine gold being supposed to be of the less size, the difficulty alluded to vanished at once; and the larger ingots, only one third heavier than the less, while double the size of the latter, would seem to have lost one-third of their weight by alloy. But it must be confessed, that the construction thus forced on the historian makes him speak if not incoherently, at least with a very odd choice of details: such as stating, to no purpose, two dimensions of a solid, and distinguishing the ingots into greater and less, without mentioning the number of each size.

This explanation failed to satisfy Schweighäuser, who being bent on rendering grammatical justice to his author, interpreted him in the same manner as Barthélemy had done; and, in order to elude the difficulty pointed out by Larcher, he changed *τρία ἡμιτάλαντα* into *τρίτον ἡμιτάλαντον*, so that the hemiplinths of pure gold, increased to $2\frac{1}{2}$ talents, should outweigh those of the alloyed metal. This reading has been adopted by all subsequent editors. Baehr adopts it, without perceiving

¹ Xen. Anab. I. iii. 21.

voc. *Trientem*.

² Sext. Pomp. Festus de Verb. Sign.

³ De Asse, in Cod. Theod.

its only recommendation to be, that it harmonizes with a construction of the preceding sentence of which he disapproves. Gaisford may be presumed to follow consistently Schweighäuser's interpretation throughout. Arbitrary emendations in the text of an ancient writer can be thought tolerable only when they have the effect of giving sense to the context. But does the emendation in question restore an unobjectionable sense? This point may be easily decided.

The *παλαιστή* was equal to 3.036 English inches⁴; rejecting, however, the minute fraction, we may reckon it at three inches, and then the golden hemiplinths of Cræsus, being 18 inches in length, 9 in breadth, according to Schweighäuser, and 3 in height, must have contained 486 cubic inches. Now, assuming that a cubic inch of water weighs 252.5 grains, and that the specific gravity of gold is 19.33, the weight of one of those hemiplinths must have been 411 lbs., omitting fractions, or $5\frac{6}{7}$ talents in weight, instead of $2\frac{1}{2}$. This absurd consequence, which did not escape the notice of Wurms⁵, shows to how little purpose the text has been altered. The interpretation offered by Larcher, is after all, that which is the least clogged with difficulty, and is therefore entitled to the preference of those who think that, in reading an ancient author, we are justified in suspecting the genuineness of whatever is inaccurate. But with regard to the relative heaviness of pure gold, Herodotus could have had but vague notions at the best. Two centuries and a half elapsed after his time, before Archimedes discovered the means of ascertaining the specific gravity of bodies⁶.]

87. *Λέοντος εἰκόνα χρυσοῦ ἀπέφθου.* *A figure of a lion of refined gold.* These plinths, this lion, and the statue of the female baker, or bread-maker, of Cræsus, which is mentioned at the end of the next paragraph, were subsequently pillaged by the Phocidians, who, to maintain the sacred war, employed the riches which superstition had for ages back accumulated in the temple at Delphi⁷.

88. *Ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ.* *In the treasury of the Corinthians.* The Corinthians, as well as many other people, had their treasure and their chapel in the temple at Delphi. Cypselus⁸, tyrant of Corinth, had caused it to be constructed. After the overthrow of the tyranny, the Corinthians, with the consent of the Delphians, took possession of the chapel and of the treasure, and affixed to them an inscription bearing the name of their city.

LI. 89. *Θεοφανίοισι.* *At the festival called Theophania.* Valckenaer⁹ suspects that the Christian festival called Theophania (the Nativity of Christ) being better known to the copyists of Herodotus than the Theoxenia, they have confounded one with the other; and what

⁴ Böckh, *Metrol. Untersuch.* p. 198.

⁵ De Pond. *Num. Ration.* p. 49.

⁶ Vitruvius, IX. iii.

⁷ Diodor. *Sicul.* XVI. lvi.

⁸ Plutarch. *de Pythiæ Oraculis*, p. 400, D, E.

⁹ Valckenaer, in *Not. ad Herodot. I.* li.—See Suidas, voc. *Θεοφάνεια*.

convinces him that he is correct is, that the Theoxenia¹ were celebrated at Delphi in honour of Apollo², and that the month which the Delphians called Theoxenius³ must have derived its name from that festival. The opinion of Valckenaer is plausible; but as Julius Pollux⁴ mentions the Theophania as well as the Theoxenia, his authority prevents my adopting it.

Besides, the expression of the Corinthian⁵ who asked the Lacedæmonians if they were not celebrating the Theophania, when Apollonius of Tyana was coming into their town, satisfies me that there was in ancient times a festival of this name.

90. Φασὶ δὲ μιν Δελφοὶ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Σαμίου ἔργον εἶναι. *But the Delphians say that it is the work of Theodorus of Samos.* [There appear to have been two eminent Samian artists named Theodorus. The earlier of the two, the son of Rhæcus⁶, flourished probably about the time of the commencement of the Olympiads⁷. Plato associates him with Dædalus and Epeus⁸. He erected the building called Σκιάς, in which the people of Sparta held their public meetings. He was the reputed inventor also of the art of casting iron, and making statues of it⁹; but Larcher supposes that his art went no further than the casting of bronze¹. Pliny calls him the first discoverer of the plastic art (*primos omnium plasticen invenisse Rhæcum et Theodorum*), an expression, the accuracy of which has been questioned², as it seems to indicate the art of modelling in clay, but it really refers to works in cast iron, and originates in the words of Pausanias, καὶ ἀγάλματα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πλάσαι. The Theodorus alluded to by Herodotus in the passage given above, was the son of Telecles, and the maker of the famous ring of Polycrates³. The vase made by him was sent to Delphi, in Olymp. LVIII, an. 1, or 548 B. C. Polycrates died in Olymp. LXIV, an. 3, or 522 B. C.]

91. Περιῤῥαντήρια. *Basins for the lustral water.* These vases⁴ or fonts were placed at the entrance of the temple, or of the sacred place wherein the profane could not enter. The copper vessels which Moses caused to be made, and in which the priests washed their hands and feet, were called⁵ περιῤῥαντήρια. There were vases of this sort at Athens, at the entrance of the public square. Hence the expressions⁶, Ἄν τις Ἀθηναῖος ἐταιρήσῃ . . . μηδ' ἐντὸς τῶν τῆς ἀγορᾶς περιῤῥαντηρίων πορευέσθω. "If an Athenian shall have prostituted himself . . . let him not go within the fonts of the public square." Ὁ μὲν νομοθέτης⁷ . . .

¹ Athen. Deipnosoph. IX. iii.

² Pausan. VII. xxvii. p. 595.

³ Cyriaci Inscript. p. 31. No. 207, et Fast. Attic. vol. II. p. 441.

⁴ Pollucis Onomast. I. i. segm. xxxiv.

⁵ Philost. Vit. Apoll. IV. xxxi. p. 171.

⁶ Diog. Laërt. II. 103.

⁷ Plin. Hist. Nat. XXXV. xii.

⁸ Plat. Ion, I. p. 533.

⁹ Pausan. III. xii. 8.

¹ Id. VIII. xiv.

² Sillig, Dict. of the Artists of Antiquity, 1837.

³ Herod. III. xli.

⁴ Pollucis Onomast. I. viii.

⁵ Joseph. Antiq. Jud. III. vi. 2.

⁶ Æschin. in Timarch. p. 263, D, E.

⁷ Æschin. contra Ctesiph. p. 456, E.

τὸν λιπόντα τὴν τάξιν ἔξω τῶν περιρραντηρίων τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐξείργει.
 “The legislator excludes from within the fountains of the square him who hath quitted his post in war.”

92. Τοῦ ἐπιστάμενος τὸ οὖνομα, οὐκ ἐπιμνήσομαι. *Whose name I know, but shall not mention.* His name was Æthus, if we may believe Ptolemy, son of Hephæstion⁵. This same Æthus communicated to Neoptolemus, surnamed Maciotes, the oracle of Phemonoë, who⁶ first delivered at Delphi the oracles of Apollo.

93. Ἀπέπεμψε καὶ χεύματα ἀργύρεα κυκλοτερέα καὶ δὴ καὶ γυναικὸς εἶδωλον χρυσεόν τρίπηχυν, τὸ Δελφοὶ τῆς ἀρτοκόπου τῆς Κροίσου εἰκόνα λέγουσι εἶναι. *Cræsus sent also spherical-shaped ewers⁷ of silver; and moreover, a golden figure, three cubits high, of a woman, which the Delphians say is an image of his bread-maker.* It must doubtless be a subject of astonishment, that Cræsus should cause a statue of gold to be erected to his baker, and that he should consecrate this statue at Delphi; but this surprise ceases, when we find that it was in gratitude for a very essential service which she had rendered him. “Cræsus,” says Plutarch⁸, “caused a statue to be made in honour of his baking-woman, and offered it to the god, not as an insult, but as a just tribute. It is said, that Alyattes, father of Cræsus, had children by a second wife; and that this wicked step-mother, wishing to destroy Cræsus, gave poison to the baker, with orders to mix it up in the bread served to the young prince; that the woman privately warned Cræsus, and gave the poisoned bread to the children of the step-mother; and that Cræsus, when he ascended the throne, testified his gratitude to this woman by a praiseworthy action, of which he made the god, in some measure, witness.”

[The critics, forgetting the manners of despotic eastern courts, have been shocked at the importance here ascribed to a bread-maker or baker. Even Larcher translates ἀρτοκόπος by “pannetière,” as being more noble than “boulangère,” though less correct. But the scale by which we measure personal dignity depends altogether on political liberty and refinement. Among the Turks, a people not inattentive to pomp and stateliness, the officers of the janizaries, so long as that corps existed, were all named from the duties of the kitchen, the colonel being styled the *Soup-maker*. Artocopus has been said to be a low word⁹: it may have grown such, but in the time of Xenophon there was an officer so called at the Persian court¹.]

This statue was subsequently converted into money, and served the Phocidians, together with the other treasures of the temple, to maintain

⁵ Photii Biblioth. Cod. 190. p. 481. lin. 28, &c.

⁶ Pausan. X. v. p. 809. and vi. p. 812.

⁷ Julii Pollucis Onomast. VI. lxxxiv. vol. I. p. 616. X. lxxxii. vol. II. p. 1252.

⁸ Plutarch. de Pythiæ Oraculis, p. 401, E.

⁹ See Juvenal, Sat. V. 72.

¹ Hellen. VII. i. 26.—Cyrop. V. v. 39.

the Sacred War². It only remains for me to lay before the reader, at one view, the value of all these offerings.

[Larcher copied from the Abbé Barthélemy a list of the offerings of Cræsus, including 360 golden cups mentioned by Diodorus Siculus³, each weighing 2 minæ, or 12 talents in all. The value of the whole was computed by the Abbé to be 21,109,140 livres, or £879,547 sterling⁴. But this computation rests on somewhat too low a valuation of the Attic talent⁵, and is on other accounts also liable to objection. If we reckon the four hemiplinths of pure gold at a talent and a half each, the offerings enumerated by Herodotus will amount to 288 talents; which, according to the mint price of gold in this country, would be worth £944,846. The value of the cups mentioned by Diodorus will swell the amount to £983,600; but those who think that the hemiplinths of fine gold weighed $2\frac{1}{2}$ talents each, must add four talents more, which will raise to £996,714 the value of the offerings of Cræsus.]

Barthélemy and Larcher appear to have imagined, that by calculating the gold according to its relation to silver, which latter metal is the standard of value in France, they arrived at its true value. But such an opinion is delusive; the real value of the precious metals in any age or country can be estimated only by the demand existing for them, and their relation to the necessities of life. The sum of sterling money, therefore, stated above to be the amount of these offerings, must be understood to represent rather their quantity as bullion, than their exchangeable value, which certainly far exceeded any estimate founded on modern experience. It would require a volume to collect and digest the information remaining to us respecting the prices of articles of subsistence, or the value of the precious metals in Ancient Greece. But it may be here mentioned, that the plunder of Delphi in the Sacred War, when 10,000 talents were at once taken from the treasures, and thrown into circulation, caused what we should now call a monetary revolution⁶.]

LII. 94. Τὸ ξυστὸν τῇσι λόγχησι ἐὼν ὁμοίως χρύσειον. *The handle with the blades being equally of gold.* The Greek is, "as well as the points." It is evident that Herodotus means what we call "the head of the spear." The head of this spear had a straight point between two others that turned back. (See VII. lxix and lxxvii.) The javelin of the Franks, described by Agathias⁷, was of similar form; it could be thrown, or would serve for close engagement. It was almost entirely covered with iron; from the point at the top proceeded another point on each side, which was turned downwards in the manner of a fish-hook.

LIII. 95. Μεγάλην ἀρχὴν μιν καταλῦσαι. *And that he should*

² Diod. Sic. XVI. lvi. vol. II. p. 126.

³ Diod. Sic. XVI. xlv.

⁴ Voyage d'Anacharsis, II. p. 603.

⁵ See note 29.

⁶ Pausan. X. vii. Athen. VI. xix.

⁷ Agathias, II. p. 40, D.

destroy a great empire. This ambiguity, which misled Cræsus, might have betrayed Chrysippus into the same error, though this Stoic wrote a voluminous work⁸ on the Delphian Oracles, but it would not have escaped the sagacity of Epicurus. [The oracular verse is preserved in the Fragments of Diodorus⁹ :

Κροῖσος "Αλυν διαβάς, μεγάλην ἀρχὴν καταλύσει.

Which Cicero has thus translated :

Cræsus Halym penetrans, magnam pervertet opum vim.]

LIV. 96. 'Ες Πυθώ. *To Pytho.* [The Delphian oracle was called properly Pytho or Python. The temple stood in a romantic situation, on the south-eastern side of Parnassus, at the entrance of a wild glen, and between two precipitous heights, Hyampeia on the east, and Nauplia on the west. Hence Homer calls it "the rocky"¹⁰. The sacred ground was encircled by a wall, ἱερὸς περίβολος¹; adjoining which, lower down the valley, was Nape² (the grove), an inhabited place; though Ptolemy sets Nape 5' south of Pytho³. Still lower down was Pylæa, a place of later growth, and supposed to have been the residence of the Amphictyons⁴. Larcher certainly erred in calling Pytho a city⁵; it was the name of the sacred precincts within which were no habitations. Indeed, it has been maintained by an able scholar, that there was no city whatever, nor considerable town at Delphi, until a comparatively recent age⁶, and that the word πόλις might be applied to a community dwelling in scattered villages, the "bourgade" of the French, or our occupied "townland." The plural name, Delphi, common to the place and its inhabitants, certainly seems well-adapted to comprise a number of villages, and represent them as a whole. The first temple of Pytho was formed of boughs: the second was said to be constructed of wax and feathers; the third of earth; the fourth was built of stone by Trophonius and Agamedes⁷. This stone edifice, and the treasures contained in it, are alluded to by Homer⁸. An account of the treasures was written in a later age (200 B. C.) by an Athenian named Polemon⁹. The foundations of some of the treasure-houses, which appear to have been of a circular form, are still traceable. The place is now called Castri.]

97. 'Ατελείην. *Immunity.* It does not appear clearly in what consists

⁸ Cic. de Divin. II. lvi. Tuis (Apollo) oraculis Chrysippus totum volumen implevit, partim falsis, ut ego opinor, partim casu veris, ut fit in omni oratione sæpissime, partim flexiloquis et obscuris, ut interpretes egeant interprete, et sors ipsa ad sortes referenda sit, partim ambiguas et quæ ad Dialecticam referenda sint.

⁹ Nov. Vet. Script. Collect. ed. Mai, II. p. 25.

¹⁰ Iliad II. 519.

¹ Pausan. X. viii. 32.

² Pind. Pyth. VI. 8. V. 38.

³ Geogr. III. 15.

⁴ Reiske ad Plut. de Pyth. Orac. 29.

⁵ Traduction d'Hérod. tom. VIII. p. 470.

⁶ Gail, Atlas. Observ. Prelim. p. xii.

⁷ Pausan. X. v. 5.—Strabo, IX. i.

⁸ Hymn. Apoll. 294.—Iliad IX. 404.

⁹ Plut. Symp. V. ii.

the immunity here referred to. I at first took this immunity for an exemption from the heavy burthens and the tribute which strangers domiciled at Delphi paid to the state; and I founded this conjecture on the harangue of Demosthenes against Leptines; but these charges and this tribute could affect only foreigners established at Delphi, and not those who came to consult the Oracle. Besides, I suspect that Herodotus would have expressed himself as Xenophon has done¹: οἰκεῖν ἀτέλειαν ἔδωσαν τῷ βουλομένῳ αἰεὶ. "They granted a perpetual immunity to those who wished to reside amongst them." The Latin translator has erroneously rendered οἰκεῖν τῷ βουλομένῳ, by "wishing to become a citizen." The being domiciliated in a city did not constitute a citizen: Xenophon marks the distinction between the citizen, and him who had established himself in the city, by these words: "The Syracusans, who wish to establish themselves at Ephesus, shall enjoy a perpetual right of immunity; but the Selinusians shall have the right of citizenship, πολιτεία."

The same thing is also clearly expressed in the decree of the Byzantines which Demosthenes has preserved in his harangue on the subject of the Crown²: Δεδόχθω τῷ Δάμῳ τῷ Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινθίων Ἀθηναίοις δόμεν ἐπιγαμίαν, πολιτείαν, κτᾶσιν γᾶς καὶ οἰκιᾶν . . . καὶ τοῖς κατοικεῖν ἐθέλουσι τὰν πόλιν ἀλειτουργήτοις ἦμεν πᾶσαν πρὸς τὰν λειτουργίαν. "It has pleased the people of Byzantium, and those of Perinthus, to grant to the Athenians the privilege of marrying into their country, the right of citizenship, the power of possessing houses and lands . . . and to those amongst them who wish to establish themselves in their towns, all kinds of exemptions." [The grant of the ἀτέλεια, or immunity, is often found recorded in inscriptions³.]

Strabo, perhaps, furnishes the true solution of this difficulty. There were in the towns adjacent to Delphi, certain offices, where those who were about to consult the god, paid such dues as had been regulated by the Amphictyons, as we learn from this geographer⁴. "The Crissæi," says he, "enriched by the dues exacted from those who came from Italy and Sicily to consult the Oracle, grew insolent, and dared to demand more than had been regulated by the Amphictyons. The Amphissæi treated strangers still more harshly, but they were punished for it by the Amphictyons." These perhaps are the dues from which Croesus and the Lydians were exempted.

LVI. 98. Τὸ μὲν οὐδαμῇ κω ἐξεχώρησε. *The one* (the Pelasgians) *never quitted their own country*. This passage has tortured many learned men. It refers to the origin of the Lacedæmonians and the Athenians. Ταῦτα relates necessarily to both of them, as the Abbé Geinoz has sufficiently proved. Τὸ μὲν Πελασγικὸν, τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔθνος. Of these two members, the first can agree only with the Athenians, and the

¹ Xen. Hellen. I. ii. 7.

² Demosth. de Corona, p. 487, E.

³ Oxford Marbles, p. 60.—Cyriac.

Ancon. Inscript. p. 30.—Wheeler and Spon's Travels.

⁴ Strabo, IX. p. 641, A.

second only with the Lacedæmonians ; and so far Geinoz and I agree ; but immediately afterwards comes καὶ τὸ μὲν, οὐδαμῇ κω ἐξεχώρησε· τὸ δὲ πολυπλάνητον κάρτα. Now the genius of the Greek language does not permit the τὸ μὲν to refer to any other than the Pelasgi, nor the τὸ δὲ to any but the Hellenes. Herodotus, in this passage, speaks not of the Pelasgi in general, but of those amongst them who, according to himself, fixed their abode in Attica, and in fact never left it ; whereas the Dorians often changed their habitation.

Stephanus of Byzantium⁵ gives the same interpretation to this passage. Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῇ Α' περὶ τοῦ Δωρικοῦ γένους φησὶ, πολυπλάνητον αὐτὸ καλῶν, καὶ δεικνὺς οὕτω· “Herodotus says in his first book, on the subject of the Dorian race, that they wandered greatly, and he thus proves it.” This author then quotes our historian. The Hellenes inhabited, according to Herodotus, the Histiaëotis, at the foot of Ossa and Olympus. On being driven thence, they established themselves near Pindus, where they were called Macednians, and they founded⁶ the towns of Bœum, Ctinium, and Erineus. From thence they passed into Dryopia, and from Dryopia to Peloponnesus. It seems to me, that these divers migrations of the Hellenes abundantly authorize Herodotus to assert that they frequently changed their abode.

Nevertheless, M. Levêque asserts⁷ that the Pelasgo-Tyrrhenians, who settled in the environs of Mount Athos, were a part of this family of Pelasgi, who coming from the northern country peopled the whole of Greece, or at least materially augmented its population, up to that time but thin and scanty ; whilst other branches of this same family passed into Italy, where they called after their own name, Tyrrhenia, the country which is now called Tuscany.

Here are many errors comprised in a few words. First, the Pelasgi are originally from Argolis, and not from countries north of Mount Athos. 2ndly, If they conquered some parts of Greece, they were afterwards expelled, and dispersed on all sides ; they ceased to be a people. 3rdly, It was the Hellenes, and not the Pelasgi, who conquered Greece, with the exception of Attica. We cannot say that they peopled it : they found a population there. It was with these people much the same as with the Franks, who conquered Gaul, but did not people it : they incorporated the conquered people with themselves, gave to them the name of French, and to the conquered territory, that of France : it was the same with respect to Greece. 4thly, The Pelasgo-Tyrrhenians, who settled near the foot of Mount Athos, did not come from a more northern country. They had been⁸ driven out of Attica, and thence they repaired to Lemnos, 1162 years before our era. They remained masters of it 647 years ; but at length Miltiades, arriving at the Chersonesus to take possession of it, summoned them to evacuate

⁵ Steph. Byzant. in Fragm. voc. Δωριον, p. 746.

⁶ Conon, Narrat. xxvii.

⁷ Traduction de Thucydide par M. de Levêque, tom. II. p. 314.

⁸ Herodot. VI. cxxxvii.

that island. Not finding themselves the strongest, they quitted it, and retired for the most part to the environs of Mount Athos, 515 years before our era. They were called Pelasgo-Tyrrhenians, because those Pelasgi, whom the Athenians had permitted to establish themselves at the foot of Mount Hymettus, and who were afterwards driven thence by those very Athenians, had come from Tyrrhenia. 5thly, It is not from them that Tyrrhenia takes its name, but from Tyrrhenus, son of a king of Lydia. Some Pelasgians, driven from Thessaly by Deucalion, about the year 3173 of the Julian period, 1541 years before the Christian era, repaired to Dodona⁹, and thence to Umbria. For some time they were tolerably prosperous; but divisions having arisen amongst them, they became weak. About this time, Tyrrhenus landed in the country with his Lydians, and having conquered it, named it after himself. Shortly afterwards, he drove out the Pelasgi, who were called Tyrrhenians, to distinguish them from others of the same race.

The historians most worthy of credit, such as Herodotus, Thucydides, Hellanicus of Lesbos, Myrsilus of Lesbos, Philistus of Syracuse, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, attest these different migrations of the Pelasgi: and yet M. Levêque speaks of them as wholly fabulous. One of his proofs is the conformity of the language of the Slavi to that of the Greeks. This puts me in mind of the epigram made against Ménage, who made *Alfana* to come from *Equus*. Give me an Iroquois or an Esquimaux dictionary, and I will find resemblances as close.

The late M. Hemsterhuis, one of the most learned men that has appeared since the revival of letters, had a very different opinion of the Greek language. This linguist, who had studied it with the greatest success for nearly seventy years, considered it to have originated on its own soil, and that, with the exception of some oriental terms which had been imported by the Phœnician merchants or other strangers from eastern parts, it was wholly Greek. Nothing can be more true than this assertion.

[The recent progress of philological investigation and the increased keenness of historical inquiry have completely demonstrated the unsoundness of the opinion held by Hemsterhuis and Larcher. The Greek language is proved to be a great branch of the Indo-European stock¹, and is therefore radically connected with most of the languages of Europe, not excepting the Celtic². It may be considered as descended from the Sanscrit, while, from a cognate form of the latter tongue, the Zend or ancient Persian, the Slavonian languages have their origin³. The opinion hazarded by Levêque has been fully developed of late years, and satisfactorily proved.]

⁹ Dion. Hal. Antiq. Rom. I. xviii. & s.

¹ This subject has been critically treated by Bopp, Pott, and Schmitthenner. Eichhoff (Parallèle des Langues, &c.) is not always a safe guide.

² Prichard, The Eastern Origin of the

Celtic nations proved, &c. 1831.—Bopp, Gram. Crit. ling. Sanscr.—Pictet, De l'Affinité des langues Celtiques avec le Sanscrit, 1837.

³ Dankowsky, Die Griechen als Stammverwändte der Slawen.

The Greek language, therefore, did not originate in Greece, but came thither from the East; nor does it constitute an impassable line of demarcation between the Greeks and their neighbours, but on the contrary, when carefully examined, it affords proofs of consanguinity and common origin. Thus, since the languages of ancient Greece and Italy resemble each other closely in structure as well as material, it seems reasonable to seek their proximate and common source in the language of that people who are acknowledged to have occupied both countries in early ages, that is to say, in the language of the Pelasgi. If this affiliation of language be admitted, then the Pelasgians and Greeks were of the same race.

This is the conclusion arrived at by the best-informed historians of the present day, by Niebuhr, C. O. Müller, Raoul-Rochette, and Thirlwall. Whatever variance may exist between these writers in matters of detail, they agree as to the original affinity of the Pelasgians and the Greeks or Hellenes. Indeed Niebuhr alone seems disposed to establish any real distinction between those nations; yet he adds, "That there was an essential affinity between them, notwithstanding this difference, is probable from the ease with which Pelasgian nations ripened into Hellens; and from the Latin language containing an element which is half-Greek, the Pelasgic origin of which seems unquestionable⁴." The name of the Pelasgians was a general and national one, like that of the Saxons, Franks, or Alemanni, while each of their tribes had probably one peculiar to itself⁵. Perhaps Homer's expression *φῦλα Πελασγῶν* may be thought to intimate that they were characterized by division into clans⁶.

Without dwelling on the obscure history of the Pelasgians, or claiming for them a domain extending with little interruption from Liguria and the Western shores of Italy to Asia Minor⁷, we may observe that at the commencement of Grecian history, they are acknowledged to have possessed all the country subsequently called Hellas⁸. Peloponnesus was peculiarly their own⁹. The early history of Argos, of Arcadia and Thessaly, is wholly Pelasgian¹. But the first of these territories is the spot to which the Pelasgians are confined by writers who like Larcher insist on fixing the first origin of the race. But what can we know of their origin? Who can doubt that Pelasgus the son of Jupiter and Niobe is altogether a mythological personage? The same difficulty involves perhaps all the heroes of that name. The story of the sons of Lycaon, whose names are probably those of Pelasgian clans, is clearly all fable². But allowing the emigration of the Pelasgians from Argos to Thessaly, and thence to Italy, to be authentic history, it is

⁴ Niebuhr's Hist. of Rome, I. p. 23.

⁵ Thirlwall's Hist. of Greece, I. p. 41.

⁶ Iliad II. 840.

⁷ Niebuhr, Hist. of Rome, I. p. 43.

⁸ Herod. VIII. xliv.

⁹ Dion. Hal. II. xxvi.

¹ Strabo, V. p. 337. Tzetzes ad Lycophr. 177.

² Apollodorus, III. viii. See Heyne's note on this passage, p. 658.

not, after all, the history of the Pelasgian race. And then, again, it cannot be allowed that the Pelasgians who emigrated from Italy to Greece, and dwelt for a time in Attica, were the same who had previously gone from Greece to Italy³. The identity of the wanderers from Greece to Italy with those who afterwards moved in the opposite direction, though theoretically assumed by the Greek writers, is no more entitled to a place in true history than the emigration from Lydia to Etruria, of which the Lydian historian Xanthus was wholly ignorant⁴. Yet, even if it be admitted that the Pelasgians who first issued from Argolis can be traced to Italy, thence back again to Attica, thence to Lemnos, and finally to the shores of Thrace⁵, where, in the time of Herodotus, they spoke a language unintelligible to the Greeks, what light can this circumstance throw on their origin after the lapse of a thousand years? The fact that the few tribes still retaining the Pelasgian name, in a comparatively late age, were easily distinguishable from Greeks, is no proof of a broad difference between the two nations in early ages when the Pelasgian name predominated.

There is no proof whatever therefore that the Pelasgians and Hellens were originally distinct races; for the difference between them in the time of Herodotus does not warrant such a conclusion; nor can the remnant of the Pelasgians retaining at that time their original name, be connected with the early inhabitants of Argolis and Thessaly, without the aid of fable and the abandonment of all critical circumspection. On the other hand, it seems quite certain, that in Peloponnesus, as in Attica and other parts of Greece, the population generally underwent little change from emigration or other causes. The conquest of the Hellens only gave it a new name, but the Pelasgic element coalesced so readily with the Hellenic, that there is no trace of alienation between them; there is no hint of two races under the Hellenic sway, nor does the Greek language present those mutilated forms which are sure to ensue from the blending together of differently constructed tongues. It is worth remarking that the name Hellens was generally used by Greek historians in a national and not in the strictly genealogical sense to which Larcher would confine it⁶. The Ionians were always considered as part of the Hellenic nation⁷: the Athenians are called Hellens by Herodotus, who yet believed them to be of Pelasgian not Hellenic descent, and he even speaks of their transition into Hellens,—an expression which shows how incorrectly that title is supposed to denominate a race. Again, Dionysius calls the Pelasgians a Hellenic race; which is however an inversion of the truth, the Pelasgian name being the more

³ Niebuhr's Rome, I. p. 32.

⁴ Dion. Hal. I. xvii.

⁵ Thucydides, IV. cix.

⁶ In the Etymologicum Magnum it is said (ad voc. *πριχαίτες*) that Crete was inhabited by three *Hellenic* nations, viz. the Pelasgians, Achæans, and Dorians.

⁷ "And the sons of Javan (Ion); Elishah (Elis, the kingdom of Pelops), and Tarshish (the Tyrsi, Tyrseni or Tyrreni), Kittim (the Cretans), and Dodanim (the people around Dodona?)." Genes. X. 4. This Mosaic genealogy is certainly more Pelasgian than Hellenic.

ancient and comprehensive of the two⁸. The Roman poets styled the Greeks Pelasgians, just as the French and Austrians (including the Hungarians) have been described by an eminent English poet, as "Furious Frank and fiery Hun." Thus Ennius says⁹,

"Cum veter occubuit Priamus sub Marte Pelasgo."]

LVII. 99. *Κρηστῶνα*. *Creston*. Those who wish thoroughly to investigate all that regards this town and the Tyrrhenians, have only to consult the Memoirs of MM. de la Nauze and Geinoz¹. All the difficulty consists in discovering, whether there was a town in Thrace called Creston, and whether we should rely on Dionysius of Halicarnassus², who places this town in Umbria, and confuses it with Cortona, rather than on Stephanus of Byzantium, who places it in Thrace. It is certain that there were in Thrace some of the Pelasgo-Tyrrhenians. They inhabited Lemnos and divers places in the Chersonesus and the Hellespont, as far as Mount Athos. Thucydides states positively³, "that the country named Acte commences at the canal made by the king of Persia, and that Mount Athos, which forms part of it, is bordered by the Ægean Sea." This country, according to the same Thucydides, "includes the town of Sane, a colony of the Andrians, situate on that part of the border of the canal near the sea, which looks towards Eubœa: there are also the towns of Thyssus, Cleonæ, Acrothoum, Olophyxus, and Dium. They are inhabited by barbarous nations, mixed together, and who speak two languages: there are a few Chalcidians, but the greater part are Pelasgians, that is to say, of those Tyrrhenians who formerly inhabited Lemnos and Athens. There are also some Bisaltæ, Crestonæi, and Edones."

This passage proves two things: first, that there were Tyrrhenians in Thrace, and that they were Pelasgians, that is to say, of those Pelasgo-Tyrrhenians who had been driven by Miltiades from the Isle of Lemnos: and secondly, that there were also Crestonians. But if there were a people of this name, why should there not also be a town which took its name from them? The Pelasgo-Tyrrhenians occupied the coasts of Thrace; the town of Creston should be situated a little further inland. [The misconception of Dionysius above alluded to shall be discussed further on. A recent traveller in Macedonia found some ruins about half-way on the road between Saloniki and Serres, which he supposed to be those of Creston⁴; but no inscriptions nor traditions confirmed his conjecture. The probability is, that he passed near the site of the ancient Crestone⁵, which must be distinguished from the Creston here spoken of. The *Κρηστῶναῖοι* of Herodotus were far inland, near the

⁸ Dion. Hal. I. xxvi.

⁹ Ennii Fragm. ed. Hessel. p. 142.

¹ Consult in particular their Dissertation in the Mém. de l'Acad. d. Bell. Lett. tom. XXV. Hist. p. 28.

² Dionys. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom. I.

xxvi. [His mistake is rather in xxix.]

³ Thucyd. IV. cix.

⁴ Cousinéry, Voyage dans la Macédoine, I. p. 143.

⁵ *Κρηστῶνη*. Lycophron, 499 and 937.

source of the Echidorus⁶; whereas his Κρηστωνική or territory of Creston lay immediately within the peninsula of Mount Athos, and was subject to the king of Bisaltia, near the mouth of the Strymon⁷. The inhabitants of Κρήστων he calls Κρηστωνιῆται.

Placia was on the Mysian coast, east of Cyzicum, and a little further toward the east lay Scylace⁸.]

100. Οἱ σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναίοισι. *Who dwelt formerly with the Athenians.* The Pelasgians who had retired to Tyrrhenia, wasted by famine, by contagious disorders, and a prey to perpetual dissensions, passed into different countries, and some of them into Attica. The Athenians received them, and gave them a territory situate at the foot of Mount Hymettus, on condition that they should build the wall which encloses the citadel. These conditions accepted, the Pelasgians prospered during a period of forty-seven years. But this rude people, who knew no right but that of the strongest, wished to have a share in the government, and began to insult the young men and young girls who came to fetch water at the fountain of Callirrhoë, and to offer outrages which could not be passed by unnoticed⁹. The Athenians drove them from the country, and they retired to the Isle of Lemnos. Miltiades, the son of Cimon, having afterwards driven them thence, some of them founded the towns of Placia and Scylace in Asia; others took refuge in the peninsula of Mount Athos; whilst others repaired to the coasts of Thrace, and founded a little further inland the town of Creston.

[The last sentence is somewhat at variance with the statement of our historian, who represents the Thracian and Mysian towns to have been respectively founded by two distinct bodies of Pelasgian emigrants. The hypothetical character of the connexion between the early emigrations from Greece to Italy, and those which afterwards took place in the opposite direction, has been already pointed out. Larcher, who is violently opposed to the claims of the Pelasgians to stand between the Hellenic nation and the grandeur of remote antiquity, contends, in his volume on Chronology¹, that the Pelasgians were not the original occupants of Attica. He does not indeed discredit the statement made in this passage respecting a body of Pelasgians dwelling for a time in Attica, but he denies that the Athenians could be justly called Πελασγικὸν ἔθνος. His arguments are briefly these: 1st, The Athenians were Autochthones, and therefore not Pelasgians: but this assumes the point at issue; the Autochthones, as they were called, might have been Pelasgians: 2ndly, Whence could the Pelasgians have come? There was no place called Pelasgia. This is not strictly true, but at all events the interrogatory can give no trouble to those who are willing to

⁶ Herod. VII. cxvii. VIII. cxxiv.—
Steph. Byzant. v. Κρήστων.

⁷ Herod. VIII. cxvi. Thucyd. III.
xcix.

⁸ Pomp. Mela, I. xix.

⁹ Herodot. VI. cxxxvii.

¹ Hist. d'Hérodote Traduite, tom.
VII. viii. 11.

believe that the Pelasgians were the Autochthones or indigenous possessors of the soil. It was surely as easy for them to spring from the soil in Attica as in Argolis: 3rdly, The Pelasgians did not give Attica their name. This proves nothing. France was certainly once inhabited by the Gauls, though the name Gallia is now as obsolete as Pelasgia was in the time of Herodotus: 4thly, The regions or districts of Attica inhabited by the several tribes, as the Aones, Temmices, &c. can be pointed out, so as to leave no place for the Pelasgians. However exclusive those names may appear to be, it is obvious nevertheless that difference of race cannot be inferred from difference of names. A portion of the population of Attica was always considered as indigenous: and it was to that portion of course, whatever may have been its special name, that Herodotus ascribed a Pelasgian origin.]

101. Ἦσαν οἱ Πελασγοὶ βάρβαρον γλῶσσαν ἰέντες. *The Pelasgians spoke a barbarous tongue.* The Pelasgians were not a Hellenic people, as Dionysius of Halicarnassus imagined². They were, in fact, Argians by origin; and the Argians were not Hellenes. Herodotus, and others who speak of them, positively declare this. Those who, like Apollodorus, have traced the genealogy of the ancient houses, and of the people to whom these houses have given their names, derive the Pelasgians from Pelasgus³, who descended from Inachus, and the Hellenes from Hellen, who reckoned Prometheus as one of his forefathers. These people, it is true, inhabited Thessaly, but only a part of it.

The Pelasgians were originally of Peloponnesus, and descended from Pelasgus. Such of them as transplanted themselves out of Greece, not having incorporated themselves with the Hellenes, were regarded by them as barbarians, that is, as foreigners. The Hellenes having driven the Pelasgi from the greater part of Greece, proscribed the ancient language, and introduced their own. I do not know what language the Athenians then spoke: there is every reason to believe that its basis was the same as that of the Hellenes. And I am the more inclined to think so, as Amphictyon reigned over them, and Xuthus settled amongst them with his sons Achæus and Ion. The Hellenes, and all those who spoke their language, constituting a single body, gave the name of Barbarians to all those who did not form part of their association, and called "barbarous" whatever language was spoken by foreigners. It is for this reason that Herodotus affirms that the Pelasgians spoke a barbarous language.

[To call the Pelasgians "Hellenes" was certainly as incorrect as it would be to say that the Britons were English, or the Germans a Prussian nation. The error, however, in this case, does not consist in supposing a connexion between those nations respectively, but in inverting the terms of the connexion so as to set the derivative and

² Dion. Hal. Antiq. Roman. I. xvii. I. vii. pp. 22. 24. Dion. Hal. Antiq.

³ Apollodori Biblioth. II. i. p. 68. Roman. I. xvii. p. 14.

special denomination above that more ancient and comprehensive one. The genealogies to which Larcher alludes were all mythical. According to Apollodorus, Inachus was the son of Ocean, and Pelasgus the son of Jupiter; another hero named Pelasgus was son of Neptune. If we have credulity enough to go back to Pelasgus, why should we refuse to take the other step, and mount up to Jove? It shows but little acquaintance with the characteristics of mythical legends, to believe that the Pelasgians derived their name from Pelasgus. The first and commonest step in historic fiction is to assign to every nation a progenitor of suitable name. Thus the Britons are said to have sprung from a hero named Brutus. In the fabulous ages, every tribe and nation seems to inherit the name of its founder; but the moment fiction ends, and history begins, the phenomenon of nations issuing from individuals ceases, and national names are found to be never thought of, till the first origin of the combined multitude is lost in obscurity.

The important passage of Herodotus quoted at the head of this note deserves especial attention on account of the embarrassment which it has unaccountably caused to scholars, including some of the most eminent of the present age. But to make the subject more readily intelligible, it will be necessary to give the historian's argument at length: his words are as follows: "I cannot say for certain what tongue the Pelasgians spoke. But if one must conjecture from the still remaining Pelasgians,—from those, namely, who inhabit the town of Creston, above the Tyrrhenians, and who were once neighbours of the people now called Dorians,—they dwelt at that time in the country named Thessalotis; and from the Pelasgians who have made settlements at Placia and Scylace, and who lived among the Athenians, taking into consideration the other Pelasgian communities, whatever they may be, which have changed their name;—if, I say, we must pronounce conjecturally from these, then the Pelasgians spoke a foreign tongue. And if such was the case with all the Pelasgian race, the Attic nation, being Pelasgian, must have changed its language with its transition into Hellenes. For the Crestoniats have no community of language with the people dwelling round them: neither have the Placians; but they are intelligible to one another; so that it is evident they still preserve the common language, which they carried into their present seats." Is it not manifest from this passage, in which Herodotus argues that the Crestoniats spoke a barbarous (that is, not Hellenic) language, because they were unintelligible to the people dwelling around them, that Creston must have been situate in the midst of a Greek population? Such was the case with Creston in Thrace, near Mount Athos, which was near enough also to the Pelasgian settlements in Mysia to maintain some intercourse with them, as intimated by our author.

But Dionysius of Halicarnassus, intent on proving that the Tyrrhenians (by whom he meant the Etrurians or Tuscans) were not Pelasgians, quotes this passage of our historian, changing at the same time,

without regard to the context, Κρηστωνιῆται into Κροτωνιᾶται, so that he seems to have the authority of Herodotus for the fact, that the inhabitants of Crotona (Cortona) spoke a different language from the people dwelling around them⁴. The egregious mistake of Dionysius will be seen at once by those who bear it in mind, that the conclusion towards which Herodotus really marches, is, that the Crestoniats *did not speak Greek*. It is certainly surprising that so sagacious a writer as Niebuhr, who clearly understood that the name Tyrrhenians belonged not properly to the Etrurians but to a widely-spread division of the Pelasgians, should have been misled by Dionysius, so far as to adopt his misreading of our author⁵. But again, C. O. Müller, without yielding at once to the authority of Dionysius, yet fails to perceive this author's blunder, and hesitates to decide between Thrace and Italy, Creston and Cortona⁶. A little attention to the words and reasoning of Herodotus might have removed all doubt from his mind, and shown that Cortona is out of the question.

It is still more unaccountable how Niebuhr, who, in allusion to this passage of our historian, wrote thus:—"We are even assured by Herodotus, that so late as his time a city (Cortona) in the heart of the country (Etruria) was occupied by the same people (the Pelasgians), a race wholly distinct from the Etrurians:" it is unaccountable, we say, that relying on the very same passage, he should have written this sentence—"The Pelasgians were a different nation from the Hellenes; their language was peculiar, and not Greek⁷." Did Niebuhr then believe that the Etrurians spoke Greek; or is it not more likely that by studying isolated clauses, without attending to the whole context, he missed their true meaning?

At all events the conjecture of Herodotus derives no strength from its adoption by Niebuhr, who in this instance failed so remarkably in critical discernment. But the assertion that the Pelasgians spoke a language different from the Hellenic is, considered in itself, perfectly just. We might in like manner say that the early Northmen spoke a language different from the modern Danish; and certainly a people speaking Icelandic would be now-a-days as unintelligible in Norway, as the Crestoniats were to their neighbours on the coast of Thrace. Where there is neither literature nor active intercourse, languages easily separate into dialects, which time and dispersion at length make strangers to each other. Though the spread of education is hostile to local peculiarities of language, yet many singular dialects have existed till a late period, or still exist, in the most civilized countries of Western Europe. When it is considered, then, that the Dane and Norwegian are unintelligible to the Swede; that the High-Dutchman (German) does not understand the Low-Dutchman (Hollander), nor the Florentine the

⁴ Dion. Hal. I. xxix.

⁵ Niebuhr's Rome, I. p. 29.

⁶ Müller's Etrusker, I. p. 95. Casaubon, Wesseling, and other editors of Herodo-

tus, were willing to understand him to speak of Cortona in this place.

⁷ Nieb. Rome, I. pp. 23 and 29.

Bolognese, it will be obvious, that the dissimilarity of the Pelasgian and Hellenic tongues in the time of Herodotus affords no proof whatever of original diversity of race. The timid and cautious manner in which our historian touches on this question, stating amply his grounds for conjecture, seems to imply that he departed from the common opinion. There is no authority to be directly opposed to him; yet it is worthy of remark that Homer, when enumerating the allies of the Trojans, distinguishes the Carians as "foreign-tongued," βαρβαρόφωνοι; while he applies no such epithet to the Pelasgians⁸. And again the same poet speaks evidently of Greek dialects, and not foreign languages, when he tells us, that in Crete there is a mixture of tongues; for therein dwell Achaians, indigenous Cretans, Cydonians, Dorians, and Pelasgians⁹:—

Ἄλλη δ' ἄλλων γλῶσσα μεμιγμένη· ἐν μὲν Ἀχαιοί,
 Ἐν δ' Ἑτεόκρητες μεγαλήτορες, ἐν δὲ Κύδωνες,
 Δουριέες τε τριχᾶϊκες, δῖοί τε Πελασγοί.

The learned have ventured no further in their conjectures respecting the Pelasgian language, than to assign to it some local names, such as Larissa and Argos. This mode of proceeding, however, leads to no sure result, since local names remain in use long after they have ceased to be significant, and are, therefore, not certain specimens of the language of those who use them. But the Pelasgian name itself suggests the remark, that not a few of the Greek words beginning with πελ, and considered as primitives, are in reality compounds, the prefix πελ signifying "great." Thus πέλαγος is the *great water*, from ogha (Lat. aqua), whence came Ogenus, afterwards changed into Oceanus¹. Πέλαργος, a stork, presents some difficulty; but the various meanings of ἀργός combined with the name of the first ship, Argo, suggest that πέλαργος may signify the *great white bird*². Πέλανος means the *great loaf*; from anna (Sanscrit), food; whence, perhaps, is derived the Latin annus (the period in which the earth produces its fruits), and annona³. Πέλεκυς, a hatchet, is the *great cutting-instrument*, from ἀκὴ, a cutting edge (Lat. acus and acutus). The verb πελεμίζω is obviously derived from μίζω or μίσγω (the old form of μίγνυμι), Lat. misceo; but with a *more intense* meaning than the original verb. The word πέλωρ needs no comment. The meaning of the name Πέλωψ is thus rendered quite apparent: that of Πέλασγοι itself must be left only half-explained.

It deserves to be remarked, that there is still preserved in the Grecian peninsula, a language which has probably undergone little change from

⁸ Iliad II. 840, 867.

⁹ Odyss. XIX. 175.

¹ Suidas ad voc. Ὠγενοϛ, and Paus. VIII. x. 3. Ogha is a Sanscrit word.— See an excellent note in Keightley's Mythology, 2nd ed. Append. p. 549.

² The Pelasgi were called Pelargi, through a vicious pronunciation, which

was afterwards countenanced by a fantastical etymology. Phrynichus, Eclog. voc. Att. Dion. Hal. I. xvi.

³ Asiatic Researches, VIII. p. 70, where it is conjectured that the *Anna Perenna* of the Romans is the *Anna Purna*, or 'food-filling' goddess, of the Hindoos.

the remotest ages beyond that which is inevitably wrought by time. The Albanians have been preserved by the nature of their country from destructive conquest; and the same cause has shut out from them such progress of refinement as would materially alter the language with the manners of a people. It was once imagined that the Albanians were of Slavonian origin, or else the progeny of mixed Caucasian colonists, escaped from Turkish slavery. But a careful study of their language shows that neither Turks nor Slavonians have ever made a deep impression on them, and that they speak an Indo-European tongue, traceable in substance to the most ancient sources. The language of the Albanians or Skipetars, that is, mountaineers, as they call themselves (from *Skipé*, a crag, and the masculine termination *tar*; the Greek σκοπή and -τηρ) is said to contain about one-third of Celtic roots, a seventh of Latin, an eighth of Greek, an eighteenth Turkish, and a sixtieth Slavonian⁴. The roots here called Greek and Latin belonged probably to the common source of both those tongues—the Pelasgian language.]

LVIII. 102. Πρὸς δὲ ὧν ἐμοί τε δοκέει. *Furthermore, indeed, it appears to me.* [This use of *πρὸς* in an absolute sense is uncommon, and the whole passage seems somewhat deficient in coherence. The historian says, that the Hellenic nation, in his opinion, always used the same language from the very first. But when separated (or literally split off, ἀποσχισθὲν, an expression which seems to imply original union) from the Pelasgic nation, it grew up, from small beginnings, into a multitude of tribes, increasing also by the association with it of numerous foreign tribes. And with that, he adds, or furthermore, the Pelasgian nation, itself foreign, never increased much.]

LIX. 103. Ὅς, στασιαζόντων τῶν παράλων καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου Ἀθηναίων, καταφρονήσας τὴν τυραννίδα, ἤγειρε τρίτην στάσιν. συλλέξας δὲ στασιώτας, καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τῶν ὑπερακρίων προστὰς, μηχανᾶται τοιάδε. *Who, when the coast-men and the people of the plain rose up, having his eye on power, excited a third party. Assembling the insurgents, and setting himself with his speeches at the head of the mountaineers, he contrived as follows.* [The factions here spoken of were the Parali, the Pediaei, and the Diacrii⁵; or, as Herodotus calls them, the Hyperacrii. These last, the occupants of the hills, were poor people, and favoured democracy. The Pediaei, or owners of estates in the plain, being comparatively wealthy, preferred aristocracy. The Parali, or people on the shore, had schemes of polity adapted to their interests; for in Athens, as elsewhere, factions contended for their interests, and called them principles. In the earliest times, under Cecrops, Attica was divided

⁴ The opinions of Thunmann (*Hist. of the Nations of Eastern Europe*), Masci (*Annales d. Voy.* III. p. 145), and Malte-Brun (*Géographie*, VI. p. 201), on this

question, have been fully confirmed by Xylander (*Sprache der Skipetar*, 1833).

⁵ Plutarch, *Solon*, xiii. xix. Schol. *Aristoph. Vesp.* 1218.

among four tribes, Κεκρωπῖς, αὐτόχθων, ἀκταία, παραλία. Subsequently, under Cranaus, the tribes were named Κραναῖς, ἀτθῖς, μεσογαία, διακρίς⁶. The Diacrii, called also Hyperacrii, or hill-men⁷, were probably the Autochthones. The Pediaei were obviously comprehended in the Mesogaei, or Midlanders. The word καταφρονήσας in this passage signifies "meditating," bent in thought upon an object.]

104. Τρωματίσας ἑωϋτόν τε καὶ ἡμιόνους] *Having wounded himself and his mules.* Ulysses, Zopyrus⁸, and some others, had recourse to a similar artifice for the good of their country, whereas Pisistratus employed it to enslave his. Solon, therefore, said to him⁹: "Son of Hippocrates, wretchedly do you play the part of Homer's Ulysses. He mutilated his body to deceive his enemies, you do it to deceive your countrymen."

Dionysius revived this stratagem about 155 years afterwards, with the same success. The town of Leontium was the place of¹ arms of the Syracusans, and was then full of exiles and all sorts of foreigners. Dionysius encamped during the night in the open country. He feigned that an ambush had been laid for him, uttered loud cries, and by means of his domestics excited a considerable tumult, and took refuge in the citadel, where he passed the remainder of the night, lighting fires and calling about him those soldiers in whom he had the greatest confidence. The people having assembled at day-break in the town of Leontium, he spoke to them of the snare that had been laid for him, in such a manner as to persuade them to give him 600 men, to be chosen by himself from the whole army, for a personal guard. Dionysius, it is said, in this conduct, imitated Pisistratus the Athenian.

105. Ἐν τῇ πρὸς Μεγαρέας γενομένην στρατηγίῃ. *In the expedition undertaken against the Megareans.* Pisistratus² having learned that the Megareans were about to come by sea, and, during the night, attack the women of Athens, who were celebrating the Thesmophoria at Eleusis, placed his men in ambuscade. The Megareans having landed, and advanced to some distance from the shore, Pisistratus attacked them, killed the greater part, and became master of the vessels which had conveyed them. He embarked his own troops with the women of Athens, and taking the route of Megara, they landed in the evening at a short distance from the city. The Megareans, seeing their vessels return, came out in great numbers to meet them, magistrates as well as people, and to see the prisoners; but the Athenians having landed, killed a great number of them, and carried off the most illustrious of the citizens they met with.

Plutarch relates this story in two ways, which materially differ. "Solon³," says he, "having landed at the promontory of Colias with

⁶ Pollux, VIII. ix. 109.

⁷ Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. I. xiii.

⁸ Homeri Odyss. IV. 244. Herodot. III. eliv. &c.

⁹ Plutarch, in Solone, p. 95, D.

¹ Diodor. Sic. XXI. xcv. vol. I. p. 618.

² Æneas Poliorcet. iv. pp. 1649, 1650.

³ Plutarch, in Solone, p. 82, D, E, F.

Pisistratus, perceiving that the women of Athens were celebrating there a festival in honour of Ceres, he immediately despatched to Salamis a confidential messenger, who, appearing to side with the Megareans, invited them to repair to the promontory of Colias, if they wished to become masters of the most distinguished women of Athens. The Megareans, easily persuaded, sent troops by sea. Solon instantly made the women retire, and put in their place beardless young men, dressed like women, and armed with daggers concealed under their clothes. He ordered them to approach the shore, and to perform dances till the Megareans should have landed. The Megareans, deceived by these appearances, having reached the shore, they threw themselves on the supposed women, with the intention of carrying them off; but the young men killed them, without suffering one to escape. The Athenians then set sail, and easily made themselves masters of Salamis."

"Others say, that Solon passed the night in the island, and sacrificed victims to the heroes Periphemus and Cychreus, in obedience to the oracle of Delphi, which had ordered him to propitiate by sacrifices the heroes who had been chiefs in the land, and whom the Asopian territory enclosed in its bosom: that he then demanded of the Athenians five hundred volunteers, who should administer the government of the island, if they succeeded in becoming masters of it. Solon departed in a thirty-oared vessel, accompanied by a number of fishing-boats, and landed on a point near Salamis, and opposite Eubœa. A rumour of his arrival having been spread, the Megareans tumultuously took arms, and sent off a vessel to reconnoitre the enemy. Solon took possession of this vessel, put the Megareans in irons, and embarked in their stead the most valiant of his companions, whom he ordered to sail straight to the city, and above all to conceal themselves as cautiously as possible. Then, taking with him the rest of the Athenians, he gave battle to the Megareans by land. They were still engaged, when the vessel, which had made all speed, took the city." Plutarch adds, that this latter story appeared to him the more probable, because it bore some reference to a well-known custom.

106. *Νίσαιάν τε ἑλών.* *At the taking of Nisæa.* Nisæa⁴ was the principal port of the Megareans, about two miles from Megara, according to Spon⁵.

107. *Ἐδωκέ οἱ τῶν ἀστῶν καταλέξας ἄνδρας.* *Gave him for his guard.* The people being assembled on the subject of the snares which Pisistratus feigned were laid for him, gave him a guard of fifty for the security of his person⁶. Ariston proposed the decree; which having passed, the people did not insist with Pisistratus on the exact number, but suffered him to take as many he chose. Solon, in a letter⁷ to Epimenides, quoted by Diogenes Laërtius, but which in all probability is a

⁴ Diodor. Sicul. XII. lxvi. vol. I. p. 524. Add Strabo, IX. and Paus. Attic. xxxix.

⁵ Voyage de Spon, tom. II. p. 170.

⁶ Plutarch, in Solone, p. 95, E, F.

⁷ Diog. Laërt. in Solone, I. lxvi.

fabrication, writes, that Pisistratus demanded 400 guards, and that they were granted him, in spite of his (Solon's) representations. Polyænus says, that they gave him three hundred⁸.

108. Ἐσχον τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. *And seized upon the citadel.* Pisistratus seized on the sovereign power in the commencement of the last six months of the fourth year of the 54th Olympiad, under the archontate of Comias. This is clearly expressed in the Chronicle of Paros⁹: Ἀφ' οὗ Πεισίστρατος Ἀθηναίων ἐτυράννευσε ἔτη ΗΗΙΔΔΔΔΠΙΙ. Ἀρχωντος Ἀθήνησι Κωμίου. "Since the time that Pisistratus assumed the tyranny, Comias being archon, is 297 years." This calculation of the author of the Chronicle answers to January 4153 of the Julian period, 561 years before our era¹⁰. Plutarch, likewise, in his life of Solon¹, says, that Pisistratus commenced his tyranny under the archontate of Comias. He died² in the first year of the 63rd Olympiad. It was he, consequently, who governed Athens when Croesus inquired who were the most powerful people of Greece.

I am aware that Meursius³ places the commencement of the tyranny of Pisistratus in the 50th Olympiad; but this learned man relies solely upon the testimony of St. Clement of Alexandria⁴, who has copied Tatian, and of the anonymous author of the description of the Olympiads, which is found at the end of the Chronology of Eusebius. The authority of those two fathers of the church might have been of some weight before the discovery of the Parian Chronicle; but it must necessarily give way to that of this invaluable document. As to the anonymous writer who has given in Greek a description of the Olympiads, Meursius believed him to have been one of the ancients; but it is now pretty generally understood, that he was no other than Scaliger. The opinion of Meursius has been satisfactorily refuted by Father Corsini⁵.

109. Ἐπὶ τε τοῖσι κατεστεῶσι ἔνεμε τὴν πόλιν. *And governed the state in conformity with its constitution.* Here we have another example of the moderation of Pisistratus. He maintained⁶, says Plutarch, the greater part of the laws of Solon, observed them himself, and obliged his friends to do so. He was already tyrant, when he was cited before the Areopagus on a charge of murder. He modestly presented himself to plead his cause; but the accuser withdrew the charge. Aristotle reports the same occurrence⁷.

LX. 110. Μεγακλῆς ἐπεκηρυκεύετο Πεισιστράτῳ, εἰ βούλοιτό οἱ τὴν θυγατέρα ἔχειν γυναῖκα ἐπὶ τῇ τυραννίδι. *Megacles sent a messenger to*

⁸ Polyæn. Strateg. I. xxi. 3.

⁹ Marmor. Oxon. p. 26. Epoch. xl.

¹⁰ See above, note 57.

¹ Plut. in Sol. p. 97, A.

² Corsini Fast. Attic. vol. III. p. 94.

³ Meursius, de Archont. Athen. I. xiv.

et in Pisist. iii.

⁴ Clem. Alex. Strom. I. vol. I. p. 397. lin. 3.

⁵ Fasti Attici, vol. III. p. 87.

⁶ Plut. in Sol. p. 96, c.

⁷ Aristot. de Republ. V. xii. p. 417, B.

Pisistratus, proposing that the latter should take his daughter in marriage in consideration of the tyranny. Meursius⁸ names this daughter of Megacles, Cœsyra, and refers to the testimony of Suidas, who says, under the word Ἐγκεκοισυρωμένην, that Cœsyra was married to Pisistratus; but this author does not add that she was the daughter of Megacles. The same Suidas relates at the close of the article, that Cœsyra was the daughter of Alcmaeon; which is the more probable, as Aristophanes calls Megacles, in the Acharnenses, verse 684, ὁ Κοισύρας.

111. Γυνὴ τῇ οὐνομα ἦν Φύη. *A woman whose name was Phya.* This Phya⁹ was the daughter of a man named Socrates, and sold crowns or wreaths. Pisistratus married her to his son Hipparchus, as Clidemus relates in the eighth book of his Νόστοι. “She was accused¹, after Pisistratus was driven from the government, of state crimes. I might, said the accuser, have charged her also with impiety, for having in an impious manner personated Minerva.”

LXI. 112. Λεγομένων ἐναγέων εἶναι τῶν Ἀλκμαιωνιδέων. *The Alcmaeonidæ being said to be impure.* Megacles, who was archon at the time of the conspiracy of Cylon, had the accomplices in it slain at the foot of the altars where they had taken refuge².

All those who took any part in this slaughter were considered polluted. The partisans of Cylon, having recovered their strength, were perpetually at war with³ the family of Megacles. When the sedition was at its height, and the people divided, Solon advanced into the midst of them, and persuaded those who were accounted *impure*, to submit to the judgment of 300 of the principal citizens. Being condemned, the survivors of them were banished, and the bodies of those who had died were dug up and removed beyond the frontiers of Attica.

113. Ἐς Ἐρέτριαν. *To Eretria.* There were two cities of this name; one in Thessaly, the other in Eubœa. Pisistratus must have retired to the latter; since he left Eubœa on his return to Attica, and the port of the Eubœan Eretria was convenient for a descent on the latter country⁴.

114. Ἦγειρον δωτίνας ἐκ τῶν πολίων αἱ τινές σφι προηδέατό κού τι. *They collected gifts from the states which were under any obligations to them.* Προηδέατο, without the subscribed iota, is derived by Gronovius from προήδομαι, and by Larcher from προειδέναι. But προηδέατο, from προαιδέομαι, is the preferable reading. Coray observes on it, “This metaphorical sense of the word αἰδέομαι is preserved, just as it is in Herodotus, in our vulgar tongue. We modern Greeks employ the word ἐντρέπομαι in the primitive sense of the word αἰδέομαι, ‘to respect, to feel shame,’ as in these phrases: εἰτράπου τὸ γῆράς μου, ‘respect my

⁸ Meursius, in Pisist. iv.

⁹ Athen. Deipn. XIII. ix. p. 609, c, d.

¹ Hermog. de Invent. I. p. 42. lin. 26.

² Plut. in Sol.—Herod. V. lxx.

³ Plut. in Sol. p. 84, B. c.

⁴ Polyæn. Strateg. I. xxi. p. 43.

old age: δὲν ἐντρέπεται; 'are you not ashamed?' We moreover give it the metaphorical sense of being under obligations to any one, owing them something; as in these phrases: δὲν τὸν ἐντρέπομαι τί ποτε, 'I owe him no obligation;' and still more elegantly, δὲν τὸν ἐντρέπομαι μήτε πολὺ μήτε ὀλίγον, 'I am under no obligation to him, neither small nor great.' Τί τὸν ἐντρέπομαι; 'what obligation do I owe him?' that is to say, none. In another passage (III. cxl.) Herodotus employs the word προαιδεῖσθαι in the same sense: Καὶ τίς ἐστι Ἑλλήνων εὐεργέτης, ᾧ ἐγὼ προαιδεῦμαι;

115. Καὶ Νάξιος—τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Λύγδαμις. *And a Naxian, named Lygdamis.* This Lygdamis was a great friend of Pisistratus. The latter having conquered the isle of Naxos⁵ confided the government of it to Lygdamis, or rather conferred on him the tyranny; for Polyænus says that he was tyrant of it. Lygdamis assisted Polycrates to become tyrant of Samos⁶.

LXII. 116. Διὰ ἐνδεκάτου ἔτεος ἀπίκοντο ὀπίσω. *At the beginning of the eleventh year.* Διὰ ἐνδεκάτου ἔτεος has been ill rendered by the Latin translator, 'anno undecimo vertente.' [See the last paragraph of Note 64.]

117. Ἀμφίλυτος ὁ Ἀκαρνάν, χρησμολόγος ἀνὴρ. *Amphilytus, of Acharnæ, a man gifted with prophecy.* Ἀκαρνάν cannot, in this place, mean an Acarnanian. Plato⁷ makes Socrates call Amphilytus "our countryman," ὁ ἡμεδαπὸς Ἀμφίλυτος, and, a line lower down, Theages answers that he was a prophet, χρησµωδός. St. Clement of Alexandria⁸ says positively that Amphilytus, by whose advice Pisistratus seized on the sovereignty, was an Athenian. It is true, that all the editions of this writer have Amphiletus; but this is an error of the copyists. Herodotus had probably written Ἀκαρνενός, according to the Ionic dialect for Ἀχαρνενός, from Ἀχαρνὴ or Ἀχαρναί, one of the δῆμοι or subdivisions of the Athenian people: an ignorant copyist may have substituted Ἀκαρνάν. Valckenaer cites many instances wherein the copyists have mistaken the one for the other.

The name of this hamlet reminds me of Achradus, which Stephanus of Byzantium⁹ has placed amongst the towns (δῆμοι) of Attica. This geographer refers to the 362nd verse of the Ecclesiazusæ of Aristophanes. He did not perceive that it was a joke of the comic poet. Blepyrus was suffering¹ under a constipation from having eaten wild-pears, ἀχράς. He plays on this word, out of which he forms the name of a people that never existed, νῦν μὲν γὰρ οὗτος βεβαλάνωκε τὴν θύραν, ὅστις ποτ' ἔστ' ἄνθρωπος Ἀχραδούσιος. 'Nunc enim hic, quicunque tandem ille sit Achradusius vir, ostium obseravit.'

⁵ Herod. I. lxiv.

⁶ Polyæni Strateg. I. xxiii. pp. 48, 49.

⁷ Plat. in Theage, vol. I. p. 124.

⁸ Clem. Alex. Strom. I. vol. I. p. 398.

⁹ Steph. Byz. voc. Ἀχραδοῦς.

¹ Aristoph. Eccles. 355.

And upon this authority, Meursius, Corsini, and La Martinière, have spoken of this pretended hamlet². The last-named writer makes more of it than any of the rest, for he converts this imaginary township into a tribe.

118. *Θείη πομπῇ χρεώμενος. Having a divine mission.* Mr. Bryant³ maintains that this Amphilytus had a divine revelation, a peculiar commission from the gods; and to prove it, he derives *πομπή*, which comes from *πέμπω*, from the Oriental languages, in which 'Pomphi' signifies 'the oracles.' Thus, according to this writer, *πομπή* is only the procession of the oracles. This, it must be agreed, is a strange abuse of erudition.

Πομπή signifies 'a mission, a sending, a conducting or accompanying.' The last signification has given occasion to this word being taken in the sense of procession, because these processions accompanied the shrines of the gods, which they conducted round the temples or elsewhere.

LXIII. 119. *Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Πεισίστρατον ἐσπεσόντες, τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τρέπουσι. Those with Pisistratus, falling on the Athenians, put them to flight.* This defeat of the Athenians (of the city, *οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος*) happened near the town of Pallene. Andocides, on the contrary, speaks of a victory gained by the Athenians over the Pisistratidæ at Pallenum⁴.

LXIV. 120. *Οὕτω δὲ Πεισίστρατος τὸ τρίτον σχὼν Ἀθήνας. Pisistratus having thus for the third time rendered himself master of Athens.* "Pisistratus, tyrant as he was, loved literature, and favoured those who cultivated it. It was he who collected all the works of Homer into one volume, and who gave to the public the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* in the state in which we now have them.

"Tyrant, signifies three things. 1. He who governs despotically, but legitimately and justly, a state which belongs to him⁵. It is in this sense that the word must be understood in almost every place where Herodotus employs it. 2. He who has usurped the sovereign power over a free people, whether he governs with equity and moderation, or with cruelty and injustice. Such was Pisistratus, who nevertheless governed the Athenians according to the laws. 3. He who governs a state with cruelty and injustice, whether he has obtained the power fairly or by violence. Pisistratus was the first who opened in Athens a public library. The Athenians, after his time, maintained and considerably augmented it; but Xerxes, having taken and burned the city of Athens, carried off all the books, and conveyed them to Persia. Long

² Meurs. de Pop. Attic.—Corsini, Fast. Attic. I. 226.—La Martinière, Dict. Géogr.

³ A New System of Ancient Mythology, vol. I. p. 259.

⁴ See V. lxiv. and the notes.

⁵ I am persuaded that M. Bellanger is mistaken in this opinion, and that the word has been used in this sense only by the poets. See III. 1. note.

afterwards, King Seleucus, surnamed Nicator, sent them back again to Athens⁶."—BELLANGER.

On the base of the statue of Pisistratus at Athens was engraved this inscription⁷: "Twice was I tyrant: twice did the people of Erechtheus expel me, and twice did they call me back, me Pisistratus, great in council, who collected together the works of Homer, which were previously sung only in scattered fragments. For this excellent poet was our fellow-citizen, since we Athenians founded Smyrna."

121. Τῶν μὲν, αὐτόθεν, τῶν δὲ, ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος ποταμοῦ. *Partly from Attica, and partly from the river Strymon.* There were mines of silver in Attica, at Laurium⁸ and at Thoricus⁹.

The country between the Strymon and the Nestus¹ was celebrated for its mines. King Philip, having seized on them, drew thence great revenues. There were on mount Pangæa² mines of gold and silver, as well as in the country on each side of the Strymon. It is known that the Athenians possessed places on this river, and, amongst others, Amphipolis.

122. Ὀμήρους τε τῶν παραμεινάντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ μὴ αὐτίκα φευγόντων παῖδας λαβὼν, καὶ καταστήσας ἐς Νάξον. *Taking also as hostages the children of the Athenians who stayed behind and did not immediately make their escape, and placing them in Naxos.* Ὀμήρους λαβὼν refers to ἐρρίζωσε τὴν τυραννίδα, and for this reason I have so translated it. It is of hostages here referred to, I am inclined to think, that Solon speaks, when he says to the Athenians³,

Αὐτοὶ γὰρ τούτους ἠνέξήσατε, ῥύσια δόντες,
Καὶ διὰ ταῦτα κακὴν ἔσχετε δουλοσύνην.

"You have aggrandised them (your tyrants), by giving them pledges, and it is by means of these pledges that you are slaves."

Pisistratus, not content with taking as hostages the children of his opponents, also disarmed the people in this way⁴. He ordered the Athenians to repair with their arms to the temple of Castor and Pollux. They obeyed. He harangued them in a low voice, so that they could not hear him; on which they begged him to place himself in the vestibule of the temple, that all might conveniently hear him. He condescended so far, but spoke no louder. Whilst they were most attentively listening to his discourse, his troops advanced, took away the people's arms, and carried them to the temple of Aglauros, close to the citadel;

⁶ Aul. Gell. Noct. Att. VI. xvii. See also the notes on lib. III. where I have given a more just idea of what the Greeks understood by the term tyrant.

⁷ Analecta vet. Poët. Græc. cccviii. vol. III. p. 216.

⁸ Thucyd. II. iv. p. 133. and VI. xci. p. 437.

⁹ Xenophon de Reditibus, III. xliii.

p. 271.

¹ Strab. VII. p. 498, B.

² Id. Excerpt. ex lib. VII. p. 511. col. I, B.

³ Analecta vet. Poët. Græc. vol. i. p. 71. xviii. Plutarch, in Sol. p. 96, B.—Brunck justly prefers ῥύσια, which is the reading of Stephens.

⁴ Polyæni Strateg. I. xxi. 2.

for we must read in Polyænus Ἀγλαύρου, and not Ἀγραύλου. This Aglauros was the daughter of Cecrops.

Maximus Tyrius also alludes to this stratagem⁵. "When," says he, "were the Athenians slaves? when the Pisistratidæ forced them to till the earth, after having taken from them their arms."

Another of his devices was as follows. As he was in perpetual fear of a revolt from a people so numerous as that of Athens, he dispersed them and obliged them to reside in the country. "What shall we do with all these people?" says Dio Chrysostom⁶; "shall we force them to inhabit the country, as the Athenians formerly did, and as they did again when Pisistratus seized on the sovereign power?"

To prevent the inhabitants of the country from re-entering the city, Pisistratus ordered them to wear the catonace, a sort of dress of a coarse stuff, reaching only to the knees, and which was bordered with sheep-skin bearing the wool⁷.

Aristophanes also speaks of it⁸: "Have you then forgotten, Athenians, that when you wore the catonace, the Lacedæmonians came in arms, and killed a great number of Thessalians, friends and allies of Hippias; that they were the only people who assisted you on that occasion, and that having restored you to liberty, they clothed your people in the dress of freemen, instead of the catonace?"

123. Καθήρας δὲ ὧδε, ἐπ' ὅσον ἔποψις τοῦ ἱεροῦ εἶχε, ἐκ τούτου τοῦ χώρου παντὸς ἐξορύξας τοὺς νεκροὺς, μετεφορέει ἐς ἄλλον χῶρον τῆς Δήλου. *Having purified it (the island) in this manner: as far as the view extended from the temple, throughout all that extent, disinterring the dead bodies, he removed them to another part of Delos.* The Athenians⁹ finished what Pisistratus had begun; they removed elsewhere all the tombs that were in the Isle of Delos, and forbade their women to lie-in there, and to all persons whomsoever to die there, obliging them to go for that purpose to the Isle of Rhenæa. To the non-observance of this decree, the superstitious people attributed the plague¹⁰ which ravaged Attica towards the commencement of the Peloponnesian war.

When Æschines, on his way to Rhodes¹, touched at Delos, the Delians were afflicted with a species of leprosy; their hair became white, their necks and breasts were covered with excrescences; but they were without fever, and felt but little pain. They looked upon this malady as the effect of Apollo's anger, because they had buried in the island one of the principal inhabitants.

LXV. 124. Λυκούργου. *Lycurgus*. "Lycurgus, by the laws which he gave to the Lacedæmonians, formed in the heart of Greece a new people,

⁵ Max. Tyr. Dissert. XXIX. (XIII.) iii. p. 349.

⁶ Dio Chrys. Orat. VII. p. 120, B. and XXV. p. 281, D.

⁷ See Hesych. voc. Κατωνάκη, and Jul. Poll. VII. xiv. 68. Vol. II. p. 735.

⁸ Aristoph. Lysist. 1150 & s.

⁹ Thucyd. III. civ. p. 230. Plutarch, Apophth. Laconic. p. 59. Add also Ammian. Marcel. XXII. xii.

¹⁰ Diod. Sic. XII. lviii. vol. I. p. 518.

¹ Æsch. Epist. p. 205, B.

who possessed nothing in common with the rest of the Greeks but their language. The Lacedæmonians became, by his means, men different from the rest of their species, different in their manners, as in their ideas and opinions, different in their food and in their dress, as in the character of their minds and hearts. But nothing more powerfully contributed to make them a completely insulated nation, than the law which they adopted of removing all foreigners from their country. Herodotus seems to refer this custom to an age antecedent to Lycurgus, and he even attributes the abolition of it to that legislator. If he really means that the law forbidding the reception of foreigners was anterior to Lycurgus, and that from his time it ceased to exist, he is contradicted by the testimony of a host of writers, and by a vast number of historical facts, even facts that he himself relates. The rites of hospitality were sacred in Lacedæmon, as in the rest of Greece. Menelaus received there Telemachus and Pisistratus. The Lacedæmonians received hospitably the Minyæ, and granted them the rights of citizenship². Aristotle informs us how easy it was, in those times, to become a citizen of Sparta; and Strabo assures us, that the first kings of that city, of the family of the Heraclidæ, who were the ancestors of Lycurgus, granted the right of citizenship to every foreigner who desired it³. This law then, the Lacedæmonian Xenelasia, (*Ξενηλασία Λακωνική*), did not exist before Lycurgus. When Herodotus, therefore, represents the Lacedæmonians as unsociable amongst themselves, and more so with respect to strangers, up to the time of the reform of Lycurgus, he must refer either to their intestine divisions, which occurred, according to the historians, under their first princes the Heraclidæ, or to their barbarous custom of sacrificing human victims, with which they have been so often reproached⁴. As to the Xenelasia, Lycurgus, far from having abolished it, was undoubtedly its author. Xenophon reckons this among the other laws established by Lycurgus⁵. Independently of all these authorities, the Lacedæmonian Xenelasia is sufficiently stamped with the character of the legislator, from its accordance with the spirit of his other laws: the singularity and rigour of these last rendered the former necessary, nor need we seek further for its author or the reasons of its institution. The motive for this regulation was to prevent the morals of the Spartans from receiving pernicious impressions from foreign communications. Thucydides adduces another reason for it. Lycurgus feared, says he, that foreigners might profit by the policy of the Lacedæmonians, and establish in their own countries the maxims of government and the rules of virtue peculiar to themselves: but Plutarch overturns this reason, and endeavours to justify the Lacedæmonians, by affirming that Lycurgus repelled strangers, not, as Thucydides conceived, for fear they should imitate the wisdom of his laws, and by this means make great

² Hom. Odyss. IV. Herod. IV. cxlv. II.

³ Aristot. Polit. II. Strab. VIII.

⁴ Plut. in Parall. Porphy. de Abst. Lycurg.

⁵ Xenoph. vol. V. p. 96.—Plut. in

progress in virtue, but rather lest they should impart customs hostile to the morals of his own people⁶. He even gives us to understand, that the law was put in force only against such strangers as stole into the city without any ostensible reason. In fact, the entrance into the city was not universally refused. Lycurgus invited Thales from the island of Crete. Some time afterwards, the Lacedæmonians sent to Lesbos for the poet Terpander; Pherecydes also came thither. Tyrtaeus was received there, naturalized, and made a citizen⁷. Some writers have even asserted⁸, that Lycurgus had given orders to admit into the number of citizens and to the partition of lands, all strangers and foreigners who would conform to the laws of the country; but this opinion, in its full extent, is confirmed neither by authority nor example. There was another description of strangers whom the Lacedæmonians thought themselves but too happy in receiving, without any fear of counteracting the intentions of their legislator. I speak of the allies who came with troops to their assistance. And it was thus, that in the very infancy of the republic, under the reign of Telecles, the Agidæ, who were a Theban family, came from Bœotia to Sparta⁹. Stobæus says, in general, that it was not permitted to strangers to remain in Sparta, nor to the Spartans to reside in a foreign country¹.—BEL-LANGER.

125. Οἱ μὲν δὴ τινες πρὸς τούτοις λέγουσι. *Some add to this.* "Lycurgus conducted himself after the manner of Minos, whom he imitated; for he learned from the Pythian Oracle, in his frequent journeys to Delphi, the laws which he was to give to the Lacedæmonians. I will not say that this was absolutely the case; but it is the received opinion²."

126. Λυκοῦργον ἐπιτροπεύσαντα Λεωβώτῳ ἀδελφιδέῳ μὲν ἑωυτοῦ, βασιλεύοντος δὲ Σπαρτιητέων. *When Lycurgus was guardian to his nephew Leobotas, king of Sparta.* This is evidently a corruption. Leobotas could not be the nephew of Lycurgus; for he descended from the branch of the Eurysthenidæ, and Lycurgus from that of the Proclidæ. If we suppose, with Paulmier de Grentemesnil³, that this prince was the son of Lycurgus's sister, that would be at variance with what all the historians report as to the birth of Leobotas and that of Lycurgus. Besides, authors have, for the most part, agreed, that Charillus or Charilaus was the ward and the nephew of Lycurgus⁴. And for this reason, the President Bouhier would have Charillus substituted for Leobotas⁵. Marsham⁶ contents himself with a slight transposition: Λυκοῦργον ἐπιτροπεύσαντα ἀδελφιδέῳ μὲν ἑωυτοῦ, βασιλεύοντος δὲ Σπαρτιητέων

⁶ Thueyd. H. Plut. in Lycurg.

⁷ Strab. X. Plut. in Agide.

⁸ Plut. Apophth. Lacon.

⁹ See Pind. Isthm. Ode VII. and Pyth. Ode V. Canon, Narr. XXXVII.

¹ Stob. Serm. XLIII. p. 293. See also Suidas, in voc. Λυκοῦργος.

² Strab. Geogr. XVI. p. 1105, c, d.

³ Exercit. in opt. fere Auct. Græc. p. 330.

⁴ Meursius, Miscel. Lacon. II. v.

⁵ Rech. et Dissert. sur Hérodoté, p. 150.

⁶ Canon Chronicus, &c. p. 428.

Λεωβώτew. Nothing can be more simple than this; but it does not remove all the difficulties of the case. Lycurgus, so far from having been the guardian of Leobotas, as the corrupted text of Herodotus has it, or the guardian of Charillus, under the reign of Leobotas, as Marsham would make out, was not even born, either during the reign of Leobotas or that of Doryssus his son. It will be seen also, that Lycurgus was guardian of Charillus in the year 3826 of the Julian period, 888 years before our era; that he instituted, or rather restored, the Olympiads in the year 3830 of the same period, 884 years before our era; and that he promulgated his laws in the year 3848 of the same period, 866 years before our era. I content myself here with simply giving these dates. Those who feel a desire to know the calculations by which I arrive at them, have only to consult the seventeenth chapter of my Essay on Chronology.

The name of Leobotas cannot be admitted into the text, since this prince ascended the throne 1035 years before the vulgar era, and, having reigned forty years, died 999 years before that era; whereas Lycurgus was born in the year 924 B.C., that is to say, seventy-five years after the death of Leobotas. I am aware that the reading of the text may be supported by reference to Pausanias⁷: but that author having been altered in very many places, how are we to be sure that it is not also the case here? Besides, no authority can outweigh that of chronology.

[Pausanias gives, in the passage referred to, the words of Herodotus, stating that Lycurgus was guardian of Leobotas. The corruption of the historian's text, therefore, if it be corrupt, must be as old as the time of Pausanias: for as to the supposition that the text of the latter writer is also corrupt, it is highly improbable that the exact conformity existing between the texts of those two writers should be the result of the blundering of transcribers.

But no authority, says Larcher, can outweigh chronology. This is true so far as chronology is matter of fact: but a hypothetical arrangement of dates, however convenient it may be, can have no claim to paramount authority. Now Larcher's chronology of the Spartan kings⁸, to uphold which he would change the texts of Herodotus and Pausanias, involves hypotheses which are wholly untenable. For, assuming a speculative opinion of Aristotle⁹ to be borrowed from a law of Lycurgus, he concludes that the Lacedæmonians did not marry till they were thirty-seven years of age; and thence that a generation in Sparta extended to thirty-seven years. The operation of such a law would really extend the average interval between the progenitor and his lineal successor to forty-years at least. Larcher, however, satisfied with giving a retrospective effect to the supposed marriage-law of Lycurgus, allows thirty-seven years to all the generations of Spartan kings. Such are the artifices of the chronological system which pretends to be superior to all authority.

⁷ Paus. III. ii. p. 207.

479, &c.

⁸ Hist. d'Hérod. trad. tom. VII. p.

⁹ Aristot. de Repub. VII. xvi.

There is much variance in ancient writers respecting the age of Lycurgus and the circumstances of his life¹. Some make him only one generation later than Homer, others fix him in the reign of Alcamenes or 776 B.C.²; but Cicero judiciously placed him 108 years anterior to the latter date³. Amid so many conflicting opinions, the authority of Herodotus is certainly entitled to respect, and even if his statement be incorrect, we are not warranted in concluding that his text has been changed.]

With regard to the word Βαγός, we find in Hesychius, Βαγός, Βασιλεὺς, Λάκωνες. On this authority, I should correct τοῦ Βαγοῦ μνᾶμα Λεωνίδεω, instead of τοῦ ταγοῦ, κ. τ. λ. in the epigram⁴ of Lollius Bassus upon the three hundred Lacedæmonians who fell in the pass of Thermopylæ. Βαγός was, as we see, the proper term in Lacedæmon to signify king.

127. Καὶ ἐφύλαξε ταῦτα μὴ παραβαίνειν. *And took measures against the infringement, &c.* There were certain Lacedæmonians⁵ who, finding the laws of Lycurgus too severe, preferred expatriating themselves to submitting to them. They passed into Italy among the Sabines; and when the latter incorporated themselves with the Romans, they communicated to them a part of the Lacedæmonian customs, which they had adopted.

128. Ἐνωμοτίας καὶ τριηκάδας καὶ συσσίτια. *The Enomotiae, the Triacades, and the Syssitia.* Thucydides affirms⁶ that there were four Enomotiae in the Pentecostys, and four Pentecostyes in the Lochus. The Pentecostys being supposed to be fifty men, the Lochus must have been two hundred, and the Enomotia a dozen, as it is impossible to divide fifty into four equal integral numbers. On the other hand, Xenophon, who passed part of his life amongst the Lacedæmonians, and possessed every means of information as to their government, informs us, that the Mora contained four Lochi, eight Pentecostyes, and sixteen Enomotiae⁷. If the Lochus consisted of 200 men, the Mora must have contained 800, the Pentecostys 100, and the Enomotia 50. And that is totally at variance with the idea of the Pentecostys which we should conceive from the etymology of the word. If we suppose that the Lochus consisted of but 100 men, the Mora would be 400, and there would be but two Pentecostyes in the Lochus, and two Enomotiae of twenty-five men each in the Pentecostys. In whatever way we look at this passage, it will be a contradiction to Thucydides.

It is possible, however, that these two authors have made no mistake. The Mora may have varied, as our regiments do, as to the number of men composing it. The Pentecostys would never change; I mean, it must always have consisted of fifty men; but there may have been a

¹ Plut. in Lycurg. in init.

² Syncellus, Chronogr. p. 185.—Eusebius, Chron. 1218.

³ De Repub. II. x.

⁴ Anthol. III. v. p. 204. ex edit. Henrici Stephani.

⁵ Dionys. Hal. Antiq. Rom. II. xlix. p. 109.

⁶ Thucyd. V. lxviii. p. 359.

⁷ Xenoph. Lacedæm. Polit. XI. iv. pp. 87, 88.

greater or less number of Pentecostyes in each Mora, at different times; the Enomotia being sometimes the half, and sometimes the quarter of the Pentecostys, as the passages quoted from Xenophon and Thucydides prove. It appears to me certain, that when Lycurgus instituted these various corps, the Enomotia comprised but twelve men; for had it amounted to twenty-five, as it afterwards did, it is not likely that the legislator would have formed in the same corps companies of thirty men. That must necessarily have introduced confusion into the Mora; for Triacas is the number of thirty, and the Triacades must necessarily be companies of thirty men. Perhaps at that time the Enomotia was half of the Triacas, and there were so many Triacades in each Lochus, and so many Lochi in each Mora. At the time that the Triacas was admitted, the Pentecostys could not have existed: for the Lochus and the Mora, being divided into thirties, could not admit of the division into fifties, unless the Mora at that time consisted of three, six, or nine hundred men. On whatever side I contemplate this passage, I encounter difficulties beyond my ability to clear up.

An idea has occurred to me, which will not indeed reconcile Thucydides with Xenophon, but which may serve to explain, to a certain extent, the passage of Herodotus. The Triacades, of which this historian speaks, formed perhaps no definite portion of the Lochus, no regular body of troops, but was what we should call, in our army, *une chambrée*, a party considered as subsisting only when meals are in question. And what confirms me in my conjecture is, that the MS. Lexicon of Herodotus, which is in the library of St. Germain des Prés, explaining this word, says, *δεῖπνα κατὰ δῆμους καὶ ἀριθμὸς λ' ἀνδρῶν*, 'messes by the guild, each thirty in number.' We must remember, that amongst the ancients the armies were not composed, as with us, of soldiers drawn promiscuously from every country under their dominion. Tribes and divisions of tribes were not mixed with each other. I know that M. Koen asserts⁸, that the first explanation, I mean *δεῖπνα κατὰ δῆμους*, does not refer to the Triacades, but to the Syssitia, of which Herodotus speaks afterwards. It may be so: yet the more I reflect on this passage, the more I am persuaded that Herodotus did not allude to the Syssitia formed in time of peace, but to those which actually took the field. In fact, Herodotus says, "Lycurgus regulated every thing relative to war, the Enomotiae, the Triacades, and the Syssitia." I am of opinion, that our author added the term Syssitia to explain that of Triacades, and to prevent his readers from fancying that the Triacas was a corps forming part of a more numerous body.

129. *Πρὸς τε τούτοισι τοὺς ἐφόρους καὶ γέροντας ἔστησε Λυκοῦργος. Besides these, Lycurgus instituted the Ephori and the Senators.* There are various opinions as to the time of the institution of the Ephori. Eusebius says⁹, that they were created in the first year of the

⁸ Koenius in notis ad Gregorium de Dialectis, p. 239.

⁹ Euseb. Chronic. Can. p. 157.

5th Olympiad. Plutarch, in his life of Lycurgus¹ and elsewhere, states them to have been instituted about 130 years after this legislator, by king Theopompus. It would therefore follow that as Lycurgus died about the year 856 before our era, the institution of the Ephori took place in the third year of the 13th Olympiad, or 726 years before our era. Plutarch, however, as well as Eusebius, may have adopted the calculation of those who make Lycurgus more ancient. And what proves that Plutarch did so is, that Theopompus, who according to him established the Ephori, succeeded his father Nicander in the third year of the 2nd Olympiad, as may be inferred from a passage of St. Clement of Alexandria², where it is said that the Olympiads were instituted in the thirty-fourth year³ of Nicander; and it is known that this prince survived that establishment five years. I have for good reasons placed the institution of the Olympiads in the forty-eighth year of Nicander, and the accession of his son Theopompus to the throne five years afterwards, which comes to the same thing⁴.

Aristotle⁵ thinks with Plutarch, that Theopompus instituted the Ephori. Cicero also appears to hold the same opinion⁶: "Quare nec Ephori Lacedæmone sine causâ à Theopompo oppositi Regibus." We read the same in Valerius Maximus⁷.

To these testimonies, however, may be opposed Herodotus, who, having made great research, and living nearer to the time, ought to have greater weight. Xenophon, who had retired to the territory of Lacedæmon, and who thoroughly understood the government of that state, which he had made his particular study, agrees in opinion with Herodotus⁸, as does also Plato⁹, and Satyrus, a Peripatetic philosopher¹, who wrote the Lives of Illustrious Men, and respecting whom the reader may consult Vossius de Historicis Græcis.

[Müller shows that the Ephori were a characteristic part of all the Dorian constitutions; and consequently that their establishment in Lacedæmon may be referred with probability to the earliest organization of that state². The same writer considers Lycurgus as a personage in some measure mythological; or as one of those names on which conjecture, uncertain tradition, and fable are disposed to fix.]

The Ephori were five in number³. Their election took place every year⁴, on the 8th October⁵. They were chosen from amongst the

¹ *Part.* in Lycurgo, p. 43, E, and ad Princ. inerud. p. 779, E.

² Clem. Alex. Strom. I. vol. I. p. 389. lin. 23.

³ The Latin translation of St. Clement says, the thirtieth; but the Greek text has *τούτου κατὰ τὸ τριακοστὸν τέταρτον ἔτος*.

⁴ Larcher, Hist. d'Hérod. trad. vol. VII. xvii. p. 497.

⁵ Aristot. Polit. V. xi.

⁶ Cic. de Legibus, III. vii.

⁷ Valer. Max. IV. i. Extern. 8.

⁸ Xen. Lacedæm. Polit. VII. iii. p. 82.

⁹ Plato, Epist. VIII. p. 354, B. But he contradicts himself, De Legibus, III. p. 692, A.: at least he attributes in this latter place the institution of a senate to some other than Lycurgus.

¹ Diog. Laërt. I. lxviii. p. 43.

² Hist. of the Dorian Race, vol. II. p. 116.

³ Pausan. III. xi. p. 231.

⁴ Thucyd. V. xix. and xxxvi. pp. 330. 339.

⁵ Dodwell de Cyclis, Dissert. VIII. v.

people⁶. The first, who was entitled Ephorus Eponymus⁷, lent his name to the year; as the Archon Eponymus did in Athens: at Lacedæmon it was a usual mode of expression to say⁸, Ἐφορεύοντος τοῦ δεῖνα, "such a one being Ephorus." They had the same authority as the Cosmi⁹ of Crete, with this difference, that they were but five, as I have just remarked, whereas there were ten Cosmi in Crete. They served as a counterpoise¹ to the authority of the kings, and even sat in judgment on them with the senators². As they were in some points of view superior to the kings, they did not rise³ when those princes came into any place where they happened to be present. Cleomenes⁴ caused them to be massacred, about 226 years before our era; and since that time, to the best of my information, they are not mentioned in history, or at least they possessed no authority. Their magistracy was called Δασμός⁵.

The senators were twenty-eight in number⁶. Besides these there were five nomophylaces, or guardians of the laws, who were called Bidiaei; but by whom they were established, I know not. We may fairly conjecture that they also were the work of Lycurgus. For since this legislator established the laws concerning the exercises of the young people⁷, it is to be presumed that he created also the magistrates who presided over those exercises; but however the fact may be, this conjecture serves to clear up a passage of Xenophon⁸. Ὁ Κινάδων ἀγῶν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔσχατον τῆς ἀγορᾶς, ἀριθμῆσαι κελεύει ὅποσοι εἶεν Σπαρτιάται ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ. Καὶ ἐγὼ, ἔφη, ἀριθμήσας βασιλέα τε καὶ Ἐφόρους, καὶ Γέροντας, καὶ ἄλλους, ὥς τεσσαράκοντα. "Cinadon, leading him to the extremity of the square, commanded him to count how many Spartans were in the square. Including the king, he answered, the ephori, the senators, and others, I reckon about forty." The senators were twenty-eight in number; the two kings and five ephori made thirty-five: by the 'others,' therefore, we may understand the Bidiaei, which would make up the forty. The conspirator wished to show to those whom he was endeavouring to gain over to his party, the facility with which the government might be overthrown, since it consisted but of forty persons, who might easily be got rid of.

Lycurgus also instituted at Lacedæmon the Equestrian order⁹, on the model of that which was established in Crete, but with this difference, that the knights of Crete had horses, and those of Lacedæmon had none.

⁶ Aristot. Polit. II. ix. p. 330, A.

⁷ Pausan. III. xi. p. 232.

⁸ Thucyd. VIII. vi. p. 510.

⁹ Aristot. Polit. II. x. p. 332, D.

¹ Plato de Legibus, III. vol. II. p. 692, A.

² Pausan. III. v. p. 215.

³ Xen. de Rep. Lacedæm. XV. vi. p. 99. Nicolaus Damascenus de Morib.

Gent. apud Stobæum, Serm. xlii. p. 294. lin. 7.

⁴ Plut. in Agide, et Cleomene p. 808, B. C.

⁵ Plato, Epist. VIII. p. 354, B.

⁶ Herod. VI. lvii.

⁷ Pausan. III. xi. xiv. p. 231. 242.

⁸ Xen. Hellen. III. iii. p. 157.

⁹ Strabo, X. p. 738, A.

LXVI. 130. Τῷ δὲ Λυκούργῳ τελευτήσαντι ἱρὸν εἰσάμενοι, σέβονται μέγας. *Building a temple to Lycurgus on his death, they show him much veneration.* The Lacedæmonians having sworn¹ not to abrogate any of the laws of Lycurgus before his return to Sparta, this legislator went to consult the oracle at Delphi, which answered him that Sparta would be happy so long as it observed his laws. On this, he resolved never more to return thither, that he might insure the observance of them according to the terms of the oath. He repaired to Crissa, where he killed himself². When the Lacedæmonians heard of this event, wishing to acknowledge the virtue which had distinguished him both in life and death, they raised a temple with an altar in honour of him, and every year offered sacrifices to him, as to a hero.

131. Πολλοὶ ἐν Ἀρκαδίῃ βαλανηφάγοι ἄνδρες ἔασι. *Many Arcadian men on acorns fed.* The common acorn is too bitter and too unsubstantial a fruit to have ever furnished man with proper nourishment. The kind here mentioned, in taste resembles our chestnuts: it grows, and is still eaten in the southern parts of Europe. The ancient inhabitants of Spain dried them, and, having afterwards reduced them to meal by pounding, made them into bread³. And at the present day this sort is served up at all tables in Spain, roasted like our chestnuts. Leo Africanus says⁴, that not far from Mamora, in the kingdom of Fez, there is a forest, in which the trees are very lofty, bearing oblong acorns, much like the Damask plumbs, the taste of which resembles that of the chestnut, but is far superior.

[The oak which produces the sweet acorns of Barbary, Portugal, and some parts of Spain and Italy, is the *Quercus Ballota*; but the acorns of the *Q. Suber* or cork-tree are also eaten; and even some trees of the common *Q. Ilex* yield a palatable acorn. With the inhabitants of Mount Atlas, the acorn is a staple article of food⁵. Such was the case with the Greeks in early times. In the golden age men lived on the spontaneous productions of nature;

Et quæ deciderant patulâ Jovis arbore glandes.—Ov. Met. I. 101.

The oak-woods of Dodona are here referred to; and also in the following line of Virgil:

Chaoniam pingui glandem mutavit aristâ.—Georg. I. 2.

It is not unlikely that the religious character attached to that locality originated in the great bounty of nature there manifested. Acorns are still supplied to the markets of the Morea and of Asia Minor.]

132. Ἐσσωθέντες δὲ τῇ συμβολῇ. *Being worsted in the combat.* This

¹ Excerpta ex Nicol. Damasc. p. 449.

² Plut. in Lycurgo, p. 57, F. 59, B.—Pausan. III. xvi. p. 248.

³ Strabo, III. p. 233, A.

⁴ Joan. Leonis Africani, Afr. Descr. III. xvii. In Ramusio, I. fol. 101, b.

⁵ Desfontaines, Mém. de l'Acad. des Sc. 1790.

repulse happened to them in the reign of Charillus⁶. The wives of the Tegeates took up arms, and, placing themselves in ambuscade at the foot of Mount Phylactris⁷, rushed upon the Lacedæmonians whilst the latter were engaged with the Tegeates, and put them to flight. Charillus was taken; but released after promising not to carry arms against the Tegeates for the future. In memory of this exploit of the women, a statue of Mars, surnamed the Gynæcothœnas, that is to say, the 'Comrade of the women,' was erected in the square of Tegea.

Polyænus thus relates the same affair⁸: "The Lacedæmonians ravaging the territory of Tegea, Aleus, king of Arcadia, sent all those who were of an age to carry arms to a place which overlooked the enemy, with orders to attack them in the middle of the night. He commanded the old men and the children to remain in front of the city, and at the same time to kindle a large fire. The enemy, astonished at the sight of this fire, kept their eyes fixed on it; meanwhile, those who were on the heights rushed down upon the Lacedæmonians, killed a great number of them, and having made many prisoners, they bound them, and thus the oracle was accomplished:

Δώσω τοι Τεγέην ποσσίκροτον ὀρχήσασθαι.

"I will give thee Tegea to dance upon."

[Diodorus has also given the words of this oracle, with hardly any variation⁹. The expression ποσσίκροτον occurs in the Orphic Hymns, XXXI.]

133. Αἱ δὲ πέδαι αὗται, ἐν τῇσι ἐδεδέατο, ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν σῶαι ἐν Τεγέῃ, περὶ τὸν νηὸν τῆς Ἀλέης Ἀθηναίης κρεμάμεναι. *The same chains with which they were bound, were still preserved in Tegea, when I was there, suspended round the temple of Minerva Alea.* In the time of Pausanias, or 900 years after the event which they commemorated, some remains of them¹ still remained in the temple of Minerva Alea. The statue of this Minerva, which was seen at Tegea in the time of Pausanias, had been brought from the town of Manthyrea in Arcadia, the original statue having been removed to Rome by Augustus. It was called Minerva Hippias, because in the combat with the giants that goddess had driven her car against Enceladus. It was a prevailing usage among the different people of Greece, and, above all, among those of the Peloponnesus, to call it Minerva Alea. This was doubtless because the assistance of this goddess had enabled the gods to avoid a defeat, Ἀλία signifying 'escape.'

We must not, however, confound this Minerva with another, who was surnamed Alea, because worshipped in a town of that name² in Arcadia.

⁶ Pausan. III. vii. pp. 219, 220.

⁷ Id. VIII. v. p. 609. xlviii. p. 697.

⁸ Polyæni Strateg. I. viii. p. 26.

⁹ Nova Script. Coll. ed. Mai, II. p. 27.

¹ Pausan. VIII. xlvii. p. 695.

² Id. ibid. xxiii. p. 642.

LXVII. 134. Καὶ τύπος ἀντίτυπος καὶ πῆμ' ἐπὶ πῆματι κεῖται. *The type and the antitype, ill lies on ill.* Pausanias recites³ the same oracle. Herodotus, explaining this oracle in the following paragraph, says, that the type is the hammer, the antitype the anvil, and the evil upon evil the iron forged upon the anvil.

135. Ἐς οὗ δὴ Λίχης, τῶν ἀγαθοεργῶν καλεομένων Σπαρτιητέων, ἀνεῦρε. *Until Lichas, of the class of Spartans called Agathoergi, found out its meaning.* Thucydides⁴, Xenophon⁵, Plutarch⁶ always write Lichas. Yet it cannot be the same person these two latter authors speak of, since Plutarch mentions him as being famous only for the entertainment which he gave to the strangers who had assisted at the Gymnopædia.

The Lacedæmonians, out of gratitude, struck a medal in honour of Lichas. On one side⁷ was the head of Hercules, and on the other, a head with an enormous beard and a singular ornament. Round it was written Λίκο. I should think that the alpha is partly effaced. We know that the Dorians formed the genitive by a long⁸. The medal is of silver, but of very ordinary workmanship. The ornament of the head greatly resembles that of the priests, and has given rise to M. Haym's conjecture that the inhabitants of Lacedæmon having raised a temple in honour of Orestes, ordained Lichas priest of that divinity. But possibly this medal may relate to some other Lichas.

Timæus speaks of the Agathoergi in his Lexicon of the terms used by Plato, though the word does not occur in that author; but, as the learned Ruhnken has satisfactorily proved, there have crept into that Lexicon glosses which belong to other writers. They were chosen from the body of knights. Suidas is mistaken in saying that they were chosen from the ephori. Herodotus is more worthy of belief.

LXVIII. 136. Ἐλθὼν ἐς χαλκήϊον, ἐθηεῖτο σίδηρον ἐξελαυνόμενον. *Going into a smith's shop, he stayed looking at the iron as it was forged.* The Greek has εἰς χαλκήϊον, 'into the shop of one who works in copper.' Brass was discovered and worked before iron.

Prior æris erat quam ferri cognitus usus.—LUCRET. V. 1292.

"The use of brass preceded that of iron."

"They worked the earth with brass," says Hesiod⁹, "not having as yet discovered iron." But even when this latter metal had become common, they still continued to call those who worked in it χαλκεῖς, or 'brass-workers,' so powerful is custom¹⁰.

137. Ὀρύσσων ἐπέτυχον σορῶ ἑπταπήχεϊ . . . ἀνῶξα αὐτήν, καὶ εἶδον

³ Pausan. III. iii. p. 210.

⁴ Thucyd. V. i. p. 349.

⁵ Xen. Mem. Soc. I. ii.

⁶ Plut. in Cimone, p. 484, F.

⁷ Nicol. Fr. Haym, Thesaur. Britan.

vol. I. p. 133.

⁸ Buttmann's Gr. Gram. § 34. Ob. IV. 4.

⁹ Hesiodi Opera et Dies, 151, or 135 in Brunck's edition.

¹⁰ Pollux, Onom. VII. 106.

τὸν νεκρὸν μήκει ἴσον ἔόντα τῇ σορῶ. *In digging, I came upon a coffin seven cubits long I opened it, and saw that the corpse was equal in length to the coffin.* Solinus relates the same circumstance; and to impart to it an air of verisimilitude, he adds that, under Augustus, Pusio and Secondilla were more than ten feet high; that is to say, he endeavours to support a doubtful fact, by one which is not less so. Aulus Gellius has taken advantage of this passage of our historian to treat him as a retailer of fables¹¹. But even though this assertion concerning Orestes should be false, it is no less wrong of the critic to cast such a reproach on Herodotus.

Herodotus contents himself with reporting the fact, as he found it in the annals of Lacedæmon, without warranting its authenticity. In reading history, we find traditions as to the existence of a supposed gigantic race in almost every part of the world, even among the savages of Canada. Bones of unusual size, found in different countries, give a colour to these accounts. Some were shown in the time of Augustus, at Capreæ¹, which had belonged to monstrous animals; and it was pretended that they were those of the Giants who had fought against the gods. In 1613 the bones of the giant Teutobochus were exhibited all over Europe; till a naturalist proved that they were those of an elephant.

It is difficult, however, to believe, that historians have transmitted to us only fables as to the size of men in the earlier ages of the world. The actual existence of the Patagonians proves that nature has not universally degenerated. As to the high stature of our ancestors, see what M. Laureau² says, and we shall then have less difficulty in believing what the smith of Tegea told Lichas as to the height of Orestes; especially if we omit so much as the smith may have been supposed to add for the sake of making his story more marvellous.

[There will certainly be no difficulty in believing the smith of Tegea, when we shall have previously struck out of his discourse whatever seems marvellous. But such a retrenchment would probably reach the essence of his story. Larcher is hardly able to conceal his leaning towards the incredible. There are tombs and monuments enough in existence to prove that the size of the human being has not undergone any appreciable change within some thousands of years. When Herodotus was in Egypt, he might assuredly have seen mummies as old as the time of Orestes, so as to ascertain whether the human race had diminished in stature. With respect to the bones of giants, formerly so common, they are never seen now, when the scientific world seeks so diligently for organic remains. The Patagonians, formerly represented as giants, are now known, on better acquaintance, to be little larger than Europeans³. Of fifty of them measured by Captain King, only one

¹¹ Aul. Gellii Noct. Att. III. x.

p. 47. and note, edit. in 4to.

¹ Sueton. August. lxxii.

³ Fitzroy, Voy. of the Adventure &

² Histoire de France avant Clovis, Beagle, vol. I. p. 96. II. p. 145.

exceeded six feet in height. Nor is this superior height and robustness the character of the whole race or nation; only a few tribes placed in peculiarly favourable circumstances are so distinguished⁴; and they, instead of proving "that nature has not universally degenerated," may be rather considered as specimens of the improvement of which man's physical nature is susceptible. The following probable causes may be assigned for the physical superiority of the Patagonians: they occupy the Pampas in a temperate and dry climate; the tract west of the Andes and south of Valdivia, having a humid climate, is covered with luxuriant forests which nourish the game. The nut of the Araucaria, which grows in the Andes as far north as the latitude of Valparaiso, supplies the natives with abundance of food. Add to these resources the wild cattle and the horse of the Pampas. The Indians of the Araucanian race who, possessing abundance of animal and vegetable food, live on horseback, are the large people whom we call Patagonians. Among the natives of South America as well as of South Africa the families of the chiefs, being exempt from privations, are generally distinguished by great stature.]

138. Ἐμισθοῦτο τὴν αὐλήν. *He tried to hire the yard.* We must here remark the peculiar force of the Greek imperfect tense. Ἐμισθοῦτο does not signify that 'he hired,' but that 'he endeavoured to hire.' This is a common mode of expression. Νέων δὲ καὶ παρ' Ἀριστάρχου ἄλλοι ἔπειθον ἀποτρέπεσθαι⁵. "Neon and certain emissaries of Aristarchus endeavoured to persuade the soldiers not to go in search of Seuthes." [It is not *endeavour* which is expressed by the imperfect tense, but *purpose*; ἔμισθοῦτο signifies 'he wanted to hire' or 'would hire.' It describes an action not completed; and consequently modern languages, when expressing that tense by means of an auxiliary verb, employ one which indicates the intention or purpose of the agent⁶. Further on, our historian says that the Lacedæmonians χρυσὸν ὠνέοντο, which means not that they bought gold, for Cræsus gave them all they wanted, but that they had the intention of buying gold.]

139. Ἀνορύξας δὲ τὸν τάφον, καὶ τὰ ὀστέα συλλέξας, οἶχετο φέρων ἐς Σπάρτην. *Digging up the grave and gathering the bones, he carried them off to Sparta.* It may be asked, how Orestes, who neither reigned nor lived in Tegea, came to be buried in that city. We know generally from Strabo, that that prince⁷ died in Arcadia whilst leading the Æolian colony; but Stephanus of Byzantium is more particular. He asserts, that Orestes⁸, having been bitten by a viper, died at a place called Oresteum. [Pherecydes says⁹, that Orestes, flying from the furies, found refuge in a temple of Diana, whence the place (which was on the banks of the Alpheus¹⁰) was called Oresteum.] His body was doubt-

⁴ Falkner's Descr. of Patagonia, pp. 111, 112.

⁵ Xenoph. Cyri Anab. VII. iii. p. 401.

⁶ Buttmann's Interm. Gram. p. 368.

⁷ Strabo, XIII. p. 872, c.

⁸ Steph. Byz. voc. Ὀρέσται.

⁹ Schol. Eurip. Orest. 1645.

¹⁰ Eurip. Electra, 1273.

less carried to Tegea, which was at no great distance, because he was descended, by his grandmother Ærope, from Tegeates the founder of Tegea.

Ærope, mother of Agamemnon and of Menelaus¹, was the daughter of Crateus, who had passed into Crete². Thus Menelaus is called Semi-Cretan by Lycophron³. And thus Crateus was the son of Tegeates⁴, founder of Tegea. [The names Crateus and Tegeates, evidently derived from Crete and Tegea, seem better suited to fabulous than real personages.]

LXIX. 140. "Ἐπεμπε εἰς Σπάρτην ἀγγέλους. *Sent ambassadors to Sparta.* "Cræsus, king of Lydia, under the pretence⁵ of sending Eurybates of Ephesus to Delphi, sent him into Peloponnesus with gold, there to raise the greatest number of Greeks that he could; but this traitor fled to Cyrus, and disclosed to him all that he had been intrusted with. This atrocity of Eurybates being known to the Greeks, when they wish to reproach any one with a base action, to this day they call him a Eurybates." His name passed into a proverb to indicate a traitor. Demosthenes⁶, Æschines, and others, frequently allude to this.

141. Ἐξ ἁγάλμα βουλόμενοι χρῆσασθαι. *With the purpose of using it for the statue, &c.* Herodotus does not say that it was actually used for the statue on Mount Thornax, near Sparta. We learn from Pausanias⁷, that all the gold which Cræsus sent to the Lacedæmonians was used in ornamenting the statue of Apollo which was seen at Amyclæ.

I was at first induced to believe that this statue was of gold; but the passage above cited from Pausanias, and another still more to the point from Athenæus, have decided my opinion. "The Lacedæmonians," says the latter writer⁸, "wishing to gild the face of the statue of Apollo which is at Amyclæ, and finding no gold in Greece, sent to ask the god whence they could purchase some. From Cræsus, king of Lydia, answered the god. They sent to Cræsus, and bought some."

[The accuracy of Athenæus in the passage above quoted has been questioned by M. Quatremère de Quincy⁹; because it seems to him hardly credible that the small quantity of gold requisite to gild the face of a statue, could not be procured in Greece. Yet if we allow that the gold was really required for some more extensive decoration of the statue, it will still follow, from the passage in question, that there was in that age a scarcity of gold in Greece. This is the very point which Athenæus seeks to establish, citing in proof of it many curious facts;

¹ Tzetzes ad Lycophr. Cassandra, 149. p. 19. col. 2.

² Pausan. VIII. liii. p. 707.

³ Lycophron, 150.

⁴ Pausan. VIII. iii. p. 603.

⁵ Diod. Sic. vol. II. p. 553.

⁶ Demosth. de Corona, p. 476, c. Æschin. contra Ctesiph. p. 450, b.

⁷ Pausan. III. x. p. 231.

⁸ Athen. Deipnos. VI. iv. p. 232, a.

⁹ Le Jupiter Olympien, pp. 137. 200.

such as that previous to the plunder of Delphi by the Phocæans (370 B.C.) drinking-vessels of gold or silver were unknown in Greece; the wealthiest people drank out of brass or copper cups; and we learn from our historian a little further on that the Lacedæmonians got made for Cræsus, in return for his present of gold, a large bronze vase. The dispersion of the sacred treasures was followed by the Asiatic conquests of Alexander, which caused a great influx of the precious metals into Europe; nevertheless, they flowed so slowly towards the west, that so late as the year 247 B.C., Italy (with the exception of the Grecian colonies) had still only copper money.

The fact of the scarcity of the precious metals in Greece, thus ascertained, must be allowed to modify Larcher's assertion (note 48), that already in the days of Lycurgus, iron was a base metal. This metal may have had a very high value in relation to the necessities of life, though cheap in comparison with gold and silver.

It has been remarked above (see note 93), that the offerings of Cræsus had an exchangeable value much beyond what the same quantity of gold would possess at the present day. M. Letronne¹, investigating with his usual learning and sagacity the power or exchangeable value of the precious metals in Athens about the year 400 B.C., concludes, that the power of the precious metals at the present day being taken as unit, that of gold at the time mentioned will be represented by 2·389, that of silver by 2·996. Consequently, the offerings of Cræsus exceeded in power or exchangeable value $2\frac{1}{3}$ millions of sterling money.]

LXXI. 142. Οὐ σῦκα δὲ ἔχουσι τρώγειν. *They have no figs to eat.* "The historian Herodotus², wishing to prove that a country is totally wild and uncultivated, contents himself with saying that neither figs, nor any thing else that is good, grow there; as if there was no fruit superior to figs, or as if the people among whom this fruit grew could want no earthly good. Homer³ praises fruits, some for their size, some for their colour, and some for the beauty of their form. The fig is the only fruit to which he allows sweetness. He gives to honey the epithet of green, as if fearing rashly to call that sweet, which is sometimes bitter; but the quality of sweetness he allows only to the fig, in common with nectar, as if it were the only sweet thing in nature."

143. Μῆκος ὁδοῦ, ἐνζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ πέντε ἡμέραι ἀναισιμούνται. *As to the distance, it takes an active man five days to travel it.* Scymnus of Chios⁴ having said that the Euxine sea is seven days' journey from the maritime coast of Cilicia, immediately adds, that Herodotus appears to have been ignorant of this, since he asserts that from Cilicia to the Euxine sea is but five days' journey.

¹ Consid. Gén. sur l'Eval. des Monn. p. 390, c. d. p. 391, A.
Gr. et Rom. p. 119.

³ Odyss. VII. 116.

² Juliani Imperatoris Epist. XXIV.

⁴ Scymni Chii Fragm. 185 et s. p. 54.

That geographer allows, perhaps, for the day's journey only 150 stadia, as was sometimes done, and our historian 200⁵, as may be seen elsewhere⁶. According to this calculation, Scymnus estimates the isthmus at 1050 stadia, and Herodotus at 1000. The difference then becomes so trifling, that he must be a very ill-humoured critic who would make it a matter of offence against our historian.

[There is little gained by reconciling authors on a point which is erroneous. The distance across the narrowest part of Asia Minor is not less than 260 geographical miles in a straight line, or about 2500 stadia. Herodotus seems to have supposed that Lower Asia (or, as we call it, Asia Minor) is joined to Upper Asia by a narrow isthmus, "the neck of all that region." He was copied by Scylax⁷, and too timidly corrected by Scymnus Chius⁸. But Eratosthenes⁹ had juster conceptions, and calculated the distance across from the Issic gulf to Amisus on the shore of the Euxine, to be 300 stadia, which is not too much for the actual route. The Armenian mountain of Herodotus is evidently the mountain group lying south of Trebizond, and of which the Gaur Tagh and Almali Tagh are conspicuous portions.]

LXXIII. 144. Τὴν τέχνην τῶν τόξων. *To draw the bow.* The Scythians had the reputation of being excellent archers. Hence the epithet of Scythian, which was frequently given to the bow or to the quiver; as for instance, in the beginning of that pretty epigram of Meleager, which is found in the excellent collection of Greek poetry by M. Brunck¹:

Ναὶ τὰν Κύπριν, Ἔρως, φλέξω τὰ σὰ, πάντα πυρώσας,
Τόξα τε, καὶ Σκυθικὴν ἰοδόκον φαρέτρην.

"By Venus, Love, I will burn both your bow and your Scythian quiver."

The Athenians had Scythians in their pay, as perhaps had the other Greeks. "We hired," says Æschines², "300 Scythian archers."

LXXIV. 145. Ἐν δὲ, καὶ νυκτομαχίην τινὰ ἐποίησαντο. *And in it they had a kind of nocturnal combat.* [After ἐν δὲ, Wytttenbach³ understands τοῖς πέντε ἔτεσι τούτοις, which is at variance, however, with what is afterwards stated; for the combat alluded to took place in the sixth year of the war. Schweighäuser supplies ταύταις ταῖς μάχαις, which is also liable to the objection, that the battle spoken of was not one of the battles fought within the mentioned period of five years. Larcher translates ἐν δὲ, 'in the sixth year,' in vindication of which he

⁵ Herod. V. liii.

⁶ Id. IV. ci.

⁷ Scyl. Caryand. Periplus, cii. In Gail's Geogr. Gr. Min. vol. I. p. 301.

⁸ Gail, Geogr. Gr. Min. vol. II. p. 327.

⁹ Strabo, II. i.

¹ Analecta Vet. Poët. Græc. vol. I. p. 16. no. lii.

² Æschin. de falsâ Legatione, p. 422, E.

³ Wytttenbach, Select. Hist. p. 350.

argues as follows: “Ἐν μὲν . . . ἐν δέ. The particle μὲν indicates that during the first five years the advantages and disadvantages were pretty equal. Ἐν δέ proves that he then speaks of the sixth year.” This interpretation rests on a very careless perusal of the passage in question. The historian says, ἐν τοῖσι πολλάκις μὲν οἱ Μῆδοι . . . πολλάκις δέ οἱ Λυδοί, “in those five years the advantage often fell to the Medians, often to the Lydians.” Then ἐν δέ follows again, not answering to the ἐν μὲν of the preceding clause, but referring to the subject of the sentence, ὁ πόλεμος; so that ἐν being here used adverbially must be translated ‘therein,’ or in the time of that war.]

146. Τῆς μάχης συνεστεώσης τὴν ἡμέρην ἑξαπίνης νύκτα γενέσθαι. *The battle being joined, day suddenly changed to night.* Herodotus always expresses himself in this manner, which has induced Dodwell to believe him very ignorant of astronomy. And so far this learned man may perhaps be in the right; but when he adds that Thales was not astronomer enough to foretel an eclipse, I think he is mistaken. “For the Zodiac,” he observes⁴, “was not as yet divided into signs by Cleostratus, nor was the point to reckon from, in Aries, as yet assumed. Nor was the period of the lunar Syzygy accurately known. Cycles, epicycles, and nodes were not yet discovered, nor was it even perfectly established that eclipses were attributable to the interposition of opaque bodies. In such a state of knowledge, what tables could there be of the heavenly bodies, or what calculations?”

According to the same writer, the sudden darkness, which separated the two armies, proceeded from some thick exhalations which obscured the sun⁵. The prediction of such a phenomenon would be truly astonishing. Dodwell, in endeavouring to depreciate the astronomical knowledge of Thales, thus ascribes to him an acquaintance with meteorology such as has never yet been attained. His opinion, however, is opposed by the testimony of Cicero⁶, of Pliny⁷, and of many other authors. Eudemus of Rhodes⁸, a disciple of Aristotle, distinctly expresses himself to the same effect as Cicero and Pliny.

[The arguments of Dodwell are not to be contravened. The astronomical science of the age of Thales did not reach to the prediction of eclipses, in the sense in which modern astronomers understand the word prediction; that is to say, it could not foretel to a second of time and with absolute certainty every stage of the phenomenon. But, on the other hand, it is not improbable that the philosophers of that age had already some idea of a cycle bringing back the eclipses in series⁹, and that Thales ventured to foretel the return of an eclipse within wide limits, which is indeed all that Herodotus says of him; “he foretold that eclipse to the Ionians, determining that it would take place within that year.”]

⁴ Dodwell in Addendis ad Dissertat. de Cyclis, p. 911.

⁵ Id. ibid. p. 912.

⁶ Cic. de Divinat. I. xlix.

⁷ Plin. Hist. Nat. II. xii. vol. I. p. 78.

⁸ Clem. Alex. Strom. I. p. 354.

⁹ Uckert, Geogr. I. p. 52; Bredow, Uranol. Herod. p. 46.

It remains for us to determine the year in which this eclipse took place. There exists a great variety of opinions on this point, and among them not one, I am afraid, which will be found satisfactory. However easy it may be to overturn any of the systems of the chronologers, it is by no means equally easy to substitute for it a new one which shall be proof against all objections; indeed I think it scarcely possible. After shortly examining the opinions of those who have already written on this subject, I shall decide in favour of that which shall seem most plausible.

Eudemus expresses himself too loosely when he says, that the eclipse in question took place about the 50th Olympiad. I shall therefore not be governed by his opinion, which nearly coincides with that of Pliny and with that of Scaliger. Pliny¹ places this eclipse in the fourth year of the 48th Olympiad, and he is countenanced by Father Riccioli², M. Desvignoles³, and President De Brosses⁴. There was, certainly, an eclipse on the 28th of May in the year 4129 of the Julian era; but the Olympic year commencing with the summer solstice, the month of May 4129 falls in the third year of the 48th Olympiad. This cannot be the eclipse foretold by Thales.

1. Cyaxares, under whose reign it happened, died in the year 4120. Cicero affirms⁵, it is true, that at that time Astyages was on the throne. I am not aware that he had any other memorials than those which have come to us: but Herodotus asserts the contrary; and Eudemus agrees with our historian in every thing except in the number of the Olympiad.

2. The eclipse of the 28th May, 4129, was not visible at Sardis till a little before sun-set; but as the battle did not take place in the neighbourhood of that city, but on the borders of the Halys, the eclipse, far from having been total, could not have been perceived in the latter place at all, from the circumstance of its occurring after sun-set.

Scaliger has decided in favour of this eclipse in his remarks⁶ on Eusebius, and in the work entitled *Ὀλυμπιάδων ἀναγραφή*⁷; but with a remarkable inconsistency, he has in another work⁸ decided in favour of that which happened on the 1st October, 4131.

It is true that there was an eclipse of the sun on the 1st October, 4131, but it would have happened at Sardis at fifty-four minutes after six in the evening: the sun had then set, and must therefore necessarily have done so, long before the proper time of the eclipse, on the borders of the Halys, which is $7\frac{1}{2}$ degrees or half an hour further east.

¹ Plin. Hist. Nat. II. xii. vol. I. p. 78.

² Riccioli, Chronol. Reform. vol. I. p. 228.

³ Desvignoles, Chronol. IV. v. 7 & seq.

⁴ Mém. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lett. tom. XXI. Mém. p. 33.

⁵ Cic. de Divinat. I. xlix. See my

Essay on Chronology, chap. IV. on the Kings of Media. (Hist. d'Hérod. tom. VII.)

⁶ Animadv. ad Eusebium, p. 89.

⁷ Euseb. Pamphil. Thesaur. Tempor. p. 316. col. 2.

⁸ De Emendatione Temporum in Canonibus Isagogicis, p. 321.

Archbishop Usher places it on the 20th September, 4113; but he has not considered that this was leap-year; and therefore he should have said the 19th September. There was an eclipse on that day, but visible only north of the Euxine sea.

Seth Calvisius fixes this eclipse on the 2nd February, 4107; but it must have been after night-fall at that period of the year.

M. Bayer thinks⁹ that the eclipse of Thales is that which happened on the 17th May, 4111, between the hours of nine and ten in the morning; but Cyaxares was not at that time at war with Alyattes, and it was in that year that Nineveh was taken, as I have proved elsewhere¹.

The Fathers Petau² and Harduin³, Sir John Marsham⁴, President Bouhier⁵, and Father Corsini⁶, have decided for the eclipse which happened on the 9th July, 4117. I have thought proper to adopt this opinion, as being more accordant with chronology than either of the others. The only objection that can be made to it is, that the shadow passed over the Euxine sea by Scythia and the Palus Mæotis. It is therefore certain that this eclipse could not have appeared central on the banks of the Halys; but it must have been very considerable⁷, and therefore we cannot wonder that it should have occasioned much terror to a superstitious people immersed in ignorance. Comets, the Aurora Borealis, and other meteors, have excited alarm even among people who have made some progress in science. [Solar eclipses, about any given year, are numerous enough; but solar eclipses nearly total and the shadows of which pass over a given locality, as the country near the mouth of the Halys, are much less frequent and afford less room for choice than the commentators on this passage of Herodotus seem to have imagined. Two eminent modern astronomers, Oltmanns and Pingré, separately retracing the eclipse alluded to by Herodotus, have both arrived at the same result, in assigning it to the 30th September in the year 609 B.C.⁸ Larcher referred it to the 9th July, 597 B.C., and Volney⁹, to the 3rd February, 625 B.C. As the date of this event may be regarded as an ascertained point in chronology, the conclusion arrived at by MM. Oltmanns and Pingré is of much importance.]

147. Ἦσαν οἷδε, Συέννεσις τε ὁ Κίλιξ καὶ Λαβύνητος ὁ Βαβυλώνιος. *These were Syennesis, king of Cilicia, and Labynetus the Babylonian.* "It appears from history, that Syennesis was a name common to the kings of Cilicia; it is at least certain that it was borne by four of them. The first of these was contemporary with Cyaxares; the second with

⁹ Comment. Acad. Petropol. 1728. p. 332.

¹ Supplément à la Philosophie de l'Histoire, p. 63; 2nd edit. p. 72.

² De Doctrinâ Temporum, X. i. vol. II. p. 86.

³ Dissert. de 70 Hebdom. Danielis, III.

⁴ Chronic. Canon. p. 561.

⁵ Recherches et Dissertations sur Hérodote, p. 42.

⁶ Fast. Attic. vol. III. p. 68.

⁷ Petav. de Doctrina Temporum, X. i. vol. ii. p. 87.

⁸ Halma, Ptolomée, pt. I. p. 43.

⁹ Supplément à l'Hérod. de Larcher.

Darius¹, king of Persia; the third with Xerxes²; and the fourth with Artaxerxes³. The name of Labynetus often occurs amongst the kings of Babylon. It was Nebuchadnezzar who established a good understanding between the Medes and the Lydians."—BELLANGER.

148. Τὸ αἷμα ἀναλείχουσι ἀλλήλων. *And lick each other's blood, &c.* "The Siamese⁴, when they wish to seal an eternal friendship, pierce some part of their bodies till the blood flows, which they reciprocally drink. It was thus that the ancient Scythians and the Babylonians cemented their alliances. Almost all the modern people of the East observe the same custom."

LXXV. 149. Θαλῆς ὁ Μιλήσιος. *Thales of Miletus.* Thales was of Miletus, a city of Ionia, but his ancestors were originally from Phœnicia⁵. He was, according to Plato⁶, of the illustrious house of the Thelidæ, who were descended from Cadmus and Agenor. He had learned geometry⁷ from the Egyptians, and was the first who taught this science to the Greeks⁸. He was an acute natural philosopher and a great astronomer.

Whatever may have been asserted by ancient authors, and amongst others by St. Augustine⁹, it does not appear that Thales wrote any thing. Let us hear Themistius¹: "Although Thales made numerous discoveries, he did not commit them to writing, nor did any other philosopher of that period. Anaximander, the son of Praxiades, did not imitate him in every respect. He adopted a different method, and one quite opposed to ordinary usage, inasmuch as he was the first amongst the Greeks of whom we have any intelligence, who dared to publish a work on Nature. It had previously been accounted shameful among the Greeks to give works to the public; it was not a practice made reputable by general use."

Thales of Miletus was the first who said, that "water is the principle of all things; and God is that intelligence by whom all things are formed of water²." St. Augustine³ says likewise, that Thales considered water as the universal principle; but he does not add, that he acknowledged God as the intelligence by whom all things were formed from water.

We must take care not to confound this philosopher with the poet and musician of the same name, who was contemporary with Lycurgus. This latter, who was a Cretan⁴, cured the Lacedæmonians of the plague by means of music.

¹ Herod. V. cxviii.

² Id. VII. xeviii.

³ Xen. Cyri Exped. I. ii. § xxv. p. 15.

⁴ Histoire Civile et Naturelle du Royaume de Siam, tom. I. p. 63.

⁵ Herod. I. clxx.

⁶ Diog. Laërt. I. xxii. p. 15.

⁷ Id. I. xxiv. p. 16.

⁸ Apul. in Floridis, p. 816.

⁹ S. August. de Civitate Dei, VIII. ii. p. 191, B.

¹ Themistii Orat. XXVI. p. 317, B, c.

² Cicero de Natura Deorum, I. x. Lactant. Divinar. Institut. I. v. p. 17.

³ S. August. de Civitate Dei, VIII. ii. p. 191, B.

⁴ Pausan. I. xiv. p. 35. Plut. de Musica, p. 1146, c.

With regard to the manner in which Cræsus passed the Halys, that which according to our historian was merely a report current amongst the Greeks, has been adopted as an undoubted fact by the authors succeeding him ⁵.

150. Λέγεται παρεόντα τὸν Θαλῆν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, ποιῆσαι αὐτῷ τὸν ποταμὸν, ἐξ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ῥέοντα τοῦ στρατοῦ, καὶ ἐκ δεξιῆς ῥέειν. *It is said that Thales being in the camp with Cræsus, made the river which flowed on the left of the army, flow also on the right.* We must call to mind that Cræsus wished to enter that part of Cappadocia called Pteria. This small country was near the mouth of the Halys. Cræsus repaired towards it in a direct line; but the river not being fordable at that spot, he was obliged to ascend towards its source to find a passage. The river then was on the left of his camp. [Thales then dug a new channel for it on the right, and so turned the river to the rear of the army. It may be objected that the operation of moving the river, instead of the army, would be attended with such labour and expense as to make its execution highly improbable. But popular traditions are never checked by calculations of expense or probability; and we even find it stated that the new channel of the Halys was finished in a single night ⁶.]

LXXVI. 151. [Ἡ δὲ Πτερίη κατὰ Σινώπην κειμένη. *Pteria lying below Sinope.* The country called Pteria lay on the right or eastern bank of the Halys, opposite to Sinope. In the recently discovered fragments of Diodorus it is stated ⁷, that Cyrus, on reaching the close country or passes of Cappadocia (in Pteria), sent messengers to Cræsus, offering him friendship on condition of his doing homage or appearing at the court of the former, ἐπὶ θύρας. Cræsus not only refused the offer, but retorted the demand of homage.]

151*. Κῦρος δὲ ἀγείρας τὸν ἑωυτοῦ στρατόν. *But Cyrus assembling his army.* It is said that Cyrus, intimidated by the menaces of Cræsus ⁸, wished to retire to India. His wife Bardana rallied him, and persuaded him to consult Daniel, who had more than once uttered prophecies both to her and to Darius the Mede. Cyrus, having consulted the prophet, learned from him that he would be victorious, and, inspirited by this answer, made his preparations accordingly.

This appears to me to be one of those fables which the Jews and the early Christians assumed without scruple to be incontestable facts. The city of Babylon not having been yet taken, Cyrus could know nothing of Daniel.

LXXVII. 152. Λαβύνητος. *Labynetus.* This Labynetus was the

⁵ See Schol. Aristoph. Nubes, 18; Lucian. Hippias, ii. vol. III. p. 68; and Diog. Laërt. I. xxxviii. p. 23.

⁶ Lucian, in Hippiâ, II.

⁷ Nov. Script. Vet. Coll. ed. Mai, tom. II. p. 25.

⁸ Suidas, voc. Κροῖσος.

second of that name⁹. The Canon of Ptolemy calls him Nabonadius¹⁰; Berosus and Megasthenes¹ name him Nabonid, or Nabannidochus. These two names, Labynetus and Nabonid, are not in fact so different as they appear to be at first sight. The ancient Latins used 'vallum' for 'vannum';² and Pierius Valerianus says, in his remarks on verse 166 of the first book of Virgil's Georgics, that he found in a MS. at Rome 'mustica vallus,' instead of 'mystica vannus.' The Athenians also said λίτρον for νίτρον, πλεύμων for πνεύμων, whence the Latins have made 'pulmo.' It is not astonishing, therefore, that Herodotus should have changed Nabonid, or Nabonidus, to Labynetus.

This prince was the last king of Babylon. He united with Cræsus to repress the excessive power of Cyrus. The same reason had induced Amasis to join the alliance. See the fifth chapter of my Essay on Chronology³.

LXXVIII. 153. Αὐτίκα δὲ ἔπεμπε θεοπρόπους ἐς τῶν ἐξηγητέων Τελμησσέων. *He immediately sent soothsayers to the dwellings of the Telmessian prophets.* Respecting these interpretations of dreams and prodigies, consult the learned note of Ruhnken on the word Ἐξηγηταὶ in the Lexicon of Timæus.

Telmisus, or Telmisseus⁴, was the son of Apollo⁵, and of one of the daughters of Antenor. The god had intercourse with her under the form of a little dog, and as a recompense he endowed her with the gift of interpreting dreams. Her son Telmisus enjoyed the same gift. He was interred under the altar of Apollo, in the city bearing his name, and of which he was probably the founder. St. Clement of Alexandria⁶ supposes him to have exercised the gift of divination in Caria. [It is probable that the Lycian Telmessus, owing to its being near the borders of Caria, was often erroneously ascribed to the latter country. Cicero says "Telmessus in Caria est; quâ in urbe excellit haruspicum disciplina⁷." The Lycian Telmessus was celebrated for the skill of its augurs, from the earliest ages⁸.]

LXXXII. 154. Σπαρτιήτησι συνεπεπτώκεε ἔρις ἐοῦσα πρὸς Ἀργείους, περὶ χώρου καλεομένου Θυρέης. *It happened that there was a strife between the Spartans and the Argives on account of a place named Thyrea.* Thyrea⁹ formed a part of Cynuria, a territory on the confines of Laconia and Argolis. The Cynurians were originally Argians; a colony which had been brought from Argos by Cynurus, son of Per-

⁹ See above, note 147.

¹⁰ Eusebii Præp. Evang. IX. xl. p. 455.

¹ Id. ibid. IX. xli. p. 457.

² Varro de Lingua Latina, p. 34. lin. 7.

³ Hist. d'Hérod. tom. VII. p. 167.

⁴ He is thus named by St. Clement of Alexandria, Cohort. ad Gentes, p. 40.

lin. 3.

⁵ Suidas, voc. Τελμισεῖς.

⁶ Clem. Alexandr. Stromat. I. p. 400.

lin. 6.

⁷ Cic. de Divin. I. xli.

⁸ Arrian, Exp. Alex. II. 3.

⁹ Pausan. III. ii. p. 207. vii. p. 219.

seus. After the conquest of the Heraclidæ, the Cynurians, no longer regarding as their countrymen a people who had submitted to a foreign yoke, not only permitted banditti to invade the Argolic territory, but even made incursions into it themselves. The Lacedæmonians took this opportunity to enter Cynuria, and, having conquered it, they drove out all such of the inhabitants as were capable of bearing arms. This occurred under the reign of Echestratus, king of Lacedæmon. Under the reign of Labotas, who succeeded him, the Argians demanded of the Lacedæmonians the restoration of Cynuria, which was refused by the latter. This occasioned a war between the two people, in which, however, no remarkable event occurred; and it was terminated by a peace, which continued under several kings. But as the enmity was rather smothered than extinguished, the war burst forth again some centuries afterwards, and at length terminated to the advantage of the Lacedæmonians, towards the end of the reign of Cræsus, that is to say, about the year 4169 to 4170 of the Julian period, or 545 to 544 years before our era.

155. Τέλος δὲ, ἐκ τῆς ἔριδος συμπεσόντος ἐμάχοντο· πεσόντων δὲ καὶ ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν, ἐνίκων Λακεδαιμόνιοι. *At last, the dispute coming to blows, they fought a battle; and after many had fallen on both sides, the Lacedæmonians got the victory.* Plutarch says, on the contrary, that the Amphictyons, having repaired to the spot, and witnessed the action of Othryades, adjudged the victory to the Lacedæmonians; but he does not speak of a second engagement. He cites ¹ in support of his assertion, Chrysermus in his third book of the Peloponnesiaca, or History of Peloponnesus. Pausanias affirms that the Argians ² claimed the victory, though the event, as had been foretold by the Sibyl, remained doubtful, and they sent to Delphi a horse of bronze, in imitation of the wooden horse ³. It was the work of Antiphanes of Argos. The Lacedæmonians also laid claim to the victory; and in the Gymnopædia, a festival instituted to commemorate it, the chiefs of the Lacedæmonian Chorus ⁴ wore crowns composed of palm-branches, which were called Thyreatic crowns. Sosibius says that in his time they were called Psilini ⁵.

156. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τὰ ἐναντία τούτων ἔθεντο νόμον, οὐ γὰρ κομῶντες πρὸ τούτου, ἀπὸ τούτου κομᾶν. *The Lacedæmonians made a law of the contrary kind; for not having previously worn their hair long, they now began to wear it.* All the Greeks formerly wore their hair very long. Homer for this reason calls them *καρηκομῶντες*. Did the Lacedæmonians then at this time wear it long, or short? A question certainly of no great importance, and which I merely speak of as connected with ancient usages. It would appear from Herodotus, that they did not suffer their hair to grow till after the battle of Thyrea;

¹ Plut. Parall. p. 306, A, B.

² Pausan. X. ix. p. 821.

³ He alludes to the Trojan horse.

⁴ Athen. Deipnos. XV. vi. p. 678, B.

⁵ Athen. Deipnos. *ibid.* With respect to Sosibius, see Suidas under the words *Δικηλιστῶν* and *Σωσίβιος*.

but if we may believe Xenophon⁶, this custom is of much older date, and was established by Lycurgus. Plutarch attacks our author without naming him⁷. "It is not true," says he, "as some aver, that the Argians shaved their heads in token of mourning, after the great loss they suffered from the Lacedæmonians; nor that the latter suffered their hair to grow, in order to testify the joy they felt at their victory."

Dacier observes in a note on this passage, "It is astonishing that Herodotus should have been misled by a fable of this nature as to a circumstance so near his own time." And it is precisely this proximity of time, which might have led M. Dacier to conclude that Herodotus was better informed on the subject than Plutarch. "But," proceeds Dacier, "Plutarch sufficiently refutes this story by referring to the institutions of Lycurgus." The assertion of Plutarch, however, on this point, is no proof; and in deciding between these two authorities it is natural to give the preference to our historian, of whom Plutarch was particularly jealous, more especially as the latter lived in an age very remote from the circumstance, whilst the former was almost of the very time.

There were persons, likewise⁸, who fancied that this custom had its origin at the time when the Bacchiadæ fled from Corinth and sought refuge in Lacedæmon. Their shaven heads appearing a deformity, the Lacedæmonians, from that moment, suffered their hair to grow.

The Lacedæmonians shaved the beard from their upper lip, in obedience to an order of the Ephori⁹ on their entrance into office. The sole object of this law was to accustom them to obedience, even in the minutest trifles. I advert to this trivial circumstance, only because our painters are not sufficiently attentive to costume.

157. Τὸν δὲ ἕνα περιλειφθέντα τῶν τριηκοσίων, Ὀθρυάδην. *But the only survivor of the three hundred, Othryades.* "Sparta, celebrated for the temple of Castor and Pollux, was not less so on account of the illustrious Othryades¹." Othryades, one of the 300 Lacedæmonians selected for the combat of Thyrea, was wounded. Having kept himself concealed amongst the dead, he despoiled the Argians, after the departure of Alcenor and Chromius, who had survived on the opposite side; then, raising a trophy, he died on the field of battle, after having traced an inscription with the blood which flowed from his wounds. Suidas², from whom I borrow this circumstance, varies a little from the tale told by Herodotus, as will be observed.

As to the death of this brave warrior, authors are divided in opinion. We have just seen what Herodotus and Suidas say on the subject. Pausanias relates³, that in the theatre at Argos there was a statue of

⁶ Xen. Lacedæm. Polit. XI. iii. p. 78. de Sera Numinis Vindicta, p. 550, B.

⁷ Plut. in Lysandro, p. 433, F.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Id. in Agide et Cleomene, p. 808, D;

¹ Solin. Polyhist. vii. p. 16, F.

² Suidas, voc. Ὀθρυάδης.

³ Pausan. II. xx. p. 156.

this Othryades, killed by the hand of Perilaus, the son of Alcenor. If this story be correct, he must have survived the action of Thyrea. But the love of country, that noble and praiseworthy sentiment, sometimes degenerates into a party-spirit, which disguises and conceals the truth. There is, however, in the Anthologia of Constantinus Cephalas an epigram on this action⁴. The two young Argians return to the field of battle, and surprised at the trophy erected by Othryades, they speak as follows, in an epigram, or rather an inscription of Dioscorides, which I give as it appears in the MS. of the Vatican. Both Reiske and Toup⁵ have published it, the latter with the Dorisms. It is astonishing that Brunck, who in his Theocritus has restored so many Dorisms, even against the authority of the MSS., should have neglected these. He gives the poem, however, in his *Analecta*⁶. The two Argians, believing Othryades to be dead, had gone to announce their victory to their countrymen, but on returning to the field and beholding the trophy, they thus express their astonishment:

Τίς τὰ νεοσκύλευτα ποτὶ δρυὶ τᾷδε καθᾶψεν
 Ἔντεα; τῷ πέλτα Δωρὶς ἀναγράφεται;
 Πλάθει γὰρ Θυρεᾶτις ὕφ' αἵματος ἄδε λοχίταν,
 Χ' ἄμμες ἀπ' Ἀργείων τοὶ δύο λειπόμεθα.
 Πάντα νέκυν μᾶστενε δεδουπότα, μή τις, ἔτ' ἔμπνους
 Λειπόμενος, Σπάρτα κῦδος ἔλαμψε νόθον.
 Ἴσχε βάσιν. Νίκα γὰρ ἐπ' ἀσπίδος ἄδε Λακῶνων
 Φωνεῖται θρόμβοις αἵματος Ὀθρυνάδα,
 Χ' ὧ τόδε μοχθήσας σπαίρει πέλας. Ἄ προπάτωρ Ζεῦ,
 Στύξον ἀνικάτου σύμβολα φυλόπιδος.

“Who has hung on this tree these arms newly stripped from the dead? Whose name is inscribed on this Dorian buckler? For this plain of Thyrea now reeks with the blood of the Spartan warriors, and we two Argians alone remain. Let us examine these bodies, and take care that no one yet retaining life shall acquire for Sparta a spurious glory. Yet hold. These characters, traced on the shield with the blood of Othryades, proclaim the victory in favour of the Lacedæmonians, and the author of this action yet breathes near the spot. O Jupiter, father of our race, behold with indignation this trophy, which testifies against our victory.”

I cannot conjecture why the English editor of the epigram of Dioscorides mentions in his note three times the Athenians, whereas the Argians alone are concerned. Reiske, who published the original edition at Leipsic, is correct. It will perhaps not be deemed superfluous by the reader to give the inscription of Simonides, intended for the monument of these warriors, and which in the Vatican MS. immediately

⁴ Anthol. Gr., a Constantino Cephalâ, p. 93; et ex nuperâ edit. vol. II. p. 513. p. 81.

⁶ *Analecta Vet. Poët. Græc.* vol. I.

⁵ *Epistola Critica ad Episc. Glocestr.* p. 496.

follows that of Dioscorides. They are addressing Sparta⁷. "O Sparta, our country, we have fought, three hundred of us, against as many Argians, for Thyrea, without once turning our backs, and have died on the spot whereon we first set our feet. This weapon, steeped in the blood of the valiant Othryades, proclaims that Thyrea, O Jupiter, belongs henceforth to the Lacedæmonians. If any Argian has escaped his fate, he is a descendant of Adrastus⁸. To die is not death for a Spartan, flight alone is."

There is another inscription, which I am inclined to add. It is from the pen of Chæremon, whom Reiske⁹ considers to have been contemporary with Othryades, or at least antecedent to Herodotus, but whom I believe to be much more recent¹. "The Argians and ourselves were in equal force, and Thyrea was the prize. Abandoning without hesitation all thought of seeing our country again, we left to the birds the task of announcing our death."

Ovid alluded to the generous action of Othryades, in the following verses²:

Si tu signasses olim Thyreatida terram,
Corpora non leto missa trecenta forent,
Nec foret Othryades congestis tectus in armis.
O! quantum Patriæ sanguinis ille dedit!

The historian Theseus, who, according to Suidas³, had written the lives of illustrious men in five books, and the history of Corinth in three, in which he speaks of the institution of the Isthmian Games, very nearly agrees with Herodotus in what he says of Othryades, of Alcenor, and of Chromius. He adds only⁴, that Othryades was lying amongst the dead of the Lacedæmonians; and that, Alcenor and Chromius having set out to announce their victory at Argos, Othryades erected a trophy with the spoils of the enemy, and that having traced with the blood which flowed from his wounds the words THE LACEDÆMONIANS VICTORIOUS OVER THE ARGIANS, he expired.

158. Ὀθρυάδην αὐτοῦ μιν ἐν τῇσι Θυρέησι καταχρήσασθαι ἑωυτόν. *Othryades killed himself there in Thyreæ*. [Strabo and Isocrates both write Thyreæ, in the plural; Thucydides writes Thyrea, in the singular⁵; Herodotus uses both forms.] The following epigram of Nicander of Colophon agrees perfectly with the account of Herodotus⁶. "Father Jupiter, hast thou ever seen a man more excellent than Othryades, who, after affixing an inscription to the spoils which he took from the

⁷ Analect. Vet. Poët. Græc. vol. I. p. 130. no. xxvi.

⁸ King of Argos, who, having seen his son-in-law Polynices killed, abandoned the siege of Thebes, and fled disgracefully.

⁹ Reiske in Notis ad Const. Ceph. Anthol. pp. 207, 208.

¹ Anthol. Græc. p. 205. Analect. Vet.

Poët. Græc. vol. II. p. 55.

² Ovidii Fast. II. 663.

³ Suidas, voc. Θησεύς.

⁴ Stobæus, Sermo VII. p. 92.

⁵ Strabo, VIII. p. 376; Isocr. Archid. 199; Thucyd. IV. lxvi.

⁶ Analect. Vet. Poët. Græc. vol. II. p. 2.

Argians, preferred running his sword through his body, to returning alone to Sparta?"

Damagetus has handed down the name of another Lacedæmonian, who distinguished himself in this action⁷:

"Lacedæmonians, this tomb encloses the brave Gyllis, who died to secure for you Thyrea. He killed three Argians, and said, 'Now let me die, since I have performed an action worthy of Sparta!'"

The name of Cleuas has also reached us, in an inscription of Chæremon, which Holstenius has published⁸, and which Ruhnken and Brunck have fortunately restored⁹.

LXXXIV. 159. Ἀνὴρ Μάρδος—τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Ὑρραιάδης. *Hyræades, a Mardian by nation.* Xenophon omits his name. According to him, a Persian, who had been slave to a soldier of the garrison of this citadel, acted as guide to the troops of Cyrus. He relates the taking of Sardis likewise somewhat differently from our historian¹.

160. Τῇ οὐδὲ Μήλης μούνη οὐ περιήνεικε τὸν λέοντα, τὸν οἱ ἡ παλλακὴ ἔτεκε. *Round that quarter of the walls alone Meles (a former king of Sardes) omitted to carry the lion which his concubine had brought forth.* The absurdity of making a woman to bring forth a lion caused me to doubt for a long time whether Herodotus did not mean to say that she had had a child who was named Leo. But after reflecting that the text twice says THE Lion, that Herodotus was very superstitious and altogether ignorant of natural history, which was little understood in his time, and that if there had been no prodigy connected with this lying-in, there would have been no occasion to consult the prophets of Telmessus, as the narrative of our historian proves was done, I have decided in favour of the reading which I now present. [Respecting this prodigy it may be observed that the lion was held in veneration by the Lydians²; and hence among the offerings of Cræsus was the figure of a lion. The mother of Pericles dreamt that she brought forth a lion³.]

161. Πρὸς τοῦ Τμώλου τετραμμένον. *Which looks towards Mount Tmolus.* Cellarius proves⁴ by several authorities, that there was near Mount Tmolus a city of the same name. M. Bellanger is of opinion that there never was such a city. He probably did not recollect that Tacitus reckons it amongst the twelve cities of Asia⁵ which were overthrown by an earthquake in the year 17 of our era. Herodotus, however, does not speak of that city, as Cellarius conceived, but of the citadel of Sardis, πόλις being often taken in this sense. The sentence ἔστι δὲ τὸ τῆς πόλιος τετραμμένον πρὸς τοῦ Τμώλου is erroneously rendered by Cellarius, 'It is the part turned towards the city of Tmolus;' whereas it really

⁷ Analect. Vet. Poët. Gr. vol. II. p. 39.

⁸ Holstenii Notæ in Steph. Byz. voc. Θυρέα, p. 141.

⁹ Ruhnken, Epist. Crit. I. p. 73; Analect. Vet. Poët. Gr. vol. II. p. 55.

¹ Xen. Cyri Instit. VII. ii. i. p. 413.

² Creuzer, Symbolik, II. p. 231.

³ Plut. Pericl. iii.

⁴ Notitia Orbis Antiqui, II. p. 112.

⁵ Tacit. Annal. II. xlvii.

means, 'It is the part of the city turned towards Tmolus.' If Herodotus had meant to say the city of Tmolus, he would have written ἔστι δὲ πρὸς τῆς τοῦ Τμώλου τετραμμένον πόλις. I shall give some parallel phrases, which will show this more clearly than any thing that I could urge. Ἡ δὲ Καλὴ αὕτη Ἀκτὴ καλεομένη, ἐστὶ μὲν Σικελῶν, πρὸς δὲ Τυρσενικὴν τετραμμένη τῆς Σικελίης⁶: 'this place, called Calacta, is, in truth, part of the country of the Sicilians, but of that part of Sicily which looks towards Tyrrhenia.' Τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ τῆς ὁδοῦ⁷, 'that part of the road which looks towards the east.' Τὰ μὲν πρὸς ἔω κεκλιμένα τῆς Σικελίας ἐξέλιπον⁸, 'they abandoned the eastern part of Sicily.'

162. Οὕτω δὲ Σάρδιές τε ἠλώκεσαν. *Thus Sardes was taken.* Polyænus relates the taking of this city somewhat differently. According to that author, Cyrus⁹ took advantage of a truce which he had concluded with Cræsus, to advance his army, and, having brought it forward under cover of the night, took the city by escalade. Cræsus however still remained master of the citadel, and was waiting for succours from Greece: but Cyrus, having put in chains the relations and friends of those who defended the citadel, exposed them to the besieged in this condition, and signified to them by a herald, that if they would surrender the place, he would restore to them the objects of their regard, but that if they persisted in the defence, he would hang them. The besieged preferred the former alternative. The account of Ctesias differs essentially from that of our historian.

This city¹⁰ was taken again in the same manner, by Lagoras of Crete, who was in the service of Antiochus the Great, in the third year of the 141st Olympiad, 214 years before our era.

163. Οὐδέ τι οἱ διέφερε. *It mattered little to him.* Ὡς τὸ ἐκείνους σωθῆναι καὶ κατορθῶσαι μάλιστα διέφερεν¹, 'him to whom their safety and success were of the most consequence.' The Scholiast on this passage has rendered διέφερεν by κέρδος ἦν, 'was advantageous,' 'was a gain.' Hence, τὸ διάφορον signifies money in Polybius and other modern authors, as Casaubon has remarked in his Commentary on the tenth chapter of the Characters of Theophrastus.

164. Ὑπὸ δέους τε καὶ κακοῦ ἔρρηξε φωνήν, εἶπε δέ. *Through fear and affliction he broke the impediments of his speech, and said.* Dumbness is, in most instances, rather the consequence of deafness than of any deficiency in the organs of speech. If the son of Cræsus had been deaf, as the translators of Herodotus would represent, how could he have pronounced words which he had never heard, and to which he could not have attached any idea? If this young man had been dumb only, we might conceive such a circumstance; but that a person born deaf and dumb should on a sudden exercise the faculty of speech, is a prodigy

⁶ Herod. VI. xxii.

⁷ Id. VII. clxxvi.

⁸ Diod. Sic. V. vi. vol. I. p. 335.

⁹ Polyæni Strateg. VII. vi. § ii. iii.

p. 612.

¹⁰ Polyb. VII. iv. v. vi. et vii. vol. i. p. 704 et s.

¹ Demosth. de Coronâ, p. 520, A.

which few will be induced to believe. In fact, we must conclude that the son of Cræsus was not deaf; [or else, which is the wiser course, we must regard as fabulous, his sudden acquisition of the faculty of speech. While erasing from history whatever is prodigious, we are not obliged to retain all that is barely credible.]

165. Ὁ δὲ, συννήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην, ἀνεβίβασε ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὸν Κροῦσόν τε ἐν πέδησι δεδεμένον. *But Cyrus, constructing a great pyre, made Cræsus ascend it, bound with fetters.* This act appears the more cruel, when we consider that Cræsus was great-uncle of Cyrus; Aryenis², sister of Cræsus, having married Astyages, maternal grandfather of Cyrus. Ctesias and Xenophon make no mention of it. [While rejecting the miraculous preservation of Cræsus, we may as well reject also the story which is necessarily preliminary to the miracle.]

Nicolaus of Damascus³ tells this story in a very romantic manner: he calls to his aid the son of Cræsus, a sibyl, and the oracles of Zoroaster,—in short, every thing that can affect the reader, and excite his wonder. Cyrus, according to him, is a wise man, a philosopher: he opposes the death of Cræsus, the Persians demand it; Cyrus is compelled to assent. Then follows a most pathetic interview between Cræsus and his son, terminated by the former embracing the latter, and then mounting the pile. In the mean time the sibyl Herophila appears, and from an elevated spot delivers her oracle. Cyrus communicates it to the Persians. The latter, imagining that she had been hired to shield Cræsus from their vengeance, more determined than ever on his death, set fire to the pile. Cyrus, touched with compassion, commands his guards to extinguish it; the violence of the flames prevents their approaching. Thales announces to Cræsus a storm, and encourages him to await it patiently; the storm comes on, and the fire is quenched. The Persians, recognising in this event the truth of the oracles both of the Sibyl and of Zoroaster, forbid from thenceforward the burning of dead bodies, and every sort of pollution of the sacred element.

LXXXVI. 166. Ἀνενεικάμενόν τε καὶ ἀναστενάξαντα ἐκ πολλῆς ἡσυχίης, ἐς τρίς ὀνομάσαι Σόλωνα. *Recovering himself and heaving a groan after long silence, he called three times the name of Solon.* Ἀνενεικάμενον signifies 'heaving a sigh.' We find in Hesychius ἀνενέγκατο, ἐστέναξεν ἐκ βάθους, 'he uttered deep sighs.' And in Homer⁴,

Μνησάμενος δ' ἀδινῶς ἀνενείκατο—

which the Pseudo-Didymus explains, οἶονεῖ, ἀνεστέναξε, καὶ πολὺ ἤγαγε πνεῦμα. It may also mean, 'having recovered himself.' This signification is to be found in Hesychius: Ἀνενεχθεὶς, ἀναβιώσας, 'having recovered himself.' Appian often uses the word in this sense.

² Herod. I. lxxiv.

³ Excerpta ex Nic. Damasc. p. 454

et s.

⁴ Homeri Iliad. XIX. 314.

We have also in Suidas, ἀνενεγκὼν, ἀνανήψας. Herodotus uses it again in this sense, further on, cxvi.

LXXXVII. 167. Εἴ τί οἱ κεχαρισμένον ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐδωρήθη. *If any of his offerings had been agreeable to him.* The best authors have taken a pleasure in imitating Homer. Herodotus assuredly had in his mind the following verse of that poet :

Εἴ ποτέ τοι χαρίεντ' ἐπὶ νηὸν ἔρεψα.—Il. I. 39.

LXXXVIII. 168. Ἀλλὰ φέρουσί τε καὶ ἄγουσι τὰ σά. *But they carry and drive off what is yours.* ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν signifies properly, to pillage ; with this difference, that ἄγειν is said of flocks which are driven, or of men who are led into slavery, and φέρειν of all inanimate objects which can be carried away. This expression is very common. I will cite only one example from Xenophon⁵: Μάχη τε ἐνίκησε καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου ἔφερε καὶ ἤγεν αὐτούς. 'He overcame them in a pitched battle, and after that he drove away their cattle, and carried off their goods.' [The special application, however, of the words ἄγειν and φέρειν, here stated, is not rigorously adhered to by Greek writers.]

[Ctesias⁶ relates that Cræsus subsequently experienced kind treatment from Cyrus, who assigned to the fallen prince, for his residence, Barene, a city not far from Ecbatana : respecting the site of this latter place we shall inquire further on.]

XC. 169. Ἐπὶ τοῦ νηοῦ τὸν οὐδόν. *On the threshold of the temple.* The profound respect of the ancients for their temples is universally known. They dared not enter the temple, properly so called, or what they termed the 'Cella.' They stopped on the threshold of the door, and there consulted the god :

Dum consulta petis, nostroque in limine pendes.

VIRG. Æneid. VI. 151.

It is needless to multiply examples.

XCI. 170. Πέμπτου γονέος ἀμαρτάδα ἐξέπλησε. *Is punished for the crime of his ancestor, five generations back.* 'O miram æquitatem Deorum ! ferretne civitas ulla latorem istiusmodi legis, ut condemnaretur filius aut nepos, si pater aut avus deliquisset' ? The philosopher Bion⁸ was better pleased to turn that principle into ridicule. "The God," says he, "who should punish children for the crimes of their parents, would act more absurdly than the physician who should administer a remedy to any one to cure the disorder of his father or his grandfather."

In the time of our historian, the ideas entertained of the Divinity

⁵ Xen. Anab. II. vi. iii.

⁶ Ctes. Hist. Pers. IV.

⁷ Cic. de Nat. Deorum, III. xxxviii.

⁸ Plut. de sera Numinis vindicta, p.72. ex edit. Wytttenbachii.

were very remote from reason. Correct notions on this head were confined to the Jews. We read in Deuteronomy, chap. xxiv. verse 16. "The fathers shall not be put to death for the children, neither shall the children be put to death for the fathers: every man shall be put to death for his own sin." And in Ezekiel, chap. xviii. ver. 20. "The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son."

"Cræsus was the fifth descendant from Gyges, comprising in this number the last and the first. The kings of Lydia of the house of the Mermnadæ succeeded each other in the following order: Gyges, Ardys, Sadyattes, Alyattes, Cræsus. The method of genealogic reckoning among the ancient Greeks was this: in computing the number of ancestors and descendants, they included the two extremes, the first of the ancestors and the last of the descendants whose genealogy they were recounting. According to this mode⁹, the Pythoness had foretold, that the Heraclidæ, dethroned by Gyges, should be avenged on the fifth descendant of Gyges, ἐς τὸν πέμπτον ἀπόγονον Γύγεω. I doubt, nevertheless, whether this mode of reckoning was general amongst the ancients; for Herodotus remarks, that the prediction of the Pythoness did not greatly disturb either the Lydians or their kings, as they never understood its meaning till it had been confirmed by the event. It should seem that Cræsus himself did not rightly comprehend it, and that he considered it accomplished in the untimely end of his son Atys, who was the fifth descendant from Gyges by another mode of computation, that is, of excluding Gyges himself, the father of the race. Those who pretend to infallibility do not like to express themselves clearly; they take especial care to select ambiguous words, and to involve their answers in a holy and reverend obscurity. It would not have answered the purpose of the Pythoness to express herself in a clear, precise, and intelligible manner. And hence, the god by whom she was inspired, Apollo, was called Λοξίας, on account of his ambiguous answers; though some authors pretend that this name was given him to signify the obliquity of the sun's course¹⁰."—BELLANGER.

XCII. 171. Τρίπους χρύσεος. *A tripod of gold.* We must not confound the tripods of the ancients with the utensil commonly known by that name in our day. The tripod was a vase supported by three feet. There were two kinds: one, used at festivals, and in which wine was mixed with water; others, which were placed on the fire, and in which water was heated. Πῦρ ἀνέκαιε πολλὸν ὑπὸ τρίποδι¹, 'she lighted a great fire under a tripod.' Homer calls the first sort ἄπυροι², because they were not placed on the fire. This is confirmed by Athenæus³.

⁹ Herod. I. xiii.

¹⁰ Suidas, voc. Λοξίας; Eurip. Iph. in Taur. 1013; Macrob. Sat. I. xvii. p. 248.

¹ Hom. Odyss. X. 358.

² Id. Iliad. IX. 122.

³ Athen. Deipnos. II. ii. p. 37, f.

Ἦν γὰρ τὸ ἀρχαῖον δύο γένη τριπόδων . . . οὗτοι δ' ἦσαν οἱ μὲν ἄπυροι, εἰς οὓς τὸν οἶνον ἐξεκεράννυνον· οἱ δὲ λοετροχόοι, ἐν οἷς τὸ ὕδωρ ἐθέρμαινον καὶ ἐμπυριβῆται. 'There were formerly two descriptions of tripods . . . some of which were not put on the fire, but served to mix wine; others were put on the fire, and heated the water for the baths.' The first were the prizes of those who triumphed in the different games, as may be seen in various authors, Greek and Latin. They were placed in the temples. The tripod on which the priestess of Delphi sat, was not so deep, and probably was flattened in front. With this difference, it was nearly like a cauldron, and was also called Cortina.

Delphos adeunt oracula Phœbi⁴;

.
Et locus, et laurus, et, quas habet illa, pharetræ,
Intremuere simul; cortinaque reddidit imo
Hanc adyto vocem.

172. Τῶν κιόνων αἱ πολλαί. *The greater part of the columns.* The Ionians considered as feminine many words which in the common tongue were referred to the masculine gender, such as κίων⁵. Χαίρουσι γὰρ οὗτοι (Ἴωνες) πολλὰ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀρσενικὰ ὄντα, θηλυκῶς ἐκφέρειν· οἷον τὴν κίονα καὶ τὴν Μαραθῶνα. [The grammarian Philemon⁶, in his Miscellanies, ἐν τοῖς συμμίκτοις, makes the same observation, and adds, as examples, the words Βραγχίδαι and λίθος. Yet Βραγχίδαι is sometimes used by Herodotus as a masculine noun (I. clviii), though more frequently as a feminine (II. clix. VIII. xxxvii).]

173. Ἐν δὲ Προνηΐης τῆς ἐν Δελφοῖσι. *In the temple of Minerva Pronæa at Delphi.* There was at Delphi a temple of Minerva Pronæa, Προναία. This is positively asserted by Hesychius⁷. Its situation, opposite to that of Apollo, had caused it to be so named. We find in Suidas⁸, ὠνομάζετό τις παρὰ Δελφοῖς Ἀθηνᾶ Πρόνοια, διὰ τὸ πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ ἵδρυσθαι. (At the first glance it is evident that we must here correct Προναία.) "They gave at Delphi the name Pronæa to a Minerva, because it was placed before the temple." This correction is further authorized by the Etymologicum Magnum, p. 699, where we read Προναία Ἀθηνᾶ, ἀγάλματος ὄνομα· διὰ τὸ πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς εἰστάναι. "Minerva Pronæa, the name of a statue, because it was placed before the temple of Delphi." Pausanias⁹ says, "The fourth temple of Minerva was called Pronæa. In it was shown¹⁰ a buckler of gold, which Cræsus, king of Lydia, had offered to Minerva Pronæa, before Philomelus had pillaged it, as the inhabitants of Delphi say." It is clear, that in these passages of Pausanias we must read Προναία, and

⁴ Ovid, *Metamorph.* XV. 631. See also Virgil, *Æn.* III. 92.

⁵ Moschopul. *περὶ Σχεδ.* p. 165.

⁶ Porphy. *Quæst. Hom. Q.* viii. p. 92.

⁷ Hesych. *voc.* Προναίας.

⁸ Suidas, *voc.* Πρόνοια et Πρόνοια Ἀθηνᾶ.

⁹ Pausan. X. viii. p. 816.

¹⁰ Id. *ibid.* p. 817.

not *Πρόνοια*. Diodorus Siculus, in speaking of the Persians who went to Delphi to pillage the temple of Apollo, says, that they advanced as far as the temple of Minerva Pronæa¹, προῆλθον μὲν μέχρι τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Προναίας Ἀθηνᾶς; and a few lines lower down, he adds, that the Delphians erected a trophy close to the temple of Minerva Pronæa: Τρόπαιον ἔστησαν παρὰ τὸ τῆς Προναίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν. I take this opportunity of correcting a passage of Parthenius²: τὴν δ' ἄρα πολὺς εἶχε πόθος ὄρμον, τοῦ τότε κειμένου ἐν τῷ τῆς Προνοίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερῷ. We should read, ἐν τῷ τῆς Προναίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερῷ: 'She passionately desired the necklace of Eriphylā, which was in the temple of Minerva Pronæa.'

It is true, that temples were likewise erected in honour of Minerva Pronæa, πρόνοια: "Minerva³ is the wisdom of Jupiter: this wisdom is identical with his providence; and therefore temples were erected to Minerva Pronæa." It is commonly thought that Demosthenes alludes to it in his Harangue⁴ against Aristogiton; but I think the text has been altered.

Because, first, it must be a temple, which is here spoken of, and not a chapel such as we see in Catholic churches, as Mr. Taylor imagines; otherwise Demosthenes never could call it μέγιστος νεῶς, 'a very large temple⁵.'

Secondly, it was at the entrance of that to Apollo, εὐθὺς εἰσιόντι εἰς τὸ ἱερόν; which satisfies me that it is the same as that mentioned by Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and Pausanias, and that, consequently, we must read, Προναίας Ἀθηνᾶς.

[Thus it appears that Larcher would change the texts of four authors, viz. Suidas, Pausanias, Parthenius, and Demosthenes, by altering πρόνοια into προναία, although he admits that Minerva Pronæa was an object of adoration. Yet he inconsistently adds the follow remark.]

To reconcile the two opinions, it is only necessary to suppose that the temple of Minerva at Delphi was properly named 'Pronæa,' but that from its situation it was also called 'Pronæa.' [The epithet Pronæa, 'provident,' belonged properly to the goddess, not to the temple.]

174. Ὁ δὲ Πανταλέων ἦν Ἀλυάττει μὲν παῖς, Κροίσου δὲ ἀδελφεὸς οὐκ ὁμομήτριος. *Pantaleon was the son of Alyattes and brother of Croesus, but not by the same mother.* It is of this Pantaleon apparently that Serenus thus speaks in his *Dicta Memorabilia*⁶:

"When Croesus came to the throne of Lydia, he admitted his brother to a share in the regal authority. A Lydian said to him: The sun furnishes to man all the wealth which the earth produces; without his heat, it could produce nothing. But if there could be two suns, we

¹ Diod. Sic. XI. xiv. vol. i. p. 415. p. 184.
lin. 3.

² Parthenius de Amatoriis Affectionibus, xxv. p. 389.

³ Phurnut. de Natura Deorum, xx.

⁴ Demosth. ex edit. Taylor, vol. iii.

p. 476.

⁵ Id. ibid. p. 467.

⁶ Stob. Serm. xlv. p. 323.

should have reason to apprehend that every thing would be burnt up and destroyed. For this reason, the Lydians admit of one king only, and look on him as their protector and preserver; but they never can endure two at the same time."

XCIII. 175. "Εν δὲ ἔργον πολλὸν μέγιστον παρέχεται, χωρὶς τῶν τε Αἰγυπτίων ἔργων καὶ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων. *There is one work, however, (in Lydia) the greatest of all extant, excepting the works of the Egyptians and Babylonians.* Clearchus⁷ relates, in the first book of his *Erotica*, that Gyges had raised, in memory of a mistress whom he greatly loved, a monument heaped up of earth so high, that in passing through the country on that side of Tmolus, it could be seen the whole way, as well as by all the inhabitants of Lydia from every quarter. The Lydians called it, down to his time, 'the monument of the courtesan.'

The monument of which Clearchus speaks, is certainly that of Alyattes. As the greater part of it had been constructed at the expense of the courtesans, it was imagined in after-times that it had been built for one of that class; and as there had been but one prince powerful enough to execute it, it was attributed to Gyges.

This monument still exists, though in a very dilapidated state. Chandler, who is an excellent judge of these matters, saw it in his travels⁸. [It has been more recently examined by Arundell⁹, and by Von Minutoli¹⁰, who finds a resemblance between it and the barrows of the north.]

176. Ἐκδιδῶσι δὲ αὐταὶ ἑωντάς. *They give themselves away.* The Greek implies, 'They give themselves in marriage.' Ἐκδίδωμι is said properly of a father who gives his daughter in marriage, who commits her to the hands of her husband: and it was this right which the girls assumed to themselves. [The expression ἐκδίδωμι seems to have reference also to the giving the marriage-portion. Thus we read further on, (I. cxcvi.) οὕτω αἱ εὐμορφοὶ τὰς ἀμόρφους ἐξεδίδοσαν, 'in this way the handsome give away (i. e. pay for) the ugly.' The Lydian damsels of the lower orders chose husbands for themselves, because they earned their own portions.]

XCIV. 177. Πρῶτοι δὲ ἀνθρώπων, τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, νόμισμα χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου κοψάμενοι ἐχρήσαντο. *They were the first people, as far as we know, who used money coined of gold and silver.* It is scarcely possible to decide what people first struck gold coin. According to some, it was Phido, king of Argos (869 B.C.); and, according to others, Demodice, wife of king Midas¹. Herodotus attributes the invention

⁷ Athen. Deipnos. XIII. iv. p. 573, A.

⁸ Travels in Asia Minor, p. 263.

⁹ Visit to the Seven Churches, &c. p. 185.

¹⁰ Reise zu Siwah, App. 143.

¹ Etymol. Magn. p. 388. lin. 54; p. 613. lin. 12; Heraclides de Politiis, p. 521. He calls her Hermodice. See also Herodotus, VI. cxxvii.

to the Lydians ; Xenophanes of Colophon² is of the same opinion, and Eustathius supports him³.

178. *Πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ κάπηλοι ἐγένοντο.* *They were also the first chapmen.* “That kind of trade,” says Plato⁴, “in which one man sells the work of others, is called *Μεταβλητική* (that is to say, the business of transfer). The sale which is made in the city, and which is nearly half of the above, is it not called *Καπηλική* ?” Aristophanes⁵ calls a dealer in shields *κάπηλος ἀσπίδων*, not because he made the shields himself, as the Scholiast has it, but because, receiving them from the workman, he sold them again. This class of men were very much despised ; for which Cicero assigns the following reason⁶ : “*sordidi putantur qui mercantur ; nihil enim proficiunt, nisi admodum mentiantur.*”

179. *Πλὴν πεσσῶν.* *Excepting counters.* I have preferred translating the *πεσσοὶ* of the Greeks by the expression ‘game of Counters,’ although it afford no definite idea, rather than by that of ‘game of Draughts,’ which would only give an erroneous one. The game was played with dice and counters ; and skill was capable of rectifying the errors of chance. It appears to me that Terence alludes to this kind of game in the following passage⁷ :

*Ita vita 'st hominum, quasi cum ludas tesseris :
Si illud, quod maxime opus est jactu, non cadit ;
Illud, quod cecidit forte, id arte ut corrigas.*

It is probable that the game in question bore considerable resemblance to one of those games of Backgammon common in Europe. M. Simon⁸ seems to confound this game with that which was called ‘*duodecim Scriptorum* ;’ at least Ernesti⁹ affirms that the ‘*Scriptorum ludus*’ was not played with dice ; that it was the same which the modern Greeks call *Ζατρίκιος*, and that it was like the game of Chess : but Saumaise¹⁰, by whose testimony he seeks to corroborate his view, positively asserts that the game which the Greeks called *Πεττεία* was played with dice and counters ; that the Romans called it ‘*tesseræ, alea, tabula, duodecim Scripta.*’ The following epigram supports the opinion of Saumaise¹ :

*Discolor ancipiti sub jactu calculus adstat,
Discertantque simul candidus atque rubens.
Qui quamvis parili scriptorum tramite currant,
Is capiet palmam, quem bona fata juvant.*

² Julii Polluc. Onomast. lib. IX. vi. segm. lxxxiii. p. 1063. Heracl. de Polit. p. 521.

³ Comment. ad Dionys. Perieg. p. 149. col. 2. lin. ult.

⁴ Plat. Sophist. vol. I. p. 223, D.

⁵ Aristoph. Pac. 447.

⁶ Cicero, de Officiis, I. xlii.

⁷ Ter. Adelph. Act. iv. vii. 21.

⁸ Mém. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lett. tom. I. Hist. p. 123.

⁹ Clavis Ciceroniana, voc. ‘*Scriptorum ludus.*’

¹⁰ Hist. Aug. tom. II. p. 740.

¹ Anthologia Latina, vol. I. p. 519.

The Latin translator has rendered the word *παισσοι* by 'calculi.' It is true that strictly it means so; but when the question concerns a game, a game played with dice and counters is always understood.

Athenæus reproaches Herodotus with having said that games were invented in the reign of Atys during a period of famine, and in order to prevent the people from dwelling on their misery; whereas Homer in his *Odyssey*² describes the same games as an amusement of his heroes. To this I have two replies to make: 1st. The game of ball and that of cockal are found in Homer³; but with regard to that of dice, no mention is made of it in any part of his works. Hence it appears either that it is an invention posterior to Homer's time, or that the heroes of his poems had no knowledge of a game invented in a country distant from their own.

2ndly. Herodotus does not say that the Lydians invented these games; he only says, that they laid claim to the invention of them. Are we, therefore, to impute to the historian statements for which he declines responsibility?

180. Τὴν μὲν ἑτέραν τῶν ἡμερέων παίζειν πᾶσαν, ἵνα δὲ μὴ ζητέοιεν σιτία. *They played the whole of each alternate day, in order that they should not seek food.* If on the one hand the Lydians attributed the invention of games to themselves, the Greeks on the other claimed it on behalf of their own nation, and Palamedes passed among them for being the inventor. "Palamedes," says Eustathius⁴, "having contrived the game of dice and counters, in order to mitigate the effects of the famine with which the Greeks were oppressed before Troy, a stone is shown in that vicinity, as Polemon relates, on which they played; and in order to demonstrate that the invention belonged to Palamedes, and the era in which he contrived it, they adduced these verses of Sophocles, from the piece entitled Palamedes, after the name of the inventor of the games in question. "Did he not expel famine with the help of the gods? did he not contrive that ingenious mode of passing the time, effected by the games of dice and pettia, that charming remedy for languor, after the perils of the sea?"

M. Brunck alleges that these verses come from the Nauplius of Sophocles.

181. Ἐπὶ τούτου τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ποιευμένους, ὀνομασθῆναι Τυρρηνοὺς. *Making themselves a name from his, they were called Tyrrhenians.* Independent of their reference to history, these genealogical antiquities serve to elucidate the poets.

Non quia, Mæcenâs, Lydorum quidquid Etruscos
Incoluit fines, nemo generosior est te⁵.

² Homer, *Odys.* VI. 100; VIII. 372.

⁴ Eustathii Comm. ad II. *Iliad.* p. 228.

³ Id. *Iliad.* XXIII. 88. Pope has omitted in this place six verses in his fine translation of Homer.

lin. 1 et s.

⁵ Horat. Sat. I. vi. 1.

Et terram Hesperiam venies : ubi Lydius, arva
Inter opima virûm, leni fluit agmine Tibris ⁶.

Many authors speak of the emigration of the Lydian colonists. Strabo says ⁷, "The Romans call the Tyrrhenians Etruscans and Tuscans. The Greeks have given them that name from Tyrrhenus, the son of Atys, who, according to report, conducted a colony from Lydia into this country."

Velleius Paterculus ⁸ makes Tyrrhenus contemporary with Orestes, and, while narrating the emigration of the Lydians, he follows the testimony of records somewhat different from those of Herodotus.

I am the more inclined to believe that this author was deceived, since the Æolian emigration commenced under Orestes, in the year 3504 of the Julian period, and the dynasty of the Atyades terminated six years previously. The emigration of the Lydian colony must necessarily be dated before the departure of the Pelasgi for Attica. Besides, how could the name of Tyrrhenians be then given them, if the Lydians, who assumed the name of Tyrrhenians, from Tyrrhenus their chief, had not yet arrived in that part of Italy, and invested it with their name: I date it about 3370, at the time when the Pelasgi, enfeebled by famine and other causes, were no longer strong enough to make head against the Lydians.

This emigration of the Lydians is a subject attended with great difficulties, which M. Fréret has taken the pains to bring together, under a dozen heads ⁹.

It must not, however, be disguised that ¹ Xanthus the Lydian, who bears the character of a trustworthy historian, especially where the history of his country is concerned, does not mention this emigration of the Lydians, and the mission of the colony into Italy, although he records circumstances considerably less important.

It may, however, be urged that it is only a negative argument, which has no validity against a fact positively stated by a grave authority, and by an historian who had consulted the archives of the country. It is on the testimony of the Lydians themselves that Herodotus relies; and the silence of Xanthus the Lydian is probably the very reason which may have determined him to relate the circumstance. It was perhaps his wish to supply an omission of that historian; with whose works he was certainly acquainted, and from whom Ephorus ² states that he had obtained materials for his own history.

I have referred at the commencement of this note to the positive testimony of Strabo, V. Paterculus, Horace, and Virgil. If their quality, as poets, would seem to afford ground for declining the evidence of

⁶ Virg. *Æn.* II. 781.

⁷ Strabo, V. p. 335, c.

⁸ Vell. Paterc. I. i. iv.

⁹ *Mém. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lett.*

tom. xviii. *Hist.* p. 95.

¹ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* I. xxviii. p. 22.

² *Athen. Deipn.* XII. iii. p. 515, E.

these two latter writers, it cannot, on the other hand, be denied that their opinion was the prevailing one of the age in which they lived. A universal opinion, moreover, is entitled to respect, and convincing proofs of its falsehood are required of those who consider themselves entitled to contradict it. But Strabo and V. Paterculus were not poets. They were learned and enlightened historians; they did not square their opinions by popular reports; but they decided by the help of authentic records and works, and there existed a multitude of these in their times, of which the course of years has now deprived us.

This opinion is corroborated by Plutarch, whose authority is so much the more worthy of credit on this occasion, because he suffers no opportunity to escape of contradicting Herodotus. Referring to a custom of the Romans at their Capitoline games, of conducting through the Forum to the Capitol an old man dressed in a purple robe, a herald at the same time exclaiming, "Sardians to sell," he inquires whether the circumstance may not have arisen from the fact that the inhabitants of Veii, an Etrurian town, having been taken by Romulus after a long resistance, the latter ordered their king to be sold, in order to ridicule their stupidity. He adds: the Tyrrhenians³ derive their origin from the Lydians, and Sardes is the metropolis of Lydia. The same historian expresses a similar opinion in his *Life of Romulus*⁴.

If any doubt should still be retained respecting the Lydian colony in Etruria, the following decree of the Etrurians will be sufficient to remove it. Eleven towns of Asia disputed the honour of raising a temple to Tiberius and the Senate. The people of Sardes recited the decree of the Etrurians, in which it was clearly set forth that the Etrurians were of Lydian origin, and that they arrived in Italy under the conduct of Tyrrhenus⁵.

[Who will believe that the archives of Lydia, which Herodotus is here assumed to have consulted, reached back to a period anterior to the siege of Troy? or who, having the least acquaintance with the historical inquiries of the present age, will implicitly rely on ancient writers, servilely copying one another, and repeating tales of which the source was never critically examined? History, after all, is partially included within the circle of inductive philosophy. Facts and events may, indeed, be best known to contemporaries, though not necessarily so; for falsehood attends the first step of rumour, and the truth soon becomes obscure to the eyes of all but actual witnesses. Yet the principles, according to which evidence is to be sifted, verisimilitude discerned or institutions retraced; insight into human nature, and an acquaintance with the essential conditions of society, are the fruits of experience as well as of literary cultivation, so that we continually grow more deeply versed in the art of investigating historic truth. To such critical investigation all the records of antiquity require to be subjected. Ancient

³ Plut. *Quæst. Rom.* p. 277, D.

⁵ Tacit. *Ann.* IV. lv.

⁴ Id. in *Romulo*, p. 33, F.

writers laboured under the same difficulties as moderns in respect to the discovery of truth, with the additional disadvantage of being less incredulous and of wanting the guidance of those principles which belong to the philosophy of history.

The objections urged by M. Fréret against the supposed colonization of Etruria by the Lydians, are briefly these :—emigration beyond sea is a kind of enterprise not likely to be undertaken by a people not addicted to naval affairs ; the equipment of a large fleet for a long voyage and for the conveyance of a colony to distant shores, would be impossible in a season of famine ; and finally the silence of Homer respecting Smyrna, whence the expedition is said to have issued, as well as respecting the Lydians in general, show that neither the place nor nation referred to, existed at the time assigned to the supposed emigration. Larcher does not allow these objections all the weight which strictly belongs to them, and the legend respecting Manes, son of Jupiter⁶, with that hero's grandsons, Car, Lydus, and Mysus, which he adduces in proof of the antiquity of the Lydians, is obviously mythological⁷.

The statement made by Herodotus respecting the colonization of Etruria by the Lydians, evidently originated in the fact, that a people called Tyrrhenians were found in Etruria as well as in the northern part of the Ægæan sea and on the shores of Asia Minor. It was a natural effort, therefore, of historical speculation to suppose the Etruscan Tyrrhenians to be a colony of those in the east, and Lydia, where the Tyrrhenians had at an early period established themselves and their name, was fixed upon as the country whence they issued. Let it be observed also that the testimony of Xanthus is not mere negative testimony ; for he states plainly that Torræbus (the Tyrrhenus of Herodotus) remained in Lydia, as well as his brother Lydus ; from him doubtless was derived the name Torrhebis⁸, given to a part of that country. Many examples present themselves of erroneous speculations founded on the similarity of different names or the wide diffusion of the same name. Thus Strabo⁹, among others, was disposed to believe that the Iberians in Caucasus (occupying the modern Georgia) were a colony from Western Iberia or Spain. The Spanish historian Mariana¹, on the other hand, derives his countrymen from their Caucasian namesakes. The error common to both hypotheses has been revived in our own days².

Whatever connexion may have originally subsisted between the various scattered tribes called Tyrrhenians, the hypothesis which leads the Etruscan settlers from Lydia is not the less weak and untenable.

⁶ Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. I. x. xxvii.

⁹ Geogr. I. p. 61.

⁷ Niebuhr, Rom. Hist. vol. I. p. 89 ; Müller's Etrusker, I. p. 75 et s.

¹ De Reb. Hisp. I. vii.

⁸ Steph. Byz. p. 116 ; Müller's Etrusker, I. p. 80.

² M. Petit-Radel, Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. tom. VI. 1822.

And if we allow the silence of Xanthus on this point to prevail against the assertion of Herodotus, why should we listen to Plutarch or the Latin poets who follow our historian? It must be observed that Dionysius of Halicarnassus, while relating the supposed Lydian descent of the Etruscans, has the good sense to discredit that account. The decrees alluded to by Tacitus were certainly not of a nature to be included in the materials of authentic history, nor do they appear to have been considered as such by that acute writer.]

XCV. 182. Ἐπιστάμενος περὶ Κύρου, καὶ τριφασίας ἄλλας λόγων ὁδοὺς φῆναι. *Although I am aware that there are three other modes of relating the history of Cyrus.* The origin and the great actions of Cyrus were related differently throughout the East. Ctesias follows a different course from that of Herodotus, in the extracts which Photius has published of his history of Persia. That which Xenophon takes in his *Cyropædia* is sufficiently well known. Æschylus, who fought at Marathon against the troops of Darius, and who was also present at the battles of Salamis and Plataea, seems to have followed another tradition in his tragedy entitled *Persæ*³. According to this poet, there were two kings of Persia before Cyrus. Darius, who is generally considered the third, is, according to his authority, the eighth. [The supposition that the three modes of representing the history of Cyrus, alluded to by Herodotus, are those which we find in Æschylus, Xenophon, and Ctesias, is merely specious and rests on no solid grounds. A modern editor of Æschylus thinks this author's list of Persian kings capable of being reconciled with the statements of Herodotus, but his own attempt to effect that reconciliation is far from being successful⁴. It is necessary to admit that there was much error among Greek writers with respect to Persian history; but it is absurd to think of confining the error of ignorance on such matters to three forms.]

183. Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχόντων τῆς ἄνω Ἀσίας ἐπ' ἔτεα εἴκοσι καὶ πεντακόσια. *The Assyrians ruling Upper Asia for five hundred and twenty years.* In order to make Herodotus, who assigns only 520 years to the Assyrian empire previous to the revolt of the Medes, agree with other chronologers and historians, who, according to Ctesias, date its origin considerably further back, might it not be said that this kingdom was originally established in a contracted region lying between the Tigris and the Euphrates, or extending a little further? that subsequently it subjugated all the nations of Upper Asia; that Ctesias and those who follow his authority reckon these two different stages of the Assyrian empire, the duration of the smaller kingdom and that of the great empire; a double duration, which altogether amounts to fourteen centuries; while Herodotus says nothing of the smaller Assyrian monarchy, but solely refers to their great empire in Upper Asia, the duration of

³ Æschyl. *Pers.* 767.

⁴ Bohte's *Æsch. Pers.* 717.

which he fixes at 520 years, down to the period of the revolt of the Medes⁵. Diodorus Siculus differs from Herodotus as to the amount of the above duration, although he quotes him. See the notes of M. Wesseling on this author.

[According to Ctesias, a line of thirty-six Assyrian kings, from Ninus to Sardanapalus, ruled Western Asia above 1300 years⁶, or from 2126 B.C. to 821 B.C. At the latter epoch, the Median Arbaces overthrew Sardanapalus and established a dynasty which continued 267 years, through nine generations. The seventh of these kings, Artynas, was conquered by Cyaxares (629 B.C.), whose successor Aspadas, called by the Greeks Astyages, occupied the throne till removed by Cyrus in 554 B.C.

Herodotus, on the other hand, allows only 520 years to the duration of the Assyrian empire, or from 1341 B.C. to 821 B.C. The election of Deioces by the Medes to be their ruler, is assigned by Diodorus Siculus⁷ to the year 710 B.C. Then follow Phraortes 657 B.C.; Cyaxares, 633 B.C.; and Astyages, 593 B.C.; which last was removed from his throne in 554 by Cyrus, who had already ruled his own countrymen from five to six years, or since 559 B.C.

The apparent incompatibility of these two statements is removed at once by the sagacious remark of Mr. Dickenson, that they relate to different dynasties⁸. The Arbacides reigned at Nineveh. The Median king Cyaxares annexed their empire to his own, so that the two historians agree in the names of the two kings immediately preceding Cyrus, under whom the Assyrian and Median empires merged in that of Persia. By making Astyages retain his throne for six years after Cyrus was raised to sovereignty, Mr. Dickenson thought to explain away a self-contradiction of Herodotus, who says (I. cxxx.) that the dynasty founded by Deioces governed for 128 years, exclusive of the time (28 years, I. cvi.) during which the Scythians were masters of the country: according to this statement the dynasty must have lasted 156 years, whereas Herodotus assigns it a duration of only 150 years. Mr. Dickenson supposed that the former number referred to the existence of the dynasty, or till the dethronement of Astyages; the latter to its predominance, or till the rise of Cyrus: but this opinion is untenable. The less number is the sum of the reigns of the four kings. The various changes proposed in our author's text for the removal of this difficulty may be found in the notes of Wesseling and Schweighäuser. It deserves, however, to be remarked, that the language of Herodotus closely examined does not justify the opinion that the Scythians, though they may have ravaged Asia for twenty-eight years, held the exclusive empire during that period. The history of the war between Cyaxares and Alyattes (I. lxxii.) confirms this view of the case. We may, there-

⁵ Diod. Sic. II. xxxii. vol. I. pp. 145, 146.

⁶ Id. II. xxviii.

⁷ Id. II. cxviii.

⁸ An Inquiry into the fate of the ten tribes of Israel, &c. in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. IV. p. 217 et s.

fore, suppose them to have superseded the authority of the Median kings during twenty-two years, and thus reconcile our author with himself.]

XCVI. 184. [Ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖσι Μήδοισι ἐγένετο σοφός, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Δηϊόκης, παῖς δὲ ἦν Φραόρτεω. *Among these Medes, there was a wise man whose name was Deioces, the son of Phraortes.* This hero, the founder of the Median empire, is celebrated under different names in the fables of modern Persia. According to Von Hammer-Purgstall, he is identical with Jemshid⁹. But it is more certain that the dynasty which he founded, is represented by the Dhohák of the Persians, the Zohák of the Arabs; the transfer of the empire from the Medes to the Persians being the foundation of the stories relating to Zohák and Ferídún¹⁰.]

XCVII. 185. Καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἔργα τρεψόμεθα. *And we can cultivate our fields in peace.* I am probably the first who have given this meaning to the phrase, of which, however, I conceive not only that it is susceptible, but that it cannot receive any other. Ἔργα signifies all the labours of the country, ploughed fields, harvests, even the trees, as appears from the ninety-second verse of the fifth Book of the Iliad. Thence αὐτουργός is he who cultivates his own land, ὁ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐργαζόμενος γῆν; as in the Orestes of Euripides¹¹, which has been erroneously explained by Joshua Barnes. This word, says Apollonius¹, signifies in Homer, agriculture, when that author employs it simply and without the addition of any other word to determine the sense. It is, besides, acknowledged that Herodotus has imitated the style of the prince of poets.

XCVIII. 186. [Οἰκοδομέει τείχεα μεγάλα τε καὶ καρτερὰ, ταῦτα τὰ νῦν Ἀγβάτανα κέκληται, ἕτερον ἑτέρῳ κύκλῳ ἐνεστεῶτα. *He built a fortress great and strong, the same which is now called Ecbatana, one circle of walls surrounding another.* There were several places in the East named Ecbatana or Agbatana. Bochart derived the name by a forced etymology from an Arabic word signifying, as he affirms, many-coloured, but which would rather mean of a red colour². Reland says, that in Persian, *Ak* means great, and *Abádán* a populous place³. Major Rawlinson conjectures that the name Agbatana signified a place of strength for treasures⁴. He observes also, that the derivation of Achmetha, (the Chaldaic mode of writing the Greek Agbatana,) from

⁹ Wiener Jahrbücher, IX. p. 10 et s. 216. ex ed. Brunck.

See also Hotty's Researches, Hanover, 1829.

¹⁰ Major Rawlinson, on the site of the Atropatenian Ecbatana, in the Journal of the Royal Geogr. Soc. vol. X. p. 143.

¹¹ Orest. 218. 220. ex ed. Musgrave; p. 135.

¹ Apollonii Lexicon Homeri, voc. Ἔργον, p. 314.

² Bochart, Geogr. Sacra, III. xiv.

³ De Vet. Ling. Pers. II. p. 107.

⁴ Journal of the R. Geogr. Soc. X.

a Hebrew root signifying 'to guard or collect together,' is favoured by the modern form of the name, which from Achmetha has been changed by the Syrians into Ahmethán, and by the Persians into Hamadán.

It has been supposed hitherto that the site of the Ecbatana here spoken of, is at or near the modern Hamadán; but Major Rawlinson has recently shown that we must rather seek it at Takhti-Soleimán or Shíz in the mountains between Kurdistan and Azerbiján. The ingenious and convincing train of argument with which this accomplished traveller supports his opinion, cannot be here analysed; but it is worthy of remark that the distinction thus established between the capitals of Atropatenian and Greater Media, harmonizes perfectly with the distinction drawn above between the Median dynasties mentioned by Herodotus and Ctesias. The former of these writers speaks of the northern Ecbatana, on the site of Takhti-Soleimán; the latter, of the capital of Greater Media, near the modern Hamadán, though he confusedly transports to the southern Ecbatana some of the wonders of the northern city.]

187. Κύκλων ἐόντων τῶν συναπάντων ἑπτὰ, ἐν δὲ τῷ τελευταίῳ τὰ βασιλῆϊα ἔνεστι καὶ οἱ θησαυροί. *The circular walls being seven in all; but in the centre are the royal palace and the treasures.* This palace⁵ was beneath the citadel, and was seven stadia in circuit. The wood-work was composed of cedar and cypress. The beams, the ceilings, the pillars of the porticos and the peristyles were covered with plates of gold and silver; and the roofs were covered with silver tiles. The building was plundered about the time of the invasion of Alexander.

[The last sentence of the preceding paragraph proves that the Ecbatana spoken of by Polybius was that of Greater Media, and not the city founded by Deioces. Diodorus Siculus also⁶, who affirms that Ecbatana was built in a plain, evidently refers to the site of Hamadán. The site of the Atropatenian capital has been carefully surveyed and described by Major Rawlinson⁷. According to Herodotus, the palace and treasures were surrounded by seven walls, each inner wall rising above that which immediately encompassed it on the outside; and this arrangement, he adds, was facilitated by the nature of the ground, which was a hill, κολωνὸς ἐόν. The height of the hill of Takhti-Soleimán above the plain is 150 feet, and its brow is still crowned with a wall thirty feet high, and having thirty-seven bastions in a circuit not much exceeding three quarters of a mile. The only ruins of a recognizable character within the wall are those of a fire temple. "There is, then, no place in this province that will so well suit the description of Herodotus, as the spot which we find in after-ages still holding its metropolitan character. The conical hill, surrounded with walls, is a marked

⁵ Polyb. X. xxiv. vol. I. p. 832, 833.

⁶ Diod. Sic. II. xiii. vol. I. p. 127.

⁷ Journey to the Ruins of Takhti-Soleimán, Journ. R. G. Soc. vol. X.

and peculiar feature that certainly does not exist at present in any part of Azerbiján, except at the ruins of Takhti-Soleimán⁸."

188. Τὸ δὲ αὐτῶν μέγιστόν ἐστι τεῖχος κατὰ τὸν Αθηνέων κύκλον μάλιστά κη τὸ μέγαθος. *The greatest of these walls has an extent about equal to the circuit of Athens.* Ecbatana was 250 stadia in circuit, according to Diodorus Siculus⁹, and Athens 195, according to Thucydides¹⁰. The walls of Phalerum were twenty-five stadia; the portion of the wall where guard was mounted, about forty-three; the other portion of the same wall, seventeen, as we are informed by the Scholiast on the latter author. The long wall which reached to the Piræus was forty stadia in length; the Piræus and Munychium sixty. Dion Chrysostom¹ affirms, that Athens was 200 stadia in circuit. Dionysius of Halicarnassus² makes the ἄστυ, or city properly so called, of the same extent as Rome in the time of Servilius; and Aristides³ considers the whole town to be about a day's journey in circumference.

[According to Leake⁴, the walls of Athens, including the long walls and the maritime city, measured $174\frac{1}{2}$ stadia; but the area included within this boundary was comparatively small, and, owing to the great irregularity of its figure, was not a natural object of comparison. It is more reasonable to suppose that Herodotus referred to the ἄστυ or town properly so called, the walls of which had a circuit of forty-three stadia, or about four and a half miles. No vestiges now remain at Takhti-Soleimán of a city of such magnitude; but the Assyrian plains offer many examples of well-known sites, from which nearly all traces of former life and prosperity are completely erased.]

189. Οὕτω πάντων τῶν κύκλων οἱ προμαχεῶνες ἡνθισμένοι εἰσὶ φαρμάκοισι. *Thus the bastions of all the encircling walls are painted with colours.* [Herodotus relates, that the bastions of the first, that is, the outside wall, were white; those of the second, black; of the third, purple; the fourth, blue; and of the fifth, red. Of the two internal walls, the bastions of the one were silvered; of the other, gilt. It is of the first five that he observes that they are coloured with drugs or dye-stuffs, φαρμάκοισι. Other examples may be found in the east, of this mode of adorning cities or fortified places⁵. On this subject, Major Rawlinson⁶ makes the following observations:

"I will now endeavour to explain the story of the seven walls. This is manifestly a fable of Sabæan origin, the seven colours mentioned by Herodotus being precisely those employed by the orientals to denote the seven great heavenly bodies, or the seven climates in which they revolve. Thus Nizámí, in his poem of the Heft Peïker, describes a seven-dyed palace, built by Bahrám Gúr, nearly in the same terms as

⁸ Rawlinson, on the Site, &c. p. 127.

⁹ Diod. Sic. XVII. ex. vol. II. p. 247.

¹⁰ Thucyd. II. xiii. p. 107.

¹ Dio Chrys. Orat. VI. p. 87, c.

² Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. IV. xiii. p. 210. lin. 20; IX. lxxviii. p. 595. lin. 35.

³ Arist. Panathen. p. 20, in adversâ parte, lin. 9. à fine.

⁴ Topogr. of Athens, p. 273.

⁵ Caylus, Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. tom. XXXI. p. 42.

⁶ On the Site, &c. p. 127.

Herodotus. The palace dedicated to Saturn, he says, was black,—that of Jupiter, orange, or more strictly sandal-wood colour—of Mars, scarlet—of the sun, golden—of Venus, white—of Mercury, azure—and of the moon, green, a hue which is applied by orientals to silver.”

This passage confirms in a remarkable manner the views of Creuzer⁴, who recognises in the description of the seven-coloured walls of the fortress of Deïoces, the rudiments of Mithraism.]

190. Γέλῳ τε καὶ πτύειν ἀντίον καὶ ἅπασιν εἶναι τοῦτό γε αἰσχρόν. *To laugh or to spit in the presence of another, was, to all classes, made a matter of disgrace.* “It is not allowed in India to spit in the king’s palace⁵.”

“The Arabians consider spitting⁶ an indication of contempt. They never do it before their superiors; nor do they blow their noses, as neither do the Turks; their handkerchiefs serve only to wipe their hands and faces.”

The Arabs have discontinued this custom, since they assumed the habit of smoking tobacco. M. Niebuhr⁷ often observed that the master of a family had a little china spitting-pot near him. He, however, remarked that they spit very little, even when smoking for hours together. [It is not necessary to believe that this trait of oriental manners originated in the commands of Deïoces. We read in Job (xxx. 10), “They abhor me; they flee from me, and spare not to spit in my face;” and in Isaiah (l. 6), “I hid not my face from shame and spitting.”]

CII. 191. [Δηϊόκεω δὲ παῖς γίνεται Φραόρτης. *Phraortes was the son of Deïoces.* This king, who succeeded to the throne in 657 B. C., is generally supposed to be the Arphaxad of the Book of Judith⁸, who is there said to have built Ecbatana. But it is more likely that Aphrazad or Phraazad (the Parsodes of Ctesias⁹) was a name of Deïoces, derived from his father Phraortes. The name Phraortes is found in cuneiform inscriptions; “it appears in the tablets of Bísitún, rendered letter for letter with the same orthography as that employed by Herodotus: the Fráurtish of the inscription is the fourth figure that appears bound and suppliant before Darius in his character of Archimagus. He is described as the king of Media, of the race of Húkhsheter,—a Zend compound, which the Greeks seem to have hellenized into Oxathres¹.” The monument being impaired by time reveals no more. Syncellus writes Ἀφραάρτης.]

CIII. 192. [Ἐξεδέξατο Κυαζάρης ὁ Φραόρτεω παῖς. *Cyaxares, son of Phraortes, succeeded to the empire.* “This title (Cyaxares) has been

⁴ Symbolik. II. p. 259.

⁵ Voyage de Le Blanc, p. 182.

⁶ D’Arvieux, Voyage dans la Palestine, p. 140.

⁷ Description de l’Arabie par Niebuhr,

p. 53.

⁸ Ch. I. 1—3.

⁹ Diod. Sic. II. xxx.

¹ Rawlinson, p. 141.

recognised as a compound of the Persian Keï, a royal epithet applied to the early Persian kings ; and the proper name Axares, which name in all its modifications of Ahasuerus, Assuerus, and Xerxes, is positively identical in its elements, with the cuneiform Khshyarsha, or, which is the same thing, (with the prefix of the definite article,) Ah Khshyarsha²."]]

193. Πρῶτος διέταξε χωρὶς ἐκάστους εἶναι, τοὺς τε αἰχμοφόρους, καὶ τοὺς τοξοφόρους, καὶ τοὺς ἰππέας. *He was the first who marshalled them to stand apart from one another, the spearmen, the bowmen, and the cavalry.* Cyaxares ascended the throne 634 years before our era : it was not till after that epoch that military discipline was known and introduced into the Asiatic armies. We must, however, except the Hebrews. From the time of Moses, they were divided into tribes, each of which composed a separate troop with its peculiar banner. We also learn that the army of David was distributed into different battalions of 100 and 1000 men. It was also separated into three principal divisions, each commanded by a general officer, who had tribunes and centurions under him³.

194. Οἱ ἐσέβαλον μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, Κιμμερίους ἐκβαλόντες ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης. *Who made an irruption into Asia, while expelling Cimmerians from Europe.* The history of the Scythians is very obscure. Justin⁴, speaking of the incursions of this people into Asia, sometimes agrees with Herodotus and sometimes differs from him. Strabo⁵ also slightly refers to the expedition of Madyes ; but I am not aware upon what authority he makes him king of the Cimmerians. It is doubtless an error of the transcribers. [Michaelis and Schlözer agree in supposing that the Scythians here mentioned, and who called themselves Skolotes, were the Chaldees of Scripture⁶. The question who were the Scythians, shall be discussed when we come to book IV.]

CIV. 195. Ἐκ δὲ τῆς Κολχίδος οὐ πολλὸν ὑπερβῆναι ἐς τὴν Μηδικήν. *From Colchis it is not far to cross over into Media*⁷. [Only one nation, the Saspirians, intervened. Their country was all hill and forest (I. cx). These particulars, with others which need not be here repeated, are skilfully combined by Major Rawlinson to show that the Media meant by Herodotus could be no other than Atropatene⁸.

The Saspirians, called also Sapirians⁹, occupied the country north of the lake of Urumiyeh and about the sources of the Euphrates and the Araxes : their name no longer remains, unless we should venture to trace it to that of the Zebárí, a tribe of Kurds now dwelling further south near the great Záb ; though there is no good ground for such a conclusion.]

196. Ἐν δεξιῇ ἔχοντες τὸ Καυκάσιον ὄρος. *Leaving Mount Caucasus*

² Rawlinson, p. 142.

³ 2 Kings, XVIII. 1—4.

⁴ Justin, II. iv. et v.

⁵ Strabo, I. p. 106, B.

⁶ See Heeren's *Ideen*, I. ii. p. 269.

⁷ See note 3.

⁸ On the Site, &c. p. 142.

⁹ Argonaut. II. 397.

on their right. The Cimmerians, following the coasts of the Euxine, entered Asia by Mount Caucasus. The Scythians lost their way in pursuing them. "They crossed the defile which is washed by the Caspian Sea, spread themselves over the country since called Albania, passed the Araxes, and then invaded the kingdom of the Medes¹." That defile is now known by the name of Derbend, and called by the Turks Demir-Capi [or the Iron gate].

CV. 197. Ψαμμίτιχος σφεας Αιγύπτου βασιλεὺς ἀντιάσας δώροισι τε καὶ λιτῇσι ἀποτρέπει τὸ προσωτέρω μὴ πορεύεσθαι. *Psammitichus, king of Egypt, advancing to meet them, warded off by arms and entreaties their further advance.* This expedition of the Scythians occurred under the reign of Cyaxares, the king of the Medes, and under that of Psammitichus, king of Egypt. St. Jerome², therefore, is mistaken in placing it under the reign of Darius, king of the Medes. He is mistaken likewise, in asserting that they kept the East under the yoke only for twenty years: he should have said, with Herodotus, twenty-eight years³. Neither does Herodotus make any mention of the annual tribute which they extorted from the Egyptians and the Ethiopians.

Jameson⁴ asserts that Psammitichus was dead when the Scythians ravaged Asia. By his own admission, Amasis died in the year 4187 of the Julian period, 527 years before our era: he admits also, that between the death of that prince and the commencement of the reign of Psammitichus, there had elapsed a period of 146 years. Psammitichus, therefore, ascended the throne in the year 4042 of the Julian period, 672 years before our era. This prince⁵ having reigned fifty-four years, necessarily lived until the year 4096 of the Julian period, 618 years B.C. Now the irruption of the Scythians took place in the year 4081 of the Julian period, 633 years before our era, a year after Cyaxares ascended the throne of Media⁶. Thus, according to Jameson himself, Psammitichus lived fifteen years after the irruption of the Scythians. But the fact is, that Psammitichus began to reign with eleven of his colleagues in the year 4043 of the Julian period, 671 years before the vulgar era; that he reigned alone in the year 4058 of the Julian period, 656 years before our era; that he died in the year 4097 of the Julian period, 617 years before the Christian era; and that the irruption of the Scythians took place sixteen years before his death.

198. Ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἱεὸν πάντων ἀρχαιότατον ἱεῶν ὅσα ταύτης τῆς θεοῦ. *But this temple (in Ascalon) is the most ancient of all the temples of that goddess.* Pausanias⁷ affirms that the Assyrians were the first who adored Venus Urania; that the inhabitants of Paphos in the

¹ M. de St. Croix, 'Eclaircissemens sur les Pyles Caucasiennes,' p. 134; in the Geogr. Mem. on the countries between the Caspian and Black Seas.

² Sancti Hieronymi Opera, Epitaph. Fabiolæ, vol. IV. col. 661.

³ Herod. I. cvi.

⁴ Spicileg. Ant. Ægypt. VI.

⁵ Herod. II. clvii.

⁶ Mém. de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres, vol. xlv. p. 401.

⁷ Pausan. I. xiv. p. 36.

isle of Cyprus, and the Phœnicians of Palestine, borrowed from them this worship, and that from them it passed to Cytheræa. The 131st and 199th paragraphs of this book, in which Herodotus says that the Assyrians adored Venus Mylitta, have doubtless led him into error. How indeed could the Assyrians, who were situate at a distance from the sea-coast, communicate to the inhabitants of the isle of Cyprus the worship of this Goddess? Venus Urania was called Derceto⁸ by the Syrians. [Against these doubts of Wesseling, Creuzer ably defends the accuracy of Pausanias⁹.]

199. Τοῖσι δὲ τῶν Σκυθέων συλήσασσι τὸ ἱερόν τὸ ἐν Ἀσκάλῳ, καὶ τοῖσι τούτων αἰεὶ ἐγγόνοισι, ἐνέσκηψε ἡ θεὸς θήλειαν νοῦσον. *On the Scythians who pillaged the temple and their posterity for ever, the goddess inflicted a feminine disease.* There are few passages of Herodotus which have afforded so much employment for commentators as this. The late president Bouhier¹ has commemorated six different opinions upon this passage. These he examines and discusses; and after having carefully investigated them, he finally decides for that of Casaubon², which coincides with those of Costar³ and of Tollius⁴. He thinks that Herodotus meant obscurely to allude to that infamous vice so common in tropical climates: and it must be admitted that this learned man, who has done so much honour to his country by his erudition, has adduced many plausible reasons in support of his opinion. I am aware also that Dr. Pearce, since Bishop of Bangor, expresses a similar opinion in his notes on Longinus⁵, and that there are some ancient writers who designate this vice by the same term⁶. But the passage of St. Clement of Alexandria, which he cites in support of his argument, does not, in my opinion, prove that this Christian father understood by *θήλεια νοῦσος*, the vice in question. Anacharsis⁷, he says, having become effeminate by his intercourse with the Greeks; the king of the Scythians shot him to death with arrows, because he infected the other Scythians with the disorder of women, καὶ τῆς θηλείας τοῖς ἄλλοις Σκυθῶν διδάσκαλον νόσον.

1. It is exceedingly probable that Anacharsis, having become a philosopher, and wishing to form other philosophers, appeared to a barbarous people, who were acquainted only with a life of toil and hardship, to be an effeminate person, fitter for the society of women than of men; but the doubt which might have arisen from St. Clement's account, is entirely dissipated by that of Herodotus. This historian relates⁸, that

⁸ Diod. Sic. lib. II. iv. vol. I. p. 116.

⁹ Symbolik. II. p. 69.

¹ Bouhier, Rech. et Diss. sur Hérodote, p. 207.

² Casaub. Epist. 572. edit. ult.

³ Costar, Défense des Œuvres de Voiture, p. 194.

⁴ Tollius in Notis ad Longinum, § xxviii. pp. 162, 163.

⁵ In Notis ad Longinum, p. 94.

⁶ There are examples in Dio Chrysos-

tom, Orat. IV. p. 76. D. Herodian, IV. xxii. p. 165.

⁷ Clem. Alex. in Protreptico, p. 20. He does not mention the name of the effeminate young man, whom the king of the Scythians killed with arrows. Herodotus relates the same fact of Anacharsis, which proves that the narrative of St. Clement can apply only to that philosopher.

⁸ Herod. IV. lxxvi.

Anacharsis having beheld the inhabitants of Cyzicum celebrating with the utmost magnificence a festival in honour of Cybele, had vowed to that goddess, that if he returned home in safety, he would offer her a similar sacrifice. He then adds, that the philosopher, on arriving in Scythia, fulfilled his vow, and that a Scythian, having witnessed the unusual ceremony, informed King Saulius; who, repairing to the spot, and observing what was going forward, killed Anacharsis with an arrow.

The festival in honour of Bacchus⁹ appearing to Pentheus of a dangerous nature, he sent for the effeminate foreigner, who wished to initiate the women into the mysteries of this god. Pentheus indicates these mysteries by the name of a 'foreign disorder,' *ὅς εἰσφέρει νόσον καὶ τὴν γυναιξί*. The passages are nearly parallel. But to return to Herodotus; his account may serve to elucidate that of St. Clement. They both speak of certain ceremonies performed by the philosopher, in honour of the mother of the gods. Herodotus confines his statement to this; but St. Clement adds that he was effeminate, and that he taught the Scythians the 'feminine malady,' which, as I apprehend, must be taken to mean, to lead an effeminate life. It is clear, that it was only a consequence of the ceremonies which he wished to teach his countrymen. The tambourine and the little images which were carried on the occasion, must have contributed to impart a very unfavourable opinion of him, especially as he had recently arrived from Greece, and as the Scythians entertained a great aversion for the customs of all other people.

2. Were I even to admit that Anacharsis was addicted to the infamous vice in question, and that St. Clement has pointed it out by the same terms as Herodotus, it does not follow that the two authors meant precisely the same thing.

Anacharsis travelled in Greece about the 47th Olympiad, in the time of Solon¹, and was killed on his return to Scythia. The death of Psammitichus, king of Egypt, under whose reign a part of the Scythians were seized with the disorder 'feminine,' was twenty-five years anterior to the voyage of Anacharsis in Greece. That king ascended the throne about the second year of the 27th Olympiad², and reigned about fifty-four years. His successors were Necos, Psammis, Apries, and Amasis, who lived in the time of Anacharsis and of Solon. The feminine malady, then, had been known in Scythia many years before the return of Anacharsis. If this malady had been identical with an unnatural passion, they would have been accustomed to it; and the vice being already familiar to his countrymen, Anacharsis could have incurred no danger from the practice of it.

⁹ Eurip. Bacch. 349.

¹ Diog. Laërt. I. ci. p. 64.

² Petav. Doctrin. Temp. vol. I. p. 301. M. Bayer places it in the first year of the 27th Olympiad. He follows Hero-

dotus, who assigns fifty-four years to his reign. Simson places it in the 30th Olympiad; and in this particular concurs with Eusebius, who allows but forty-four years to his reign.

Moreover, in the times of Herodotus, characterised as they were by the amiable virtues of candour and simplicity, it was not usual to envelope the thoughts in ingenious circumlocutions or far-fetched equivocations. We have already seen³ the manner in which the father of history expresses himself on a like occasion: *ἐμίσγετο οἱ οὐ κατὰ νόμον*, 'haud legitimè coibat cum eâ.' The reader may refer to the note on that passage. A little further on⁴ he makes use of a similar mode of expression: *καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπ' Ἑλλήνων μαθόντες παισὶ μίσγονται*, 'a Græcis edocti pueris miscentur.' It will be seen from these passages that Herodotus is used to speak without disguise.

Another reason which militates against the opinion of M. Bouhier is, that this malady was so perceptible and remarkable, that travellers observed it, according to Herodotus, at the first glance.

Hippocrates⁵ very clearly explains this in a passage which I shall quote at full length, and from which we may gather both the cause and the effects of this malady. "Their continual exercise on horseback occasions to the Scythians acute pain in the joints; they then become lame; and if the disorder augments, the hip falls backwards. In the commencement of the malady, they cure themselves by cutting the vein which runs behind each ear. When the blood ceases to flow, they fall asleep from exhaustion; and on awaking, some are cured, and some are not.

"This remedy⁶ appears to me fatal to the Scythian people. If certain veins behind the ears are cut, impotency is the result. The Scythians must experience this effect. When they afterwards proceed to intercourse with their wives, and find themselves incapable of enjoying it, they pay little attention to the circumstance on its first occurrence; but if after repeated efforts they find the same want of power, they imagine that they have offended some god, and attribute their deficiency to him. They then clothe themselves in a woman's garment, acquire the habits of women, and join them in their employments. They are the rich and powerful classes who are most subject to this malady, which proceeds from excessive exercise on horseback; the lower orders, not using horses, are less subject to it."

Hippocrates wrote much about the time of Herodotus; and we may therefore infer that these two authors both referred to the same malady. Herodotus describes it in the character of a historian, and, according to the recitals he had heard, attributes it to the anger of Venus. The prince of physicians has recourse to natural causes, and explains it upon scientific principles.

To these writers, M. Bouhier opposes⁷ three arguments: 1. Weak-

³ Herod. I. lxi.

⁴ Ibid. cxxxv.

⁵ Hippocr. de aëribus, aquis, et locis, § l. vol. I. p. 357.

⁶ Hippocr. ibid. § li.

⁷ Bouhier, Rech. et Diss. sur Héro-

dote, p. 208.

ness is not a disease in women, but their natural condition. This is true; but Herodotus says, 'a feminine malady,' that is to say, a state which imparts a taste for the occupations of women, and leaves them strength insufficient for aught else; for, amongst the Greeks, the term 'malady' or disease applies to the soul as well as to the body. Euripides, speaking of the intemperance of Tantalus⁸, says, that it was a very disgraceful malady, αἰσχίστη νόσος. This author frequently adopts the same turn of expression. 2. If the Scythians, adds the President, were impotent, εὐνουχίαι, as Hippocrates asserts, how could they transmit this deficiency to their offspring, as Herodotus relates? This objection is rather more specious, but I do not think more substantial. Hippocrates does not say that the Scythians who were afflicted with this disorder had been so from their infancy. He attributes it to certain small blood-vessels behind the ear, which they cut as a remedy for the sciatica, occasioned by the inclemency of the seasons and excessive exercise on horseback. The malady therefore occurred only at a certain age; before which they might have become fathers and perpetuated their race. But M. Bouhier's opinion does not abate the difficulty: for how can men, abandoned to the infamous vice which he imputes to them, perpetuate their race? Those who are infatuated with this unhappy inclination, entertain an unconquerable aversion for women; and this aversion would probably have existed in greater force among the Scythians, as they looked on it as the effect of divine wrath. The common practices of Italy and other places constitute but a very feeble objection; because, in the first place, those who are infected with this infamous propensity are not compelled to follow it, as Herodotus reports of the Scythians; and secondly, the wish of transmitting their name and honours to posterity might overcome their distaste to the fair sex,—a motive which could not operate with the Scythians, a barbarous people, who knew of no distinction but that conferred by riches.

3. Hippocrates, continues the President, asserts that the diseased Scythians were respected by their fellow-citizens; whereas those described by Herodotus were Ἐναγέες, (for thus we must read, according to the learned President, and not Ἐναρέες,) and consequently looked upon with some degree of horror. M. Bouhier here seems to have found out a difference between the Scythians of Hippocrates and those of Herodotus. The first, according to him, were respected, and the second despised; but these Scythians that were respected, were likewise called ἐνάριες, according to the same Hippocrates. But why did not the President propose the same alteration in the text of Hippocrates, which he makes in that of Herodotus? no doubt, for fear of making the prince of physicians contradict himself. But the objection is altogether futile, which M. Bouhier attempts to maintain only by changing the established reading Ἐναρέες, the reading of all

⁸ Eurip. Orest. 10.

the MSS., of all the editions, which Herodotus again uses in book IV. lxvii., and which is found in the Lexicon of Herodotus in the library of St. Germain des Prés. To this we may add, that Hippocrates, speaking of these very Scythians, calls them *Ἐνάριες*, as I have before remarked.

I learn from Coray, that the reading of Hippocrates *Ἐνάριες*, which we find § xlix. p. 356, is a correction of Mercurialis, (Var. Lect. III. vii.) which Vander Linden has introduced into the text. I also gather from the same author, that the other editors read *ἀνδριεῖς* or *ἀνανδριεῖς*, and that of two MSS. in the King's Library, that which is numbered 2146 has *ἀνδριονες*, and that numbered 2255, *ἀνανδρι*.

But, as M. Boubier might have remarked, this word has no meaning. Learned men in like cases have proposed their corrections, and may not I be permitted a similar licence? It is true, that there is no precise idea conveyed by this term; but, in all probability, it is a Scythian word, to which Herodotus has done no more than impart a Greek termination. In fact he himself says so, *τοὺς καλέουσι Ἐναρέας οἱ Σκύθαι*. 'The Scythians call them Enarees.'

[The observation of Hippocrates on the malady of the *Ἐνάριες*, certainly throws much light on the statement of Herodotus, although these writers do not perfectly agree; but we must not look for rigorous exactness in ancient writers, nor refuse to make allowance for their vagueness of language and inaccuracy of conception. If we do not believe with Herodotus that the disease in question was the infliction of Venus, neither need we believe that it was hereditary in the families of those who had violated the shrine of that goddess: we are, then, at liberty to seek its origin elsewhere. On the other hand, it is manifestly impossible that a malady manifesting itself in impotency, as Hippocrates describes it, should be transmitted from father to son. It was probably not hereditary, though frequent in particular families predisposed to it by temperament or constitutional weakness.

Reineggs was the first, in modern times, to make known the existence of this disease in the regions occupied by the ancient Scythians. He asserts⁹, that among the Nogais, on the Kuban, cases are frequent of males losing the strength and physiognomy of their sex, and assuming the dress and habits of women. This account, which received little credit, has been confirmed in all essential points by Count Potocki, who saw one of those metamorphosed individuals, among the Turkmans at the Red Wells in the Sands of Anketeri between the rivers Couma and Terek¹. Persons so afflicted are called Kos; and the traveller adds, that the disease is not unknown in Turkey².

I recollect to have read, though unable to retrace my authority, that

⁹ Reineggs, Beschreibung des Kaukasus, 1796. vol. I. p. 270.

&c. per le Comte Jean Potocki, 1829. tom. I. p. 212.

¹ Voy. dans les Steps d'Astrakhan,

² Id. tom. II. p. 226.

among the equestrian nations of the European and Asiatic Steppes, the seat on horseback, acquired in early childhood and continued with little change or intermission, often hinders the descent and consequent development of the testes. Rough exercise will injure the spine and bring on decay of mind and body, as is often the case with Russian couriers³. The Russian mail-cart is popularly called the back-breaker. But the infirmity mentioned by Hippocrates is obviously a case of imperfect sexual development.]

200. Ὡς δὲ εἶλον ἐν ἑτέροις λόγοις δηλώσω. *How they took it (Nineveh), I shall show in another work.* Did Herodotus then write any other history than that which has come down to us? Many passages of this author seem to convey as much; and some learned men of the first distinction, Isaac Vossius, Bouhier, and others, are of this opinion. Mention is made of his history of Assyria; I shall have occasion to speak of that of Lybia further on (II. clxi.).

Herodotus says (I. clxxxiv.): "there were at Babylon many other kings, of whom I shall speak in my history of Assyria." In § cvi. of the same book, he says: "the Medes took Nineveh; I shall relate, in another work, in what manner they took it."

In both passages, Herodotus clearly states, that he will refer in his history of Assyria to the kings of Babylon, and to the taking of Nineveh by the Medes. This appears to me a positive engagement on the part of the historian, and the only remaining inquiry is whether he ever fulfilled it. Fabricius⁴ thinks that he never did, because the history in question is not mentioned by any ancient author. Gerard Vossius⁵ is of the same opinion; and yet he quotes a passage from Aristotle, which he thinks alludes to the above history. The latter philosopher, remarking⁶ that birds whose claws are hooked never drink, adds immediately, that Herodotus was ignorant of this fact, as in his account of the taking of Nineveh, he says, that an eagle drank: now this passage, which we do not find in Herodotus, can exist only in his history of Assyria, of which Nineveh was the capital.

Fabricius⁷ suspects that the passage quoted by Aristotle may be found in some copy of Herodotus more complete than those which we have. But upon what does he ground this opinion? what can have originated such a suspicion? It is in the first book that Assyria and Babylon are mentioned; but all is there so connected and consecutive, that it would be a difficult task to introduce this passage. There remains, therefore, no other mode of obviating the difficulty, than by supposing that the word 'Herodotus' is a corruption; but in the edition of Aldus, which is the oldest of all, and in all those which Sylburgius examined, we find the same word 'Herodotus.' It is true

³ Erman, Reise, &c. vol. I. p. 438.

⁶ Aristot. Hist. Animal. VIII. xviii.

⁴ Biblioth. Græc. II. xx. § v. vol. I. p. 913.

p. 664.

⁵ G. Vossius, de Historicis Græcis, I. iii. ⁷ Fabricius, Biblioth. Græc. loco superioris laudato.

that the MS. of Gaza had *Ἡσίοδος ἡγνόει τοῦτο*, 'Hesiod was ignorant of that.' But can a single MS. claim the preference over so many others, and over the earliest editions of an author, which generally point out the MSS. from which they are taken? Moreover, who ever heard that Hesiod spoke of the siege of Nineveh by the Medes? Camus, in his translation of Aristotle's History of Animals, has adopted the reading of Gaza, and accompanied it by a meagre note conveying no information. If, as I believe, the passage of Aristotle is not corrupt, and if his memory did not betray him, we cannot doubt that Herodotus, who assuredly had an intention of writing the history of Assyria, actually did write it; but no ancient author except Aristotle having quoted it, it could not have long existed. M. Desvignoles⁸ attributes the loss of this work to the negligence with which Herodotus had written it; and amongst other defects which he imputes to him, he accuses him of not knowing who was the founder of the Assyrian empire. It cannot be disputed, that the Chronology of M. Desvignoles is a profoundly learned work; but it nevertheless abounds with hasty, not to say rash, decisions. Has M. Desvignoles seen this work of Herodotus, or at least an extract from it, to enable him to speak in this dogmatic manner? Or does any ancient author express such an opinion of it? If not, why should he pronounce a judgment unsupported by either of these grounds?

M. Bouhier found in an ancient Greek chronicle⁹, a passage which he believes to be a fragment of Herodotus's history of Assyria. The author of this Chronicle says, that Sesostriis, of the race of Shem, son of Noah, having made war on the Assyrians, and having brought them under the yoke, conquered Chaldea, Persia, and Babylon; that he reduced under his government the whole of Asia, Europe, Scythia, and Mysia; that, being about to return into Egypt, he made choice of 15,000 Scythians, to whom he assigned lands in Persia; that these Scythians, in the most remote times, remained there under the name of Parthides, which in the Persian language signifies 'Scythians,' and that these people preserved their language and their ancient customs, as Herodotus relates.

M. Bouhier thinks that this account is taken¹ from the history of Assyria by Herodotus. If this opinion be true, that history must have existed in the fourth, or even in the fifth century, at which time the Chronicle was written. But how can we believe, that during so many ages there should have been no historian, no chronologer, no grammarian, who should have cited this history; and that at length it should be found in the hands of an obscure writer, to whom little credit can be attached? But let us go a little further back. There is every reason to suppose, that the author of the Chronicle has taken this passage from

⁸ Desvignol. Chronol. IV. iv. § v. p. 176.

⁹ Chronic. Paschale, p. 47.

¹ Bouhier, Rech. et Diss. sur Hérodote, I. p. 7.

the Chronography of John Malalas². We there find the same account as in the Chronicle, except that in Malalas we have Σῶστρις, which is an abbreviation of Σέσωστρις. There is immediately afterwards: οἵτινες ἐκλήθησαν ἀπὸ (legend. ὑπὸ) τῶν Περσῶν Πάρθοι, ὃ ἐστὶ ἐρμηνευόμενον Περσικῇ διαλέκτῳ, Σκύθαι. "The Persians give them the name of Parthians, which being interpreted signifies Scythians." We know that Malalas is more ancient than the Chronicle, in which we find Parthides. Suidas has copied Malalas in the words Πάρθοι and Σῶστρις. Herodotus³ having written that Sesostris had subjugated the Scythians, afforded a sufficient ground for this fabulous and incredible writer to erect his unauthenticated superstructure⁴. Who can believe that Herodotus ever heard speak of Shem or of Noah? M. Bouhier thought that he had discovered another passage of Herodotus in Suidas, under the word Πανύασις; but Wesseling⁵ (from whom the materials of this note are borrowed) has proved that the passage in question is corrupt, and has most satisfactorily corrected it.

[The assertion of Malalas, that the name Parthi is the Persian translation of Scythæ, may be explained by supposing that the former word signified in the Zend, nomade strangers, and was thus related to the Afghán word *purdy*, a stranger⁶. But it is to be feared that he only misquoted Justin, who says, (XLI. i.) 'Scythico sermone Parthi exules dicuntur.']

CVII. 201. Ἐκδέκεται δὲ Ἀστυάγης, ὁ Κυαζάρω παῖς, τὴν βασιλῆην. *Astyages, the son of Cyaxares, succeeded to the kingdom.* [The Greeks changed into Astyages, the appellation of Azdhehák or the Dragon⁷, by which the family of Deïoces was distinguished. According to the popular traditions of Persia, dragons sprung from the shoulders of Zohák; and from them again proceeded the Dragon race of Armenia. A winding ridge of rock in the plain below Takhti-Soleimán, still bears the name of Azdhihá; and local tradition relates that the dragon was advancing against the town, when it was suddenly turned into stone in that place by the wand of King Solomon⁸.]

CVIII. 202. Ὁ Ἀστυάγης, καλέσας Ἄρπαγον, ἄνδρα οἰκῆιον, καὶ πάντων ἐπίτροπον τῶν ἐωυτοῦ, ἔλεγέ οἱ τοιάδε. *Astyages, calling Harpagus, a man who was of his house, and to whom he confided all his affairs, spoke to this effect.*

Οἰκῆιον. *His relation.* The Greek word has been ill rendered by 'familiarem.' Harpagus says clearly enough, in the following passage, that he is a relation of the child, μοὶ συγγενῆς ἐστὶ ὁ παῖς: and he could be so only through the daughter of Astyages.

[It does not follow that because συγγενῆς means related by blood,

² Joann. Malalæ Hist. Chron. p. 28.

³ Herod. II. ciii. et cx.

⁴ Richardi Bentleii Epist. ad Joan. Millium, passim.

⁵ Dissert. Herodotea, I. p. 9.

⁶ Elphinstone's Caubul, p. 673.

⁷ Moses Chorenensis, I. xxi.

⁸ Rawlinson, on the Site, &c. p. 144.

οἰκήϊος means also the same thing; yet Larcher so translates it. The former word refers to the tie of kindred; the latter, to that of domestic intimacy or dependence, which in the east has much strength. For the expression πάντων ἐπίτροπον see above, note 17.]

CIX. 203. Εἰ δὲ θελήσει ἀναβῆναι ἡ τυραννίς. *If the empire shall devolve on this daughter.* In Herodotus and other writers, θέλει and ἐθέλει are frequently redundant, and are coupled with inanimate objects. Εἰ ὦν ἐθέλήσει ἐκτρέψαι τὸ ῥέεθρον. (II. xi.) [The verb ἐθέλειν is here used for μέλλειν⁹.]

204. Ἄλλο τί ἢ λείπεται . . . ἐμοί; *What remains to me?* The construction is τί ἄλλο λείπεται μοι, ἢ ὁ μέγιστος τῶν κινδύνων; this arrangement is not unusual. Demosthenes says¹, in his harangue against Aristocrates, Ἄλλο τί, ἢ σιγῶντα δεήσει Χαρίδημον ἔαν αὐτὸν ὑβρίζειν; 'What remains to us, but to submit in silence to the insults of Charidemus²?'

CX. 205. Κύνα καλέουσι σπάκα Μῆδοι. *The Medes call a bitch Spaco.* It is not known whether the language of the Persians and the Medes was the same. William Burton and Hadr. Reland³ did not find among the remnants of the ancient Persian language any term like this. Nevertheless, Tannegui Lefevre affirms, that the Hyrcanians, a people governed by the Persians, still call a dog 'Spac⁴.' Cyno comes from κύων, which, taking either gender, signifies 'dog' or 'bitch.'

[The Persians call a dog Sâg; the Afghâns, Spy. The Polish Suka is little altered from the Persian; while the Russian Sobaka comes very near the ancient Median word. Tanaquil Faber (or Le Fevre) relied on the authority of a person named Wikefort, probably the Wicquefort who translated into French the travels of Olearius and Mandelslo.]

206. Αἱ δὲ ὑπώρεαί εἰσι τῶν οὐρέων . . . πρὸς βορέω τε ἀνέμου τῶν Ἀγβατάνων. *At the foot of the mountains, to the north of Agbatana.*

[The mountains north of Takhti-Soleimân and at no great distance from it, are called in the maps Jebel Kiblah, which is evidently however not the native name, but that given them by the Mohammedans dwelling further north. They are a branch of the great Kurdistan mountains of Sehend and Sevilân. This description of the mountainous country near Agbatana, north of it, towards the Euxine Sea, and bordering on the Sasprians, whose territory, of no great extent, alone intervened between Media and the Euxine, (civ.) argues strongly in favour of the hypothesis which places the site of that capital at Takhti-Soleimân. Hamadân has mountains on the south and west, but immediately to the north no mountains whatever.]

⁹ Viger, de Idiotismis, p. 263.

¹ Demosth. contra Aristocr. p. 411, 85.

² See Matthiæ, Gr. Gram. § 487, 9.

³ Dissert. de vet. Ling. Pers. p. 245. et Λεῖψαυα Linguæ Persarum, p. 97.

⁴ Tannegui Lefevre, in Notis ad Justinum, I. iv. p. 24.

CXIV. 207. Ὀφθαλμὸν βασιλέος. *The eye of the king.* Such was the epithet by which the king's ministers were designated in the Asiatic courts. The chorus of old men, questioning Xerxes as to his defeat⁵ in Greece, ask him, "Have you also left there the faithful eye of the Persians, Alpistus, son of Batanochus?" Aristophanes also says in the *Acharnenses*⁶, "We bring you Pseudartabas, the eye of the king." And a few verses further on⁷, "The senate summons to the Prytanæum the eye of the king."

Count Carli remarks, in his *American Letters*, towards the conclusion of the thirteenth letter, that in Peru, the commissary, charged with the examination of the public and private conduct of the Decurions, is called, in the language of the country, 'Cucuy Kioc,' that is, the 'eye of all,' or the universal eye. The same writer further observes, that in the laws of Peter the Great, the fiscals or attorneys of the prince are called the 'eyes of the prince.'

CXIX. 208. Παρέφερον τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ παιδὸς κατακεκαλυμμένην. *They brought forward the child's head, covered up.* This atrocious transaction is strangely misrepresented by Seneca. He supposes⁸ that Harpagus was treated in this manner for having offered wholesome counsel to the king, who served his 'children' up to him, though he had but one.

209. Ἀρεστὸν εἶναι πᾶν τὸ ἂν βασιλεὺς ἔρδῃ. *Whatever a king does, is agreeable.* Seneca has rather altered this⁹, when he puts into the mouth of Harpagus, 'apud regem omnis cœna jucunda est.' We may remark, that without referring to the passage in Herodotus, we should be perplexed to render that of Seneca, as one could scarcely decide whether that author meant to say, at 'the table of the king,' or 'the table of a king.' The omission of the article in the Greek proves that we must translate, 'at the table of a king every species of food is delightful.'

This answer of Harpagus, so worthy of a base courtier, brings to my memory one of an English noble, no less remarkable for its servility. Edgar, king of England, having killed Ethelwold in the forest of Harewood, the son of that nobleman arrived immediately afterwards. The king, showing him the dead body of his father, asked him, what he thought of the game; the young man coolly replied, that nothing which pleased the king could displease him¹.

CXXIII. 210. Κῦρον δὲ ὀρέων ἐπιτρεφόμενον, ἐποιέετο σύμμαχον, τὰς πάθας τὰς Κύρον τῇσι ἑωυτοῦ ὁμοιούμενος. *Seeing that Cyrus was duly brought up, he wished to make an ally of him; identifying that prince's*

⁵ Æschyl. *Pers.* 984 et s.

⁶ Aristoph. *Acharn.* 91.

⁷ Id. *ibid.* 124.

⁸ Seneca de Irâ, III. xv. vol. I.

p. 118.

⁹ Id. *ibid.*

¹ Gul. Malmesbury, *Antiq. Eccles.*

Glast. II. viii.

wrongs with his own. For want of attention to the preposition ἐπὶ, the translators have not seized the true meaning of this passage. Wyttenbach² is the only one who has fully explained it: 'at Cyrum videns crescere in spem vindictæ (sibi crescere et ali vindicem).' Ἐπιτρέφόμενον must be referred to τιμωρὸν, a substantivum understood, and comprised in τιμωρίην which goes before. [The elaborate subtlety of this interpretation cannot be defended on any principles of sound logic. The verb τρέφω means to nourish or to rear; the prefix ἐπι adds to it the idea of a purpose or object; but we ought not arbitrarily to assume this to be a special purpose, unconnected in general with the bringing up of children. For the force of ἐποιέετο, see note 138.]

CXXV. 211. [Ἔστι δὲ τὰδε, ἐξ ὧν ὄλλοι πάντες ἀρτέαται Πέρσαι· Πασαργάδαι, Μαράφιοι, Μάσπιοι. *These which follow are the tribes from which all the other Persians depend.* Ἀρτέαται is Ionic for ἡρτηνται: it was formerly read as a proper name; an error of great antiquity, since it is found in Stephanus of Byzantium. Herodotus adds, that of these tribes the Pasargadæ are the chief, and that the family of the Achæmenidæ, from which the Persian kings descend, belong to the Pasargadæ. The name Achæmenius is now read in cuneiform inscriptions, added to those of Darius and Xerxes³.

The historian then goes on to enumerate the other and subordinate Persian tribes, of which three cultivated the ground; viz. the Panthialæi, the Derousiæi, and the Germanii. Four tribes were nomadic; viz. the Dai, the Mardi, the Dropici, and the Sagartii. The Dai are supposed to have been the occupiers of the desert tract called Dahistan, east of Khorasan; the Mardi inhabited the southern shores of the Caspian Sea. The Germanii were probably the people of Kermân. The Maraphii are referred by some to the Marrasium of Ptolemy, N. E. of Persepolis; while Von Hammer-Purgstall considers them, erroneously we think, as the possessors of Merv. This learned but fanciful writer finds the name of the Sagartii preserved in the modern Salghar, and that of the Achæmenidæ in Ajem⁴, which last is in reality an Arabic word, signifying foreign. In order also to reconcile Herodotus with Xenophon, who reckons twelve Persian tribes, he restores the old corruption of the text, so as to add the Arteatæ and the Persæ to the ten tribes named above!]

212. Γερμάνιοι. *The Germanians.* This people are the same as the Caramanians. There are some authors who derive from them the ancient Germans. Cluvier⁵ has politely convinced them of their error. But, adds Wesseling, there are some persons of so unaccountable a taste, as since the discovery of corn to feed on acorns.

² Selecta Principum Historicorum, p. 353.

³ Lassen, Altpers. Keil-Inschr. pp. 141. 165. 167.

⁴ Wiener Jahrbücher, vol. VIII. p. 319.

⁵ Cluvier, German. Antiq. I. p. 30.

[That the German nation and name came originally from Central Asia, is an opinion which has gained ground since the time of Cluvier. Such an hypothesis is indeed a necessary consequence of the affinity fully traced of late years between the various languages of the Indo-Germanic race. The resemblance between the Persian and German languages was already noted by Olearius⁶. The name Germania appears to have been generally applied by the easterns to the country of Khawaresm, Chorasmia, or Transoxiana⁷.]

CXXVIII. 213. Τοὺς ὄνειροπόλους, οἳ μιν ἀνέγνωσαν μετεῖναι τὸν Κῦρον, τούτους ἀνεσκολόπισε. *Those interpreters of dreams, who prevailed on him to dismiss Cyrus, he impaled.* Astyages also⁸ displaced all the officers, and substituted others. Finding out afterwards those who had been the cause of his defeat, he put them to death; thinking by this severity to compel others to conduct themselves more valiantly; for he was naturally cruel and inhuman. Not only were they disgusted by his barbarity, but every man of them abhorred a violence so contrary to the laws, and desired a change. The troops assembled together in battalions, and exhorted each other to avenge the death of their companions.

214. Συνβαλὼν τοῖσι Πέρσησι, ἐσσώθη. *Coming to an engagement with the Persians, he was defeated.* Xenophon asserts that Cyrus succeeded peaceably to the crown of Media. But on this subject the reader may consult my Supplement to the Philosophy of History, pp. 82 and 83 of the first edition, and 107 and 108 of the second, where will be found likewise an answer to the objections of M. de Voltaire.

Herodotus has contented himself with reporting the result of the two battles, without relating any of the circumstances. I find a curious description of one of them in Plutarch, but I know not whether it applies to the first or the second.

“The Persians⁹,” says he, “having met with a check in the battle, and flying towards the city, pursued by the Medes; the women went out to meet them, and holding up their clothes, cried out to them: Where are you going, cowards? you cannot return to the womb that bore you. The retreating troops, ashamed of their timidity, and animated by this sight, returned to the charge, and put their enemies to flight. Cyrus made a law, that from that moment, whenever the king entered the city, he should give a piece of gold to each woman. Ochus, a wicked and avaricious prince, preferred travelling round the walls, to fulfilling the engagement of Cyrus. Alexander twice entered it, and made a double gift to the pregnant women.”

The last battle¹ against Astyages took place at Pasargadæ. He was

⁶ Voyages d'Olearius (in 1637) trad. vol. II. p. 553.
par Wicquefort. II. p. 858.

⁷ Erman, in Kruse's Archiv. I. p. 124.

⁸ Diod. Sic. de Virtutibus et Vitiis,

⁹ Plut. de Virt. Mulier. p. 246, A.

¹ Strabo, XV. p. 1062, c.

defeated, and the empire of Asia devolved on Cyrus. This prince, in commemoration of his victory, built on the spot a city and a palace.

CXXX. 215. Πάρεξ ἣ ὅσον οἱ Σκύθαι ἦρχον. *Without including the time during which the Scythians reigned there.* The reigns of Deioces, of Phraortes, of Cyaxares, and of Astyages, make together 150 years. If, according to Herodotus, we subtract the 28 years during which the Scythians held Asia under their yoke, we shall have 122 years, against the express testimony of the same author, who says that the Medes held the empire of Upper Asia 128 years, without comprising the time of the Scythian dominion. According to Conringius², the six years which Herodotus here adds, must be those years of anarchy to which he elsewhere refers, though without mentioning their number.

This simple and natural explanation, which was much relished by Wesseling, at first misled me; but more mature reflection has induced me to reject it. The defection of the Medes took place in the year 3966 of the Julian period, 748 years before our era, and the election of Deioces in the year 4005 of the Julian period, 709 years before our era, as I have proved in a Memoir read to the Academy upon some of the Assyrian epochs, and in my Essay on the Chronology of Herodotus³. There were, consequently, thirty-nine years of anarchy. I am persuaded that Herodotus does not include this period, but only that during which the Medes were governed by kings. We shall then have six years too little: I am inclined to think, therefore, that we must subtract them from the text, and attribute the error to the copyists, who have committed many others besides this. For Philemon says, in his Miscellanies⁴, that there are numerous errors in Herodotus not attributable to himself, but to the copyist. [See the concluding paragraph of Note 183.]

216. Ὅπισω κατεστράφησαν. *They (the Medes) were again subjugated.* They returned to their duty under the reign of Darius Nothus, in the first year⁵ of the 93rd Olympiad, which was the twenty-fourth of the Peloponnesian war. If Herodotus was fifty-three years old at the commencement of this war, as Aulus Gellius, relying upon⁶ the testimony of Pamphila, asserts, he was seventy-seven when the Medes were reduced to obedience. This passage, therefore, must be one of those which Herodotus added to his history in extreme old age.

217. Ἀστυάγεα δὲ Κῦρος, κακὸν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιήσας, εἶχε παρ' ἐωυτῷ ἐς ὃ ἐτελεύτησε. *Cyrus kept Astyages a prisoner so long as he lived, doing him no other harm.* Isocrates, in his funeral oration on Evagoras, king of Salamis in Cyprus⁷, says, that Cyrus put to death

² Herm. Conringii Adversaria, p. 148.

³ Mém. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lett. tom. xlv. Hérod. Trad. tom. VII. p. 163.

⁴ Porphyrii Quæst. Hom. Qu. viii.

⁵ Xen. Hell. I. ii. xii. p. 18; compare Dodwell, Annal. Xen. p. 238.

⁶ Aul. Gell. Noct. Attic. XV. xxiii. vol. II. p. 297.

⁷ Isocr. Evagoras, vol. II. p. 87.

Astyages his maternal grandfather. I do not think that this has been asserted by any other author. But however that may be, Libanius alludes to this passage of Isocrates⁸: "Let the great Cyrus," says he, "yield, therefore, to the emperor, to the judgment of kings befriended by the gods. If he had the good fortune to be saved by a shepherd; at least he made war upon his grandfather, and even, as Isocrates says, carried his culpability still further: whence it follows, that in subjugating the Medes, he covered himself with dishonour."

CXXXI. 218. Ἀγάλματα μὲν καὶ νηοὺς καὶ βωμοὺς οὐκ ἐν νόμῳ ποιευμένους ἰδρύεσθαι. *It is not the rule with them (the Persians) to make images (of the gods), or to erect temples and altars.*

It may be here observed, that the ancients were not idolaters, or worshippers of images and statues⁹. Lucian remarks¹, that the ancient Egyptians had no statues in their temples.

Neither had the Greeks, according to Eusebius, until the time of Cecrops, who first raised a statue² to Minerva; and Plutarch asserts, that Numa forbade the Romans³ to represent God under the form of a man or of an animal, and that for 170 years there was in their temples neither a statue nor a painting of the Deity. St. Clement of Alexandria⁴ copies this passage of Plutarch almost word for word; but when he proceeds to assert that Numa borrowed this prohibition from Moses, it will be obvious, without any intimation from me, that his zeal oversteps the mark. The Romans had, at that time, no knowledge either of the Jews or of their legislator; and the Greeks themselves, from whom the Romans borrowed very largely, had as little acquaintance with them. Varro, who lived some years before Plutarch⁵, remarks, that for 170 years the Romans adored the gods, without erecting any statues to them; and if this usage still subsisted, continues the most learned of the Romans, their worship would be the more pure. In support of his opinion, he cites the example of the Jews; and he does not hesitate to say, that those who first erected statues to the gods, abolished the appropriate respect for them, and substituted a vulgar error. He judiciously thought, adds St. Augustine, that in raising statues to the gods, they fell into an absurdity, which rendered them contemptible.

219. Ὅτι οὐκ ἀνθρωποφυνίας ἐνόμισαν τοὺς θεοὺς. *Because they do not believe that the gods have the human form.* I, in my first edition, translated the passage, 'because they do not believe with the Greeks, that the gods are born of men.' I followed Laurentius Valla and the

⁸ Liban. Panegy. in Julian. Consul. § iii. tom. III. p. 452. vol. II. p. 242, D.

² Eusebii Præp. Evang. X. ix. p. 486,

⁹ See Hyde, de Vet. Pers. Rel. III. p. 93; and Brisson. de Reg. Pers. II. p. 28.

³ Plut. in Numâ, p. 65, B, C.

⁴ Clem. Alex. Strom. I. p. 359.

¹ Τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν, καὶ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοισι ἄξόανοι νηοὶ ἔσαν. Lucian, de Deâ Syriâ,

⁵ S. August. de Civitate Dei, IV. xxxi. p. 111.

most approved translators; conforming also to the opinion of the learned Bishop of Gloucester, Warburton⁶. I have since inclined to adopt the opinion of Stanley, which Wesseling proposes in his note: ἀνθρωποφυής signifies the same thing as ἀνθρωποειδής, which Herodotus elsewhere uses (II. cxlii). Diodorus Siculus employs this word in the same sense⁷: τὸν δὲ Ἰξίωνα τῇ νεφέλῃ μιγέντα, γεννῆσαι τοὺς ὀνομαζομένους Κενταύρους ἀνθρωποφυεῖς. "Ixion having had intercourse with the cloud, begot those creatures called Centaurs, which have a human form." Φυὴ in Homer, of whom Herodotus is a great imitator, signifies nothing more than the stature, the figure, the shape. I cite no example, because instances are very numerous, and easy to be found by the help of an index. Φύσις in Pindar⁸ signifies stature,

Οὐ γὰρ φύσιν Ὀρίω-
νείαν ἔλαχεν.

"The stature of Orion did not fall to his lot."

220. Οἱ δὲ νομίζουσι Διὶ μὲν, ἐπὶ τὰ ὑψηλότατα τῶν οὐρέων ἀναβαίνοντας, θυσίας ἔρδειν. *But it is their rule to offer sacrifices to Jupiter, ascending for that purpose the highest mountain-tops.* The Greeks and Latins had a culpable habit of giving to the divinities of other nations the names of their own gods. A few attributes possessed in common, sufficed, with them, to prove the identity of these divinities. As in Greece the Supreme Being was called 'Zeus,' the Greeks imparted this name to the divinity which in any other country was considered supreme. Æschylus makes Atossa speak of Phœbus⁹ as a god of the Persians. "Lest it should be thought," says Stanley on this passage, "that this expression is ill suited to a Persian woman, it may be as well to apprise the reader, that the historians, the geographers, and other writers who have written in prose, invest the deities of the Persians with the names of the Greek gods. Thus Herodotus and Strabo reckon among the Persian divinities, Zeus, Urania, Aphrodite, and even Helios and Selene. According to Agathias, the Persians call Zeus, 'Bel,' and Aphrodite, 'Mitra,' if we rely on Herodotus, or 'Anaitis,' if we believe Strabo."

[The ancient Persian usage described in the text here quoted, appears to be referred to by the prophet Isaiah in the following passage, (lxv. 6, 7.) "I will recompense your iniquities and the iniquities of your fathers together, saith the Lord, which have burned incense upon the mountains, and blasphemed me upon the hills."]

221. Πέρσαι δὲ Μίτραν. *The Persians call her (Venus) Mitra.* "The sun," says Dr. Hyde¹, "being always designated by this name, I cannot conceive what can have occasioned the error of Herodotus."

⁶ Divine Legation of Moses, bk. II. i. vol. I. p. 96. and chiefly the note.

⁷ Diod. Sic. IV. lxix. vol. I. p. 314. lin. 67.

⁸ Pindar, Isthm. IV. 83.

⁹ Æschyl. Persæ, 205.

¹ Hyde, de Vet. Pers. Relig. iii. p. 95, in notis.

Yet the same author allows² that the Persians knew Cupid or Love under the name of Mihr, or Mihir. Hence comes the name of Mitra to signify the goddess who presided over holy love, otherwise Venus Cœlestis. We find in St. Ambrose³, 'Cœlestem Afri, Mithram Persæ, plerique Venerem colunt, pro diversitate nominis, non pro numinis varietate.' Moreover, Mitra and Mithras, according to Gronovius, are wholly different; Mithras signifying the sun, and Mitra Venus⁴.

CXXXII. 222. Ἑστεφανωμένος τὸν τιάραν μυρσίνη. *Wearing a tiara crowned with myrtle.* According to Strabo⁵, it was the victim that was crowned with myrtle; but probably both the victim and he who offered it were similarly decorated. Strabo, therefore, omitted the circumstance mentioned by Herodotus, and the latter historian passed over that which is noticed by the geographer.

223. Ἐπεὰν δὲ διαμιστύλας κατὰ μέρεα τὸ ἱρήϊον, ἐψήσῃ τὰ κρέα. *But when, having cut the victim in pieces, he shall have cooked it.* M. de la Barre⁶ contended that the text of Herodotus had been altered, and that we ought to read ἔψῃ τὰ κρέα, 'carnes curavit,' or ψήσῃ, 'radendo deterisit.' He considered these corrections necessary, because he thought that the Persians lighted no fire for their sacrifices, and he cites Herodotus to prove it. But this author speaks only of the fire of the altars. It is beyond a doubt that they cooked the flesh of their victims. The same historian⁷, speaking of the religious customs of the Scythians, which greatly resembled those of the Persians, says, "They do not erect statues, or temples, or altars. They sacrifice their victims without lighting fires or making libations. After they have strangled their victims, and skinned them, they cook them." Herodotus, in speaking of fire, means the sacred fire destined to consume a part of the victim, as was the practice in Greece; but that does not imply that they did not use fire to cook the flesh.

224. Μάγος ἀνὴρ παρεστὼς ἐπαείδει θεογονίην, οἵην δὲ ἐκεῖνοι λέγουσι εἶναι τὴν ἐπαιδήν. *A Magian (or priest) standing by chants a Theogony, which they deem the incantation.* Doctor Hyde⁸ criticises Herodotus on the subject of this Theogony, and thinks that he contradicts⁹ what he had said before, that the Persians did not believe, with the Greeks, that the gods 'were descended from men.' Our historian does not contradict himself. [This objection is founded on the misinterpretation of the word ἀνθρωποφυεῖς; see note 219.] The theogony of the Persians was very different from that of the Greeks: though among the former the gods were not the offspring of men, yet they were not without an assigned origin; witness the Æones, and the Emanations which the Gnostics borrowed from the Chaldeans and from the theology of Zoroaster.

² Hyde, de Vet. Pers. Rel. iv. p. 105.

³ Contrà Symmachum, II. p. 840.

⁴ Fréret, Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. tom. XVI. p. 270. See also Creuzer, Symbolik. vol. II. p. 20.

⁵ Strabo, XV. p. 1065, A.

⁶ Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. tom. XII. p. 176.

⁷ Herod. IV. lix. lx.

⁸ Hyde, de Vet. Pers. Rel. iii. p. 95, in notis.

⁹ Herod. I. cxxxi.

It is to this Theogony, I think, that we must apply these passages of Strabo¹: 'Επάρδουσιν ἀποσπένδοντες ἔλαιον ὁμοῦ γάλακτι καὶ μέλιτι κεκραμένον, 'they chant, making libations of oil mixed with honey and milk.' ²Τὰς δ' ἐπὶ ῥάβδων μυρικίνων λεπτῶν δέσμην κατέχοντες, 'they make long incantations,' or rather, 'they sing their theogony for a long time, holding a band made of thin twigs of broom.'

CXXXIII. 225. Οἱ εὐδαίμονες. *The happy* (that is, the rich) *people*. Riches contribute to happiness, but do not constitute it; yet this mode of expression nevertheless was very usual amongst the Greeks and the Romans. Εὐδαιμονία, says Hesychius, πλοῦτος; εὐδαιμονία signifies riches. Julius Pollux includes amongst the synonyms of πλούσιος, 'rich³,' εἷς ὧν τῶν εὐδαιμόνων, τῶν ὀλβίων, 'he who is among the number of the fortunate, of the happy.'

Οἱ δ' ὥστ' ἀμητῆρες ἐναντίοι ἀλλήλοισιν

Ὅγμὸν ἐλαύνωσιν, ἀνδρὸς μάκαρος κατ' ἄρουραν.—Il. XI. 67.

"As in the field of a rich man, two bands of reapers advance towards each other."

'Stratumque haberet tale, ut terra tecta esset stramentis, neque huc amplius quam pellis esset injecta, eodemque comites omnes accubuisent, vestitu humili atque obsoleto, ut eorum ornatus non modo in his regem neminem significaret, sed hominis non *beatissimi* suspicionem præberet⁴.'

Bono me ingenio esse ornatam, quàm auro multo mavolo :

Aurum in fortunâ invenitur, naturâ ingenium bonum.

Bonam ego quàm *beatam* me esse nimio dici mavolo⁵.

226. Οἱ δὲ πένητες αὐτῶν τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν προβάτων προτιθέαται. *But the poor among them offer the smaller kind of beasts*. The Greek word πρόβατα signifies 'cattle or beasts in general.' Πάντα τὰ τετράποδα ἐκάλουν οἱ παλαιοὶ πρόβατα, διὰ τὸ πρὸ τῶν ὀπισθίων βασέων ἐτέρας ἐμπροσθίους ἔχειν⁶: "The ancients gave the name of πρόβατα to all four-footed animals, because the fore-feet come before the hinder ones." Apollonius, in his Lexicon, says, Τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν προβάτων is small cattle, such as sheep, goats, &c. Pausanias⁷ gives the same name to the same species of animals, τὰ λεπτότερα τῶν προβάτων, which the Abbé Gedoy translates, 'victims of smaller value.'

227. Ἐπιφορήμασι πολλοῖσι χρέωνται. *They have a copious dessert*. Ἐπιφορήματα are what is served after the repast, and which we call dessert. The Greeks called them also ἐπιδορπίσματα, as is seen in Hesychius under the word ἐπιδορπίσματα and τραγήματα, from which, no

¹ Strabo, XV. p. 1065, B.

² Id. *ibid*.

³ Julii Pollucis Onomast. III. cap. xxii. seg. cix. vol. I. p. 326.

⁴ Corn. Nepos, Agesil. VIII. ii. p. 447.

⁵ Plaut. Pœnul. act. I. scen. II. 88.

⁶ Schol. ad Iliad. xiv. 124.

⁷ Paus. IX. iii. p. 717.

doubt, comes the French word 'dragées,' comfits). Trypho⁸ says, that formerly each guest was served with his portion before he sat down to table, and that afterwards various things, called ἐπιφορήματα, were introduced. Philyllius, a writer of the old comedy, names, amongst the articles of the second service, almonds and nuts, ἐπιφορήματα. This word properly signifies any thing served afterwards.

228. Οἶνω δὲ κάρτα προσκέαται. *They are much addicted to wine.* The Persians were originally very sober, as may be learned from the Cyropædia; but in the time of Herodotus they drank immoderately, a circumstance confirmed by Plato⁹.

CXXXVI. 229. Παιδεύουσι δὲ τοὺς παῖδας ἵππεύειν. *They teach the boys to ride on horseback.* In the time of Cyrus this constituted no part of the education of the Persians; because inhabiting¹ a mountainous country, and consequently destitute of pasture, they were incapable of breeding horses; but when they had conquered a country adapted for supporting them, they learned horsemanship: and Cyrus commanded² that it should be considered disgraceful for any one to whom he had made a present of a horse to walk on foot, although he should have ever so little way to go.

The Persians assiduously cultivated the morals of their children³, instructed them in the laws, and taught them to draw the bow, and throw the javelin. Such were the occupations of the first class; in which they remained, according to Xenophon⁴, till they were seventeen years old, and then they passed into that of young men. This author, therefore, does not altogether coincide with Herodotus, who fixes twenty as the age at which they discontinued these exercises.

CXXXVIII. 230. Αἰσχιστον δὲ αὐτοῖσι τὸ ψεύδεσθαι νερόμισται. *The most disgraceful thing in their estimation is to tell a lie.* "The greatest⁵ of all vices among the Persians is to contract debts, and the second to lie; for it frequently occurs to those who are in debt to utter falsehoods. Those who lend, lie still oftener, by writing in their books that they have lent such a man so much money, when they have, in fact, lent him much less."

St. Basil⁶ very justly remarks, that when the day of payment approaches, the debtor thinks of the lies he shall tell to deceive his creditor.

231. Ὅς ἂν δὲ λέπρην ἢ λεύκην ἔχῃ, ἐς πόλιν οὗτος οὐ κατέρχεται. *If any one happens to be afflicted with leprosy or white sickness, he never enters the town.* The Greek has 'whoever has a leprosy or a

⁸ Apud Athen. Deipnos. XIV. x, xi. p. 640, E, F.

⁹ Plato, de Legibus, I. vol. II. p. 637, E.

¹ Xen. Cyropæd. I. iii. § iii. p. 19.

² Id. ibid. IV. iii. § v. p. 233.

³ Id. ibid. I. ii. § iv. p. 7.

⁴ Id. ibid. viii. p. 11.

⁵ Plutarch, de vitando Ære alieno, p. 829, c.

⁶ S. Basilii Oratio V. p. 94.

leuce:' which sufficiently marks the distinction between the leprosy properly so called, and some peculiar variety of that disorder, which the author calls leuce, and which is the feminine of λευκός, 'albus.' Aristotle⁷ accurately describes this malady: "During the efflorescence of the skin, which is called leuce," says he, "the hair becomes white." M. Forskal⁸ has observed, that amongst the Arabians there were two kinds of leprosy; that that which spread over the whole body was called Barras, and that in the East it was immediately recognized, by its turning the hair white, which is there usually black. Nevertheless, an Indian infected with this malady, and whose hair had not turned white, was pointed out to M. Niebuhr⁹.

Hesychius defines this malady under the word λεύκη: ἄνθος τι τῶν περὶ τὸ σῶμα γινομένων. MM. D'Arnaud, de Valois, &c. were wrong, in my opinion, in wishing to change the text of this grammarian, and to read πάθος τι with Gregory, archbishop of Corinth¹, in his treatise on Dialects. It is certain that the leprosy called leuce is a disease, and Gregory was right in calling it πάθος τι. But this malady is an efflorescence of the skin, and so Hesychius has termed it. Aristotle, in the passage quoted, has given it the name of ἐξάνθημα, which corresponds very well with the term ἄνθος of Hesychius. [Plutarch calls the disease in question ἐπιλευκία².]

To the present day lepers are kept in actual confinement in many parts of the East.

232. Φασὶ δέ μιν εἰς τὸν ἥλιον ἁμαρτόντα τι, ταῦτα ἔχειν. *They say that he suffers in consequence of some offence against the Sun.* When Æschines, on his way to Rhodes, passed by Delos, the inhabitants of that island were much troubled with the species of leprosy called leuce. They attributed it to the anger of Apollo, because, in opposition to established custom, they had buried a man of quality in the island. See note 123, and the commencement of the first Letter of Æschines to Philocrates—taking it for granted that the letters attributed to this orator are not the work of some sophist, which, however, there is great reason to suspect.

233. Σέβονται ποταμούςς μάλιστα. *They have the greatest veneration for rivers.* 'Ridetis temporibus priscis Persas fluvios coluisse³.'

. . . Πέρσης εἰμὶ γὰρ ἐκ πατέρων.

. . . σέβομαι, δέσποτα, καὶ ποταμούς⁴.

"I am by descent a Persian; . . . I venerate also rivers."

'In superstitionibus⁵ atque curâ deorum, præcipua omnibus venerationis est.' Teridates, brother of Vologesus, king of the Parthians, and of Pacorus, king of the Medes, who was king of Armenia by virtue of

⁷ Arist. Hist. Anim. III. xi. p. 805, c.

⁸ Description de l'Arabie par M. Niebuhr, p. 120, note.

⁹ Ibid. pp. 121, 122, note.

¹ Gregorius de Dialectis, p. 245.

² Plut. Symp. IV. p. 670.

³ Arnobius, VI. p. 197.

⁴ Analect. Vet. Poët. Græc. vol. I. p. 503.

⁵ Justin. XLI. iii.

the cession of that country made to him by Nero, was one of the order of Magi. It is of him that Pliny says⁶, 'navigare noluerat, quoniam exspuere in maria aliisque mortalium necessitatibus violare naturam eam fas non putant.'

Chrysippus⁷ relates, in his fifth book, on Nature, that Hesiod forbade the people to make water in rivers or in fountains.

[The respect for rivers here ascribed to the precept of Hesiod has a natural origin; and is now maintained in full force by the Amakosa or Kaffers on the borders of the Cape colony. They punish with great severity the defilement of a stream or fountain.]

The worship of rivers was very ancient. We find examples of it in Homer⁸, who speaks of the horses that were thrown into the Scamander, in honour of the god of that river.

CXXXIX. 234. Τῶν Περσέων τὰ οὐνόματα τελευτῶσι πάντα ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ γράμμα. *The names of the Persians all end in the same letter (s).* Scaliger⁹, Hyde¹, and Gataker² assert, that Herodotus is mistaken on this point. 'Sanè Cyrus,' says Scaliger in the passage referred to, 'et Darius tam Græcè quam Persicè eam litteram habent ultimam: atque Mithridates, Oxydates, Tiridates, Artaxerxes, et similia, quæ Græci per sigma terminant, Persicè desinunt in a.' Stanley³ remarks, that the names which Scaliger cites in support of his opinion are borrowed from the Chaldee, and are not Persian. The same observation will apply to those quoted by Gataker. They are all borrowed from Esdras and Nehemiah, which are written in Chaldee.

[The cuneiform inscriptions, so far as they have been hitherto deciphered, do not fully confirm the remark of Herodotus. In Zend the nominative often ends in â. Thus Xerxes and Hystaspes are, in the inscriptions Khsharsâ, Vistaspâ⁴.]

CXL. 235. Κατακηρώσαντες δὲ ὦν τὸν νέκυν Πέρσαι, γῇ κρύπτουσι. *The Persians, covering the dead body with wax, bury it in the ground.* Cicero says the same thing: 'Persæ⁵ etiam cerâ circumlitos condunt, ut quàm maximè permaneant diuturna corpora.' From which we must not infer that the Persians preserved the bodies of their dead after the manner of the Egyptians; for 'condunt,' which is a translation of γῇ κρύπτουσι, signifies, 'they place in the earth.'

The bodies, then, which they enclosed in wax had not been torn or mangled; or else it was the remains of the torn bodies that were wrapped in wax, or which were salted⁶ with nitre, and afterwards

⁶ Plin. Hist. Nat. vol. II. XXX. ii. p. 525.

⁷ Plut. de Stoicorum Repugnantiiis, p. 1145, A.

⁸ Iliad, XXI. 132.

⁹ De Emend. Temp. VI. p. 586.

¹ Hyde, de Vet. Pers. Relig.

² Gataker, Advers. XXII. p. 661.

³ Stanley in Pers. Æschyl. 21.

⁴ Lassen, Die Altpers. Keil-Inschr. pp. 42. 165.

⁵ Cic. Tusc. I. xlv.

⁶ Sextus Empiricus Pyrrhon; Hypotypos. III. xxiv. p. 185.

enclosed with linen bandages, as Sextus Empiricus relates. The bodies of the Magi were altogether abandoned to the dogs and the birds of prey. "The Persians," says Strabo⁷, "bury their dead bodies after having covered them with wax; the Magi, on the contrary, do not commit theirs to the earth, but abandoned them to the birds."

Bodies so enclosed in wax will keep for centuries. Some members⁸ of the Society of Antiquaries, curious to know the state in which the body of Edward I. would be found, and which had been wrapped in wax, obtained permission to examine it. They found it in very good condition on the 2nd May, 1774. The wax had been renewed under Edward III. and under Henry IV. by virtue of orders issued to the Treasury⁹. It has not been renewed since: therefore the body has been in the same state for three centuries and a half. But as Edward I. died in 1307 at Burgh upon Sands, in Cumberland, on a march against the Scots, this body has in the whole been preserved 492 years, reckoning from that date to the year 1800, the time when I correct this note.

The Magi long maintained the exclusive privilege of exposing their bodies to be devoured by carnivorous animals; but as Fabricius remarks¹⁰, relying on Procopius and Agathias, the Persians afterwards indiscriminately abandoned all corpses to the birds and beasts of prey. This custom still partially subsists. The cemetery of the Guebers¹, half a league distant from Ispahan, is a round tower, constructed of large stones, thirty-five feet high and ninety in diameter, without any door or other entrance. The only access to it is by means of a ladder. In the middle of this tower is a species of huge grave or pit, into which the bones are thrown. With regard to the corpses, they are ranged along the wall in their clothes, each on a little bed, with bottles of wine, &c. The ravens that perpetually haunt the cemetery devour them.

They neither burned dead bodies, nor washed them; witness the following epigram of Dioscorides. Euphrates, a Persian by birth, thus addresses his master²:

Εὐφράτην μὴ καῖε, Φιλώνυμε, μηδὲ μίγηης
 Πῦρ ἐπ' ἐμοί· Πέρσης εἰμὶ γὰρ ἐκ πατέρων,
 Πέρσης αὐθιγενῆς, ναὶ δέσποτα. Πῦρ δὲ μῆναι
 Ἕμιν τοῦ χαλεποῦ πικρότερον θανάτου.
 Ἀλλὰ περιστείλας με δίδου χθονί· μηδ' ἐπὶ νεκρῷ
 Λουτρὰ χέης· σέβομαι, δέσποτα, καὶ ποταμούς.

"Philonymus, burn not Euphrates³, nor pollute the element of fire

⁷ Strabo, XV. p. 1068, A.

⁸ The Annual Register for the year 1774, p. 117.

⁹ Printed in Rymer's *Fœdera*.

¹⁰ See his note upon the passage above quoted from Sextus Empiricus.

¹ Travels of Chardin, vol. II. p. 186.

² *Analecta Vet. Poët. Græc.* vol. I. p. 503.

³ Euphrates is a proper name not unusual in ancient times. A celebrated philosopher of the time of Vespasian was so called. His panegyric may be found in Pliny the younger, bk. I. epist. x.; in Epictetus, XXIX. § iv. p. 99; in Eusebius against Hierocles, p. 530, B. and in the dissertations of Epictetus collected by Arrian, pp. 420. 636.

on my account : for I am a Persian ; a Persian both by ancestry and by birth. To die is to us less dreadful than to pollute fire. But wrapping me in a shroud, commit me to earth ; nor pour water on the dead ; for I venerate rivers too."

236. Οἱ δὲ δὴ Μάγοι αὐτοχειρίῃ πάντα, πλὴν κυνὸς καὶ ἀνθρώπου, κτείνουσι κτείνοντες ὁμοίως μύρμηκας τε καὶ ὄφεις, καὶ τᾶλλα ἔρπετὰ καὶ πετεινά. *But the Magians, indeed, kill with their own hands every thing but the dog and the human being ; they kill alike ants and snakes, all reptiles and all insects.*, It is a precept of the Sad-der. 'Diligentem' conatum adhibe enecando sanguisugas ; et præsertim hæcce quinque interficito, ut merita invenias copiosa : horum primum est, Ranæ aquaticæ, (scil. earum genus) ; secundum est, Serpentes et Scorpiones ; tertium est, Muscæ, (scil. Culices et Pumices pungentes) ; quartum est, Formicæ ; quintum, Mures, fures illi errabundi. Ranas si interfecerit aliquis, quicumque fortis eorum adversarius, ejus quidem merita propterea erunt mille et ducenta. Aquam eximat eamque removeat, et locum siccum faciat, et tum eas necabit a capite ad calcem. Hinc diaboli, damnum percipientes maximum, flebunt et ploratum edent copiosissimum. Quando Serpentes interficis, recitabis Vestâ (scil. Zendavestâ) et inde merita copiosa reportabis : nam perinde se habet ac si tot dæmones interfeceras,' &c.

"The Guebers⁵ believe that it is not only lawful to kill insects and all other useless animals, but that it is even acceptable to the Deity, and a meritorious work ; because these noxious creatures having been produced by an evil principle and a wicked agent, to tolerate his productions is to favour him : and that therefore it is proper to destroy them, to testify the abhorrence in which he is held."

CXLI. 237. Ὁ δὲ, ἀκούσας αὐτῶν τὰ προῖσχοντο, ἔλεξέ σφι λόγον. *But he (Cyrus), having heard their proposals, repeated to them an apologue.* Thus Xenophon⁶ says : Εἴτα οὐ λέγεις αὐταῖς τὸν τοῦ κυνὸς λόγον ; 'Why do you not tell them the fable of the dog ?' Herodotus calls Æsop λογοποιὸς, 'the fabulist'.

238. Παύεσθέ μοι ὀρχεόμενοι, ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ἐμέο αὐλέοντος ἠθέλετε ἐκβαίνειν ὀρχεόμενοι. *Leave off dancing, since ye would not come dancing forth, when I piped to you.* The Greek has, 'since you have not chosen to dance out to the sound of my flute.' The Greeks frequently give to fish the epithet of ὀρχηστῆρες, 'dancers.' Oppian⁸ uses it in his poem on the Chase :

Τερπωλὴ δ' ὅτε

Εἰνάλιον φορέησι δι' ἠέρος ὀρχηστῆρα.

Literally, 'There is joy when he bears through the air a dancer of the deep.'

⁴ Sad-der, Port. xlvii. p. 478.

⁵ Travels of Chardin in Persia, vol. II. p. 185.

⁶ Socratis Mem. II. vii. § xiii. p. 121.

⁷ Herod. II. cxxxiv.

⁸ Oppiani Cynegeticon, I. 59. 61.

CXLII. 239. Γλῶσσαν δὲ οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν οὗτοι νενομίκασι, ἀλλὰ τρόπους τέσσερας παραγωγέων. *They (the Ionians) do not use the same grammatical speech, but have four systems of terminations.* The text has 'four sorts of paragoge;' and perhaps I should have done better so to translate it; but I was fearful of using a purely Greek word. "The paragoge," says the author of the *Etymologicum Magnum*⁹, "is placed only at the beginning of a word." This is not only incorrect, but the direct opposite of the fact, for the commencement of the word is precisely the situation where it is never found; and amongst all the examples of paragoge which he cites, there is not one where the paragoge begins the word.

The paragoge is an added syllable either in the middle or at the end of a word. For example, from δαπάνη comes¹⁰ δαπανηρὸς by a paragoge. From αἰδῆς αἰδέηλον¹ by a paragoge, in the same manner that ἀλνκὸν comes from ἀλός. Sophocles² also has said εἰκάθειν for εἴκειν: εἰκάθειν (they are the terms of the Scholiast) παραγωγῶς ἀντὶ τοῦ εἴκειν. From γαμφή, a noun verbal³ which comes from γνάμπω, is made, by a paragoge, γαμφηλή. From γῶ⁴ signifying λαμβάνω, comes γύω, by a paragoge.

Though there were but four principal dialects among the Greeks, each of these dialects was again subdivided. The Dorian of Lacedæmon was different from that of Sicily and of Magna Græcia; and even in Sicily, the language varied in different cities. See Salmasius *De Hellenistica*, seventy-first and following pages; and especially the Prince de Torremuzza, in his excellent work entitled, 'Siciliæ et adjacentium Insularum veterum inscriptionum nova Collectio,' seventeenth and following pages. The same was the case with the Ionian. Its idiom was varied in the different Ionian cities; some admitting a paragoge, which was rejected by the others.

CXLIV. 240. Ἐς τὸ Τριοπικὸν ἱρόν. *In the Triopic temple.* Triopium was a city of Caria, founded by Triopas⁵ the father of Erysichthon. Thence the promontory of the same name [now called Cape Crio], where stood a temple consecrated to Apollo, and known by the name of the Triopic temple. The Dorians celebrated their games in honour of that god, as is asserted by Herodotus, who does not, however, associate with him Neptune and the nymphs, as does the Scholiast on Theocritus⁶.

A general assembly of the Asiatic Dorians, upon the model of that of Thermopylæ, was held in this temple⁷; but this assembly had no

⁹ *Etymol. Magn. voc. Δίκαιος*, p. 275. Scholia ex edit. Brunckii.
lin. 39.

¹⁰ *Id. voc. Δαπάνη*, p. 248. lin. 8.

¹ *Minora Scholia ad Sophoclis Ajacem*, p. 38. col. 2. ex edit. Brunckii.

² *Sophoclis Œd. Col.* 1178, et ibi

³ *Orionis Etymol. MSS. Biblioth. Reg.*

⁴ *Idem.*

⁵ *Steph. Byz. voc. Τριόπιον.*

⁶ *Schol. Theocr. ad Idyll. XVII. 69.*

⁷ *Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. IV. p. 220.*

other object than an associated celebration of religious festivals and public games⁸.

[The Dorians introduced the worship of Apollo as their principal god into Asia Minor, without suppressing, however, the ancient Pelasgic rites of Ceres and the infernal gods, which, though of a different kind, were united in the ceremonies at Triopium with those of Apollo⁹.]

241. Ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ μὴ ἐκφέρειν. *Not to carry them away from the temple.* At the games celebrated in honour of Apollo or of Bacchus, it was not permitted to the conqueror to take the prize home with him. It remained in the temple of the god, with an inscription expressing the name of the Choregus at whose expense the games had been celebrated, and of the tribe which had proved victorious. This expense is always included under the term of 'the tripods.' Plutarch, wishing to prove that Aristides¹ was very rich, says, that whilst he was Choregus, he left tripods in the temple of Bacchus, as monuments of victory. The little chapel at Athens, close by the hospital of the Capuchins, and which is called, I know not why, 'to Phanari tou Demosthenes,' 'the Lantern of Demosthenes,' was probably destined for the preservation of these tripods, as may be conjectured from the inscriptions which have been found there.

CXLV. 242. Δυώδεκα δέ μοι δοκέουσι πόλιας ποιήσασθαι οἱ Ἴωνες, ὅτι καὶ ὅτε ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ οἴκεον, δυώδεκα ἦν αὐτῶν μέρη. *It appears to me that the Ionians are, on this account, divided into twelve states, because when they dwelt in Peloponnesus they were divided into twelve.* As Herodotus touches but slightly on this point, I have thought it right to enlarge a little on it, lest to the greater part of my readers it might appear obscure.

Hellen, the son of Deucalion², reigned in Phthia, between the rivers Peneus and Asopus. Having left his dominions to the eldest of his sons, he sent the rest of them to seek establishments elsewhere. Dorus settled in the environs of Parnassus, and gave his name to the people he assembled under him. Xuthus passed into Attica, where he married a daughter of Erechtheus. Pausanias gives a rather different account of the motives which induced Xuthus to expatriate himself. This prince, says he³, having endeavoured to appropriate to his own use his father's money, was driven from Thessaly by his brothers. But whatever might be his reasons for abandoning Thessaly, both historians agree that he took shelter in Attica, and that king Erechtheus gave him his daughter in marriage. He had two sons by her, Achæus and Io. Achæus⁴, having committed an involuntary murder, passed into Laconia, and gave his name to the inhabitants of that country. Hence the name

⁸ St. Croix, Des Anc. Gouvern. Féd. p. 154.

⁹ Müller's Dorians, I. p. 290 ; Boeckh's Corpus Inscr. I. i. p. 45.

¹ Plut. in Aristide, p. 318, E.

² Strabo, VIII. p. 587, c.

³ Pausan. VII. i. p. 521.

⁴ Strabo, VIII. p. 588, A.

of Achæans, which was borne by the Lacedæmonians and the Argians before the return of the Heraclidæ.

Attica then being excessively populous, and incapable of maintaining so numerous a people⁵, the Athenians sent a colony to Peloponnesus under the command of Io. He passed into Ægialus, a country situated on the sea-shore⁶ between Elis and Sicyonia. It derived its name, according to the Sicyonians, from Ægialus, king of Sicyonia, or rather from its situation on the coast, 'Ægialos' signifying in Greek the sea-shore.

Io being on the point of making war on Selinuntus, who was king of the place, that prince⁷ gave him his daughter in marriage, adopted him as a son, and named him his successor. On the death of Selinuntus, Io ascended the throne. He gave the name of Helice to the city which he had built, and to his subjects that of Ionians, though this was less a new than an additional name, the people being called Ægialian-Ionians.

Whilst he reigned over the people of Ægialus, the Athenians recalled him to give him the command of their army. They were then at war with the Thracians, whose general, Eumolpus, had taken possession of Eleusis. The oracle had promised the victory to Erechtheus, if he would permit the sacrifice of his daughter. This generous prince, who looked on all his subjects as his children, did not hesitate to immolate her. Euripides has made this circumstance the subject of one of his pieces, entitled 'Erechthea;' of which Lycurgus in his harangue against Leocrates, Stobæus, and Plutarch, have preserved some tolerably long fragments. The Thracians⁸ were beaten; and the Athenians, in acknowledgement of the services of Io, gave him a considerable share in the government, and took the name of Ionians.

This prince was then at the pinnacle of his glory. He divided Attica into four tribes; the Geleontes, the Argades, the Ægicores, and the Hopletes⁹, from the names of his four sons. Strabo calls these tribes the Labourers, the Artisans, the Priests, and the Guards. These first four names correspond with those which Herodotus gives them, with the exception of the Geleontes, which Casaubon, on the authority of a passage in Plutarch¹, changes to Teleontes. The commentators on Pollux are of the same opinion². But a marble of Cyzicum, cited by the late Count Caylus³, decides the question. In this we read distinctly, 'the Geleontes,' ΓΕΛΕΟΝΤΕΣ; 'the Argades,' ΑΡΓΑΔΕΣ; 'the Ægicores,' ΑΙΓΙΚΟΡΕΙΣ; 'the Hopletes,' ΟΠΛΗΤΕΣ. We know that Cyzicum was a colony of Miletus, and that this latter city was also a colony of Athens; and it is likewise known that the colonies most religiously observed the customs of their original metropolis. It is

⁵ Strabo, VIII. p. 588, B.

⁶ Pausanias, loco laudato.

⁷ Id. ibid. p. 522.

⁸ Strabo, VIII. p. 588, B. Euripides also makes mention of this war in the Phœnissæ, 865.

⁹ Herod. V. lxvi.

¹ Plutarch, in Solone.

² Pollucis Onomast. VIII. cix. vol. II. p. 931.

³ Recueil d'Antiquités Etrusques, &c. tom. II. p. 204, et suiv.

very probable that Miletus was divided into four tribes, like Athens, and that they took the same names as those of the parent city. Perhaps, also, the Athenians who founded the colony had been drawn from these four tribes. Cyzicum followed the example of Miletus, and thus preserved the names of the four tribes of Athens.

On the death of Erechtheus, a contest arose amongst his children respecting the succession to the throne⁴. Xuthus, being chosen arbitrator, adjudged it to Cecrops, the eldest. The other children of Erechtheus, in consequence, drove the Arbitrator from Attica⁵, where he had built four small towns, Cēnoë, Marathon, Probabilinthus, and Tricorythus. Xuthus took refuge in the country of Ægialus, where he died. It is not known whether Io returned to his dominions; Pausanias tells us, that he ended his days in Attica, and that he was buried in the hamlet of Potamos, which is near the sea, on the side of Eubœa, and that he had a monument there.

Achæus did not remain long in Laconia: he passed into Thessaly with the troops which he levied in Ægialus and in Athens, and recovered the domains of his father. Two of his children, Archander and Architeles⁶, quitted Phthiotis, and repaired to Argos, where they married two daughters of Danaus, a prince of the royal family of Argos. Hence the Lacedæmonians and the Argians call themselves Achæans. The Achæans remained in this country till the return of the Heraclidæ, who drove them out of it. They then retired into the country of Ægialus⁷, where they were readily received by the Ionians, on account of their common origin. But dissensions soon arose between them; and the Ionians, on some suspicion they had conceived, that the Achæans wished to place upon the throne Tisamenus, the son of Orestes, their king, took up arms; but being overcome, they were obliged to abandon the country to the Achæans, who maintained the division which the Ionians had introduced, and, after their own name, called it Achaia. They were governed by kings descended from Tisamenus, down to the children of Ogyges⁸, who, having conducted themselves despotically, were deposed, and the monarchic government was replaced by a democracy. This country became very celebrated, and preserved its liberty until the third year of the 148th Olympiad, 156 before our era, when it was reduced into a Roman province.

The Ionians returned to Attica⁹, when they were received by Melanthus, who then reigned in the place of Thymœtes, whose cowardice had occasioned his deposition. They remained in the country during his reign and that of Codrus, his successor. Royalty having been abolished at Athens after the death of Codrus, Nileus, the youngest of his children, passed into Asia, and took the Ionians with him.

⁴ Pausan. VII. i. p. 521.

⁵ Strabo, VIII. p. 588, A.

⁶ This passage of Pausanias is the more important as it serves to explain one of Herodotus in bk. II. xeviii. which

appeared to Gronovius unintelligible.

⁷ Pausan. VIII. i. p. 523.

⁸ Polyb. vol. I. ii. xli. p. 178; IV. i. p. 375.

⁹ Pausan. VII. i. p. 523.

243. Αἰγίον. *Ægium*. The inhabitants¹ of this city having conquered the Ætolians in a naval action, and having taken from them a galley of fifty oars, they made an offering of the tenth of it at the temple of Delphi, and inquired of the god which of the Greeks were the bravest. The Pythoness answered them, "The best cavalry is the Thessalian, the most beautiful women are those of Lacedæmonia; those who drink the water of the fountain of Arethusa are brave; but the Argians who dwell between Tirynthus and Arcadia, abounding with flocks of sheep, are still more so. As for you, Ægians, you are neither the third nor the fourth, nor the twelfth; you are of no account whatever." Other writers affirm that this oracle was delivered to the Megarians.

CXLVI. 244. [Ταῦτα δώδεκα μέρη νῦν Ἀχαιῶν ἐστὶ, καὶ τότε γέ Ἴωνων ἦν. *Those are the twelve divisions of the Achæans now, as those of the Ionians (who preceded them) were also twelve.* The enumeration of the Achæan towns made by Herodotus agrees with that of Strabo². Polybius³ alone mentions Leontium, omitting Rhypes and Ægæ, while Pausanias⁴ omits Patræ. An attempt will be made in the notes on a subsequent book to separate the historical testimony respecting the early migrations of the Greeks, from the fables with which it is interwoven.]

245. Ἀβαντες. *The Abantes*. These people cut their hair short in front, and let it grow long behind⁵, ὀπίθεν καμόωντες. They did not derive this custom from the Arabians, as some imagine, says Plutarch, nor did they seek to⁶ imitate the Mysians; but being brave and always closing with the enemy in battle, they shaved the front of their heads, in order that they might not be laid hold of by the hair.

Alexander, king of Macedon, for the same reason, ordered his generals to have their soldiers shaved.

246. Μινύαι Ὀρχομένιοι. *Of Mynian Orchomenians, &c.* Pausanias⁷, speaking of the establishment of the Ionian colonies in Asia Minor, relates that the Minyan Orchomenians founded the city of Teos under the command of Athamas, and that when Apœceus conducted the Ionians thither, he did not offer any ill treatment to the Orchomenians. The same author⁸ further observes, in another place, that the Orchomenians formed part of the colonies which the sons of Codrus led into Ionia. He also gives a reason for the two names which were given to that people. "Orchomenes," says he⁹, "was the son of Minyas; under his reign, the city took the name of Orchomenia, and the inhabitants that of Orchomenians: but they did not therefore disuse their surname of Minyans, but preserved it for the sake of distinguishing themselves from the Orchomenians of Arcadia."

¹ Suidas, voc. Ὑμεῖς ὦ Μεγαρεῖς, vol. III. p. 529. Tzetz. Chiliad. IX. cccxi.; Eustath. ad Homeri Iliad. p. 292. lin. 8.

² Strabo, VIII. p. 299.

³ Polyb. II. 41.

⁴ Pausan. VII. xvii. 3.

⁵ Iliad. II. ver. 542.

⁶ Plutarch, in Theseo, p. 2, F. p. 3, A.

⁷ Pausan. VII. iii. p. 528.

⁸ Id. IX. xxxvii. p. 786.

⁹ Id. ibid. xxxvi. p. 783.

247. Φωκέες ἀποδάσμιοι. *A division of the Phocians.* Pausanias¹ affirms, that the Phocians, except those of Delphi, constituted a part of these colonies; and that for this reason Herodotus calls them Φωκέες ἀποδάσμιοι, 'Phocenses à reliquis divulsi.' Ἀποδασμὸς signifies, 'a portion, a division.' Thucydides, speaking of the establishment of the Bœotians in Cadmeis, remarks, that 'a detachment' of the same people had formerly settled there; and that the descendants of this colony had taken part in the expedition against Troy². Ἦν δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀποδασμὸς πρότερον ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ ἀφ' ᾧν καὶ ἐς Ἴλιον ἐστράτευσαν. In Oppian³, θήρης ἀποδάσμιοι αἴσαν, 'a portion of the hunting party.'

Through ignorance of the meaning of this word, the Latin translators have manufactured from it a certain name of 'Apodasmus' in Conon. "Philonomus of Sparta⁴," says that author, "having delivered Lacedæmon to the Dorians, had for recompense the city of Amyclæ, whither he conducted a colony drawn from the islands of Imbros and Lemnos. But in the third generation, the inhabitants of this city having excited commotions against the Dorians, they were driven from it. They took with them some Spartans, and having placed themselves under the command of Polis and of Delphus, they sailed toward Crete; but in passing by the isle of Melos, a detachment of the fleet founded a colony there." Ἐν τῷ παράπλῳ δὲ τοῦ στόλου Μήλον ἀποδασμὸς οἰκίζει. The late Abbé Gedoyn, who is always faithful to the Latin translations, has rendered this passage as follows: "Apodasmus⁵, finding himself in the latitude of Melos, adopted the resolution of disembarking a party of these adventurers, who established themselves there."

248. Ἀπὸ τοῦ πρυτανείου. *From the Prytanæum.* The prytaneum was put to several uses by the Athenians. The Senate of five hundred⁶ assembled there. Near the hall in which they held their sittings⁷ was seen the Tholus, where those who had rendered important services to⁸ the state took their repasts, and where the Prytanes offered their sacrifices, as will be seen in the sequel of this note. Here also was maintained the sacred fire, and here were preserved both corn and arms. When the colony was sent to any place, arms⁹, victuals, and fire¹ were furnished from the prytaneum; for the colony could not otherwise be

¹ Pausan. Achaic. sive VII. ii. p. 524.

² Thucyd. I. xii.

³ Oppian, Halieutica, IV. 444.

⁴ Conon, Narrat. xxxvi. et apud Photium, cod. clxxxvi. p. 444.

⁵ Mém. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lett. tom. XIV. Mém. p. 214.

⁶ When the people of Athens were divided into four tribes, a hundred citizens were chosen by lot from each tribe; and those four hundred men then composed the Senate (Plutarch, in Solone, p. 88, D.); but when Clisthenes, in the fourth year of the 67th Olympiad, had increased the number of these tribes to

ten, they then elected only fifty men from each tribe, and the Senate then consisted of five hundred persons, as may be seen in many passages of the Greek orators. In the third year of the 118th Olympiad, two other tribes were added, and the Senate then consisted of six hundred.

⁷ Pausan. I. v. p. 12.

⁸ Demosth. Æschin. passim. Scholiast. Thucyd. ad lib. II. xv. p. 107.

⁹ Pausan. loco laudato.

¹ Libanius in Argum. Orat. Demosth. de Cherson. p. 75.

legitimately provided with it; and if, by any accident, the sacred fire became extinguished, they were obliged to send back to the prytaneum of the metropolis for a renewal of it.

This sacred fire consisted only of a lamp, which was kept perpetually burning; and some hold that the prytaneum took its name from this perpetual fire, as if it came from *πυρὸς ταμεῖον*, 'magazine of fire.' Others affirm that it comes from *πυρὸς*, 'wheat,' from the magazines of corn which were preserved in this edifice, and because in it were maintained such as had deserved well of their country. Perizonius derives² *πρυτανεῖον* from *πρυτάνεις*; but whence should we get *πρυτάνεις*? This author refers to the oriental languages; but it appears to me much more natural to derive this word from *πρυτανεῖον*, and to assign to the other some one of the etymologies which the ancient grammarians have found for it.

Particular care was taken to supply the lamp of the prytaneum with oil, lest it should go out; and thence the proverb³, *Λύχνιον ἐν Πρυτανείῳ*, applied to any thing of which there was an abundant and perpetual supply.

The prytaneum was dedicated to Vesta; but the sacrifices offered there were not performed by a priest, but by the principal magistrate. "The function," says Aristotle⁴, "which approaches nearest to it, is that assigned to such of the public sacrifices as the law does not reserve for the priests, but for those who hold their honours from the fireside common to the whole city, whether called Archons, Kings, or Prytanes." The Senate of five hundred assembled there, as we have before remarked; indeed, Thucydides says⁵, that from the time of Cecrops to that of Theseus, the Athenians had been dispersed in little townships, each of which had its prytaneum and its archons; but that Theseus destroyed these senates and these magistrates, and transferred them to Athens, where he established one senate and one prytaneum. This author could not more clearly explain that the senate and the prytaneum were one and the same thing.

The prytaneum of Athens eclipsed that of every other country in renown; and some learned men have for this reason believed that there existed no such thing elsewhere. But it can scarcely be doubted, that there was one in every city of Greece. The worship of Vesta, indeed, was general in all that part of Europe; and this goddess was adored only in the prytanea. Hence Pindar, in the commencement of the second Ode of the Nemeæ⁶, *Παῖ Ῥέας, ἃ γε Πρυτανεῖα λέλογχας, Ἑστία*, "Vesta, daughter of Rhea, who hast taken for thy share the prytanea." The Scholiast⁷ has very clearly explained this passage:

² Perizonius, in Not. ad Æliani Var. Hist. IX. xxxix. p. 634.

³ Theocr. Idyll. xxi. 36.

⁴ Aristot. Polit. VI. xviii.

⁵ Thucyd. II. xv.

⁶ Pindari Nem. Od. xi. 1.

⁷ Schol. Pindari ad h. l. p. 422.

"Pindar says, that Vesta had the prytanea for her share, because in them was preserved the sacred fire, in every city."

But independently of this general proof, we know beyond a doubt of several cities that had their prytanea. Herodotus speaks of that of Siphnos⁸, which was of Parian marble, and that of the city of Alos⁹, which the Achæans called Leitus. Diodorus Siculus¹ mentions the prytaneum of Lipara; Livy², that of Cyzicum; and Cicero, that of Syracuse³. 'Altera autem urbs Syracusis, cui nomen Achradina est, in qua forum maximum, pulcherrimæ porticus, ornatissimum prytaneum.' Pausanias⁴ speaks of the Prytanes of Corinth, and Livy of those of Rhodes⁵: whence we may infer that there was a prytaneum in each of those cities. There was likewise one at Tarentum. Euphorion⁶ relates in his Memoirs, that Dionysius the younger, tyrant of Sicily, consecrated in the prytaneum of that city a lustre containing as many lamps as there were days in the year. There was also a prytaneum at Naucratis, of which Hermeias relates⁷ the following particulars. "At Naucratis," says he, "those who eat in the prytaneum on the festival of Vesta Prytanitis, during the Dionysiacs⁸ and the festival of Comean Apollo, are clothed in a white robe, which is still called the Prytanic garment. When they have reclined on their couches, they rise on their knees, and whilst the sacred herald pronounces the accustomed prayers, they in conjunction with him pour forth libations. They again recline on their couches, and each person receives two cotyli of wine, except the priests of Bacchus and of Apollo, who take a double portion, as well as of the other provisions. They then serve round a large cake or loaf of pure wheat, upon which is placed a smaller cake or loaf called 'cribanitus,' a portion of fresh pork, a dish of barley or of vegetables according to the season, two eggs, a bit of cheese, dried figs, a cake, and a crown. If a sacrificer prepares any thing more than this, he is fined by the magistrates. Neither are those who eat in the prytaneum permitted to be supplied with provisions from without. Nothing is eaten there but what I have mentioned; what remains is given to the servants. On all other days of the year, those who are maintained in the prytaneum may go there as often as they think proper, and have brought to them there vegetables, salads, salt meat, fish, or fresh pork that has been prepared at their own houses, and they then receive from him who presides in the prytaneum a cotylus of wine. No woman is permitted to enter the prytaneum, except the flute-player; and it is likewise unlawful to carry thither any chamber-utensil.

CXLVII. 249. Ἀπὸ Γλαύκου τοῦ Ἱππολόχου γεγονότας. *Descended*

⁸ Herod. III. lvii.

⁹ Id. VII. cxvii.

¹ Diod. Sic. XX. ci. vol. II. p. 479.

² Tit. Liv. XLI. xx.

³ Cicero in Verrem, IV. liii.

⁴ Pausan. II. iv. p. 120.

⁵ Tit. Liv. XLII. xlv.

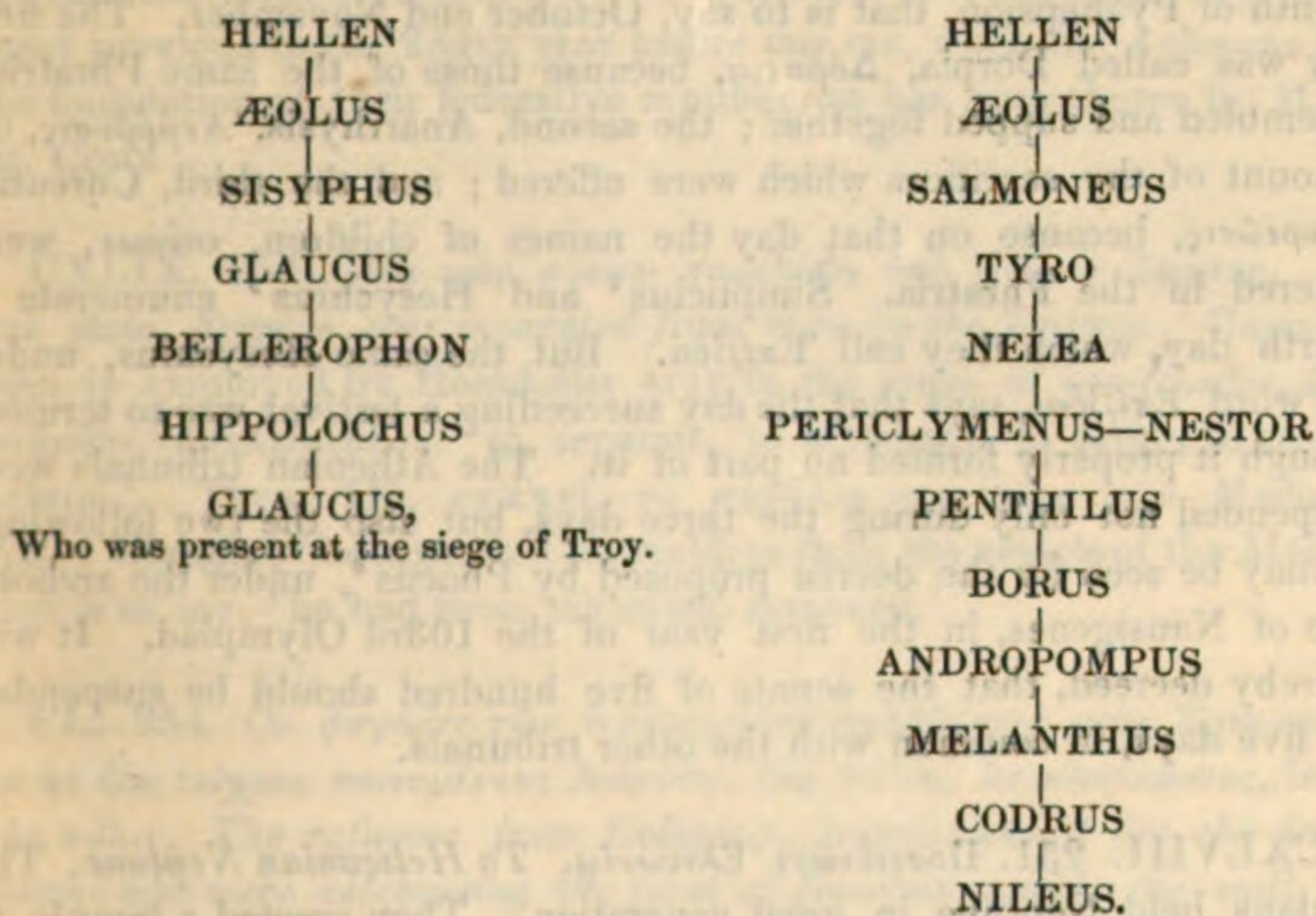
⁶ Athen. Deipnos. XV. xix. p. 700, D.

⁷ Id. IV. xii. p. 149, D. and p. 150, A.

⁸ The festival of Bacchus.

from Glaucus, son of Hippolochus. This Glaucus was general of the Lycians at the siege of Troy. Homer speaks of him in various parts of the Iliad, and principally in the sixth book, where this prince relates to Diomedes his genealogy, and recounts to him the history of Bellerophon⁹.

These kings had all a common origin, and descended from Æolus, son of Hellen.



250. 'Απαυρία. *The festival of the Apaturia.* The institution of this festival at Athens must have preceded the sending away of the Ionian colony, as all the Ionians, who were originally from Athens, celebrated it. There are two opinions as to the institution of this festival; I present the reader with that which appears to me the more probable.

The Athenians and the Bœotians being at war concerning the countries of Cēnoë and of Melænæ¹, it was agreed that there should be a single combat between the two kings, and that the contested territory should be assigned to the victor. Thymoetes, the last king of Athens of the race of Theseus, declined the encounter. Melanthus, whom the Heraclidæ had driven from Messenia, and who had sought refuge at Athens, accepted the challenge; and by a stratagem killed Xanthus², king of Bœotia. That prince having entered the field of battle, Melanthus told him that he should not have brought a second, for it was contrary to the conditions of the combat. Xanthus, surprised by this address,

⁹ Iliad, VI. 150 et s.

¹ Suidas mentions Celænæ, and forgets Cēnoë. The MS. Lexicon of the Bibliotheca Coisliniana distinctly mentions these two places. Michael Apostolius and Stephanus of Byzantium speak of Melænæ. Conon (apud Photium,

Narrat. xxxix. Cod. clxxxvi. pp. 445 and 447.) names only Cēnoë.

² Suidas, under the word 'Απαυρία, calls him Xanthius, as does the Latin translator under the word Μέλανθος. But the MS. Lexicon of Coislin and Pausanias (IX. p. 273.) call him Xanthus.

looked behind him to see if in fact he was followed; and Melanthus, taking advantage of the moment, dealt him a mortal blow. This base action, instead of causing him to be driven with indignation from the country, obtained for him the crown; and far from being regarded as infamous, it occasioned the institution of a festival in honour of Jupiter Deceiver, ἀπατήνωρ, intended to perpetuate the memory of it, and this festival was called Apaturia. It was celebrated for three days in the month of Pyanepsion, that is to say, October and November. The first day was called Dorpia, Δόρπεια, because those of the same Phratia³ assembled and supped together; the second, Anarrhysis, Ἀνάρρυσις, on account of the sacrifices which were offered; and the third, Cureotis, Κουρεῶτις, because on that day the names of children, κούρων, were entered in the Phratia. Simplicius⁴ and Hesychius⁵ enumerate a fourth day, which they call Ἐπίβδα. But the same Hesychius, under the word Ἐπίβδαι, says that the day succeeding a festival was so termed, though it properly formed no part of it. The Athenian tribunals were suspended not only during the three days, but also the two following, as may be seen by the decree proposed by Phocus⁶, under the archontate of Nausigenes, in the first year of the 103rd Olympiad. It was thereby decreed, that the senate of five hundred should be suspended for five days, in common with the other tribunals.

CXLVIII. 251. Ποσειδέωνι Ἑλικωνίῳ. *To Heliconian Neptune.* The Ionians held Neptune in great veneration. They erected a temple to his honour at Helice⁷, a city of Achaia, during the time that the latter country belonged to them; and the god from that circumstance derived the name of Heliconian. Homer⁸ calls him the Heliconian king. These people, having given place to the Achæans, carried the worship of this divinity to Athens, where they had taken refuge. Having afterwards settled in Asia, they built, in honour of the same deity, a temple on the model of that at Helice⁹. This temple¹ was in the territory of Priene, and the president of the sacrifices was always of that city, because its inhabitants pretended to have come originally from Helice.

At first sight, it appears more simple to derive the word Ἑλικώνιος from Mount Helicon, as Aristarchus does, than from Helice, a city of Achaia. We learn from that profound critic², that the whole of Bœotia was consecrated to Neptune; but it escaped his attention, that the Æolians formed their possessive nouns from the genitive plural³. Thus from Ἑλικῶν, the genitive of Ἑλικαι, they have made Ἑλικώνιος.

252. Πανιώνια. *Panionia.* Misled by the ingenious reasonings of

³ The Phratia was a subdivision of a tribe.

⁴ Simplicii Comment. in Aristotelis Phys. IV.

⁵ Hesychius, voc. Ἀπατουρία.

⁶ Athen. Deipnos. IV. xxi. p. 171, E.

⁷ Pausan. VII. xxiv. p. 585.

⁸ Homeri Iliad. XX. 404.

⁹ Strabo, VIII. p. 590, c.

¹ Id. ibid. p. 589, c. 590, A.

² Schol. ad Hom. Il. V. 422. p. 205. col. 2. ex edit. Barnesii.

³ Eustath. ad Hom. Il. XX. p. 1214. lin. 27 et s.

the President Montesquieu, of M. Goguet, and of the Abbé de Mably, I had considered the assembly of the Amphictyons as the states-general of Greece. The assembly of the Ionians at the Panionium was certainly an Amphictyonic meeting, and consequently I considered it as the holding of the states-general of Ionia, and thence concluded that Ionia was composed of a federative body. But it is certain that neither the Greeks of Asia, nor those of Europe, were acquainted with that form of government previous to the 284th year before our era, when the Achæans laid the foundation of their federative republic, as has been shown by M. de St. Croix ⁴.

CXLIX. 253. Μία γάρ σφρων παρελύθη ὑπὸ Ἰώνων Σμύρνη. *For one state, Smyrna, was separated from them by the Ionians.* Παραλύεσθαι is employed by Herodotus only in the sense of χωρίζεσθαι, ἀποσπᾶσθαι, ἀπολείπεσθαι, 'to separate, to withdraw, to retire, to remain behind.' Thus, III. cxxxvi. τὰ πηδάλια παρέλυσεν τῶν Μηδικῶν νεῶν: literally, 'he separated the rudders from the vessels of the Medes,' that is to say, 'he had them taken off, removed.'

CL. 254. Οἱ φυγάδες τῶν Κολοφωνίων φυλάξαντες τοὺς Σμυρναίους ὀρτὴν ἔξω τείχεος ποιευμένους Διονύσῳ, τὰς πύλας ἀποκληῖσαντες, ἔσχον τὴν πόλιν. *The refugees from Colophon, keeping guard for the Smyrnæans who were celebrating the feast of Bacchus outside the wall, and shutting the gates against them, kept possession of the city.* Pausanias relates the same circumstance ⁵. Strabo ⁶ informs us that Smyrna was a division of Ephesus, the inhabitants of which retired a little more than 400 stadia ⁷ from that city, to a place occupied by the Leleges, whom they drove out. They built on this spot a city, which they called Smyrna, from the name of the division they had occupied in Ephesus. The Æolians subsequently took possession of this city; but the Smyrnæans who had taken refuge at Colophon, returned with the Colophonians and recovered it.

[The difference between Strabo, who represents Smyrna as originally Ionian, and Herodotus, who makes it an Æolian city, is in reality immaterial, since the former writer alone speaks of the first origin of the city. Their accounts combined show that Smyrna was founded by the Ionians; that it subsequently came into the hands of the Æolians, and finally became again Ionian in the way above described.]

CLII. 255. Πορφύρεόν τε εἶμα περιβαλόμενος. *Wearing a purple robe.* This dress was the better adapted to make him remarkable, as it was a colour particularly affected by the women. The emperor Julian ⁸

⁴ Hist. des Anc. Gouv. féd. § iv, v.

⁵ Paus. VII. v. p. 532.

⁶ Strabo, XIV. p. 940, B, C.

⁷ Of ten to the mile.

⁸ Julian, Orat. I. p. 48, C.

says, in speaking of Silvanus, τὴν γυναικείαν ἀλουργίδα περιτιθέμενον, 'clothed in feminine purple,' that is, in purple which is suitable only to women.

CLIII. 256. Οὐδέ σφί ἐστι τὸ παράπαν ἀγορή. *Amongst them there is no such thing as a public place.* This observation of Herodotus is confirmed by Strabo⁹, and is not overturned by Xenophon. For the two former writers speak of squares or market-places for the sale of goods; Xenophon, of a square¹ occupied by the palace of the king, the tribunals, the schools for the children and for the youths, and by the buildings appropriated to the service of such as were past the age of bearing arms. Appian, speaking of the temple of Venus Genetrix, built by Cæsar, says², "He appropriated the area round the temple, to serve as a public place for the Romans, not for the sale of goods, but for the discussion of public affairs, such as that amongst the Persians, where justice is administered, and where the laws are studied."

[The remark of Cyrus, 'that he did not fear men who were in the habit of meeting together in a public place to cheat one another,' becomes much more cutting if we suppose it to refer not merely to the trade of the market-place, but to public affairs also; and to intimate contemptuously, that the mercantile spirit reigned over the locality in which the republicans debated political questions.]

257. Ἐπιτρέψας τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν Πακτύῃ κομίζειν. *Intrusting to Pactyas the care of carrying the gold.* The treasures of a conquered people were anciently always transported to the capital. Herodotus has seventy-five times made use of the verb κομίζω, and nine times of the substantive κομιδὴ, and never but in the sense which I assign to them; never to signify 'curo' and 'cura.' I may extend the remark to all the compounds of this verb, which occur twenty-nine times in this historian.

258. [Ἀπήλαυνε αὐτὸς ἐς Ἀγβάτανα, Κροϊσὸν τε ἅμα ἀγόμενος, καὶ τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ποιησάμενος τὴν πρώτην εἶναι. *He himself prepared to start for Agbatana in the first instance, taking Cræsus with him, and setting little account on the Ionians.* The last three words of this sentence have caused much embarrassment to all the commentators and translators, who have never thought of referring the concluding words τὴν πρώτην εἶναι to those at the commencement. Hence Valckenaer had recourse to the usual remedy of a change of text, which Wesseling approved of and Larcher adopted. The translation here offered seems justified by the context; "For," continues the historian, "Babylon was an impediment to him, as well as the Bactrians; the Sacæ and Egyptians also, against whom he (Cyrus) intended to lead an army in person, sending one of his generals against the Ionians." To

⁹ Strabo, XV. p. 1067, B.

² Appian. de Bell. Civ. II. p. 803.

¹ Xen. Cyri Instit. I. ii. § iii. p. 7.

this statement of his ulterior plans, some account of his designs, in the first instance, seems a necessary preliminary, and consequently the sense of the passage is completed by referring τὴν πρώτην, which is taken adverbially, to ἀπήλανε. Let the force of the imperfect tense be here remarked (see note 138); ἀπήλανε, 'he proposed starting;' ἐπεῖχέ τε στρατηλατέειν αὐτὸς, 'he had it in contemplation to lead an army himself.']

CLV. 259. Πακτύης γάρ ἐστι ὁ ἀδικέων, τῷ σὺ ἐπέτρεψας Σάρδεις. *Pactyas, to whom you have confided Sardes, is the offender.* It was Tabalus whom Cyrus appointed governor of that city, and Pactyas had only the care of the treasures, as has been seen in the preceding paragraph: [consequently it would follow, that Herodotus writes in this instance negligently. In order, however, to escape from this conclusion, Wesseling proposes to change the text; but perhaps it would be more judicious to avoid such an extreme measure, and to endeavour to explain our author by attending to his sense, and not according to the strictness of the letter. He makes Cræsus palliate the revolt of the Sardians and say that they were not to blame, but Pactyas, who seduced them. Pactyas was one of the officers whom Cyrus left in Sardes. It matters little what was his proper office: he ought, as an officer of Cyrus, to have assisted in securing the fidelity of the Sardians. It was on this account that Herodotus, discarding irrelevant minuteness, says, that Sardes was entrusted to Pactyas.]

260. Κέλευε δέ σφεας κιθωνάς τε ὑποδύνειν τοῖσι εἵμασι πρόειπε δ' αὐτοῖσι κιθαρίζειν τε καὶ ψάλλειν καὶ καπηλεύειν παιδεύειν τοὺς παῖδας. *Command them to wear close garments under their mantles....bid them play the harp and teach their sons to sing and dally in the market-place.* It was the design of Cræsus to accustom them, by these means, to the comforts and luxuries of life, and by a course of effeminacy to render them incapable of the profession of arms.

Κάπηλος in the Etymologicum Magnum is rendered ὁ μεταβόλος, 'he who sells again.' The verb signifies, 'to exercise the calling of a publican.' As no man who has audacity sufficient to brave the general contempt of mankind, can retain any sentiment of honour, the term Capelos came to be applied to those infamous characters who kept the places where the debauched youth repaired for their diversion. Justin³ has rendered this passage, 'jussique cauponias et ludicras artes, et lenocinia exercere.' These people became so effeminate that λυδίζειν became a common expression for 'to dance⁴;' and the Romans called the dancers and the pantomimists, 'ludiones, ludii,' a name derived from the Lydians, and not from 'ludus;' for the Latins said 'Ludus, Surus, Suria,' for 'Lydus, Syrus, Syria.'

Xerxes issued similar commands to the revolted Babylonians. He

³ Justin, I. vii. p. 35.

⁴ Hesych. voc. λυδίζειν.

forbade them⁵ to carry arms, and required that they should learn to play on the flute and the guitar; that they should have in their cities resorts of debauchery, and that they should wear long tunics. The Greek terms used by Herodotus and by Plutarch are parallel.

The Lydians, from the bravest of all the people of Asia, became the most cowardly and effeminate, according to the remark of Polyænus⁶.

It may appear almost superfluous to dwell on the course pursued by despots. They begin by corrupting with luxury the morals of the nation over which they mean to tyrannise. As Æschines very judiciously remarks⁷, "It is voluptuousness, and the insatiable cupidity it engenders, which seduces young people to serve tyrants, and to overthrow popular governments."

[The invective against luxury as the cause of national enervation and decline, has descended to us from ancient times, and is still repeated by certain weak historians. But what is this luxury which relaxes the will and unnerves the body? Is the best-fed portion of the community the least courageous? Are the citizens of the luxurious capital of France less martial than the unpampered serfs of Russia, or less ready than these to fly to arms in defence of political rights?

It is possible that the abject poverty, which so often grows under the shade of what is called luxury, is frequently the cause of the political decay attributed to the latter. More frequently still, voluptuous habits and devotion to pleasure are the consequences, not the cause, of the want of political freedom.]

CLIX. 261. Ἐκ προνοίας. *With a premeditated purpose.* The Greek phrase means, 'with a fixed design, after having weighed the matter.' Νῦν δ' ἤδη καταπέπλυται τὸ πρᾶγμα, καὶ τὸ στεφανοῦν ἐξ ἔθους, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ προνοίας ποιεῖσθε⁸; "These honours are now profusely lavished, and you grant crowns rather from the force of custom than from the exercise of discretion." Τραύματος⁹ ἐκ προνοίας γραφὰς γραφόμενος, "Having entered an action, on the subject of a wound designedly inflicted." There is a certain pleading attributed to Lysias, entitled περὶ τραύματος ἐκ προνοίας, "on the subject of a wound premeditatedly inflicted."

CLX. 262. Οὐ βουλόμενοι οὔτε ἐκδόντες ἀπολέσθαι. *Not choosing either to expose themselves to perish by delivering him up.* This refers to what goes before: 'Yes, I command you to deliver up your suppliant, in order that, after having committed such an impiety, you may the sooner perish, as a result of it.' The Cymæans, fearful of exposing themselves to the wrath of the deity and perishing in this manner,

⁵ Plutarch, Apophth. p. 173, c.

⁶ Polyæni Strateg. VII. vi. § iv. p. 613.

⁷ Æschin. in Timarchum, p. 290, A.

⁸ Æschin. contra Ctesiph. p. 457, B.

⁹ Ibid. p. 462, F.

refused to give up Pactyas; but as, on the other side, they feared being besieged, they sent him to Mitylene.

263. Ἐξ ἱεροῦ Ἀθηναίης Πολιούχου ἀποσπασθεὶς ὑπὸ Χίων, ἐξεδόθη. *Being dragged from the temple of Minerva by the Chians, he was given up.* Plutarch reproaches Herodotus¹ with having malignantly attributed this base action to a Greek city; and he founds this accusation upon the observation of Charon of Lampsacus, a more ancient writer than our author, to the effect that Pactyas took refuge first at Mitylene, and then at Chios, where Cyrus made him prisoner.

To this I answer, first, that Herodotus proposing to himself as the reward of his labours only the esteem of his countrymen, would not be very likely from mere wantonness to calumniate the very people whom it was his business to please; or that he should have been so far blinded by malignity, as to sacrifice his glory and his dearest interests to the mere pleasure of slandering. Secondly, the very authority of Charon of Lampsacus, cited by Plutarch, should secure Herodotus from this reproach; for he says, that Pactyas took refuge first at Mitylene, and afterwards at Chios, where Cyrus took him. Now the Persians, having no marine force, could not compel the Lesbians to deliver up Pactyas; and the fugitive would, therefore, most probably have remained amongst the Mitylenians, if he had not discovered the plot of these perfidious islanders. He fled to Chios, and there thought himself in the more complete safety, as, Cyrus not being yet master of the towns of Ionia, that island was far distant from the countries occupied by the Persians, and that prince had not then a single vessel belonging to him². Whatever desire, therefore, Cyrus might have felt to get Pactyas within his power, he never possessed the means of forcing him from his asylum, or obliging the inhabitants of Chios to give him up.

Minerva Poliouchos was, as the latter name implies, the patroness or protectress of the citadel. At Athens, the city was called ἄστυ, and the citadel πόλις. Οἰκίαν μὲν³ γὰρ ὀπισθεν τῆς πόλεως, “a house behind the citadel.” The learned father Petavius was mistaken in the true reading of πόλις, when he translated in Themistius⁴ this passage: τὴν Ἀθηναῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει, ‘Minervæ simulacrum quod in URBE est;’ it should be ‘in ARCE,’ ‘which is in the citadel.’ Τὸ ἄστυ τήν τε πόλιν Ἀθήνας προσηγόρευσε⁵. Xylander has translated this passage of Plutarch, ‘Astu et urbem Athenas appellavit;’ it should be, ‘Asty sive urbi et ARCI unum Athenarum nomen imposuit:’ “he gave the name of Athens to the city and citadel.” Reiske left this error uncorrected in his edition.

Καί μοι δόκει ἡ Θεὸς αὐτὴν
Ἐκ πόλεως ἐλθεῖν⁶.

¹ Plut. de Herod. Malign. p. 859, A. B.

² Herod. I. cxliii.

³ Æschin. in Timarch. p. 275, A.

⁴ Themist. Orat. xxv. p. 310, A.

⁵ Plut. in Theseo, p. 11, A.

⁶ Aristoph. Equit. 1060. ex edit. Brunckii, 1092.

"And the goddess herself (Minerva) seemed to me to descend from the citadel."

For the temple of this goddess was in the citadel.

Ἄλλ' οὐ δύναμαι ἄγῳγ' οὐδὲ κοιμᾶσθ' ἐν πόλει,

Ἐξ οὗ τὸν ὄφιν ἴδον τὸν οἰκουρόν ποτε⁷.

"But I am no longer able to sleep in the citadel, since I saw the serpent which guards it."

This interpretation is confirmed by a passage of Herodotus :⁸ Λέγουσι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὄφιν μέγαν φύλακα τῆς ἀκροπόλιος ἐνδιδαιτᾶσθαι ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ.

"The Athenians say, that a huge serpent, the guardian of their citadel, inhabits the temple of Minerva."

What Aristophanes terms πόλις, Herodotus calls ἀκρόπολις.

In the *Lysistrata* of Aristophanes, the women having seized upon the citadel, the chorus of old men exhort one another to drive them thence, and even to burn them. The semi-chorus⁹ says, ἄλλ' ὡς τάχιστα πρὸς πόλιν σπεύσωμεν, "let us hasten our steps towards the citadel." The author of the *Etymologicum Magnum*¹ expresses himself in the clearest manner: "The Diipolia is a festival celebrated in honour of Jupiter Poliaëus, that is to say, 'honoured in the citadel;' for the title of city (πόλις) was given to the citadel (ἀκρόπολις)." A multitude of other examples might be cited; but let these suffice.

It was not only at Athens that πόλις signified the citadel, but in many other towns of Greece.

The Thebans gave to the sacred cohort which garrisoned the citadel, the name of cohort of the citadel², τὸν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως λόχον: and to avoid the possibility of a mistake, Plutarch immediately afterwards adds, for they then always called a citadel πόλις. Euripides, in a fragment of his *Archelaus*, which has been preserved by Strabo³, says, that Danaus built the 'citadel' of Inachus, and not the 'city' of Inachus as the Latin version has it; ᾧκισεν Ἰνάχου πόλιν: and what proves that the word must be so understood, is, that the same Strabo⁴ says, that it was Danaus who built the citadel of Argos; and in this place he uses the term ἀκρόπολις.

The Latins have sometimes employed the word 'civitas' in this sense. 'In templo⁵ ejusdem (Minervæ) quod in arce Larissæ est, conditus scribitur, atque indicatur Acrisius; Erichthonius Poliadis in fano: Dairas et Ismarus fratres in Eleusinis consepito, quod civitati subjectum est.' The following passage of Eusebius proves clearly that the word 'civitas' has here this signification:⁶ Ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐν Λαρίσση ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει τάφος ἐστὶν Ἀκρισίου. Ἀθήνησι δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει, Κέκροπος, ὡς φησιν Ἀντίοχος ἐν τῷ ἐννάτῳ τῶν ἱστοριῶν.

⁷ Aristoph. *Lysistr.* 759.

⁸ Herod. VIII. xli.

⁹ Aristoph. *Lysistr.* 266.

¹ *Etymol. Magn.* voc. Δῖπολία.

² Plut. in *Pelopid.* p. 287, B.

³ Strabo, V. p. 339, A.

⁴ Id. VIII. p. 570, B.

⁵ Arnob. *advers. Gentes*, VI. p. 193.

⁶ Euseb. *Præpar. Evang.* II. § vi. p. 71, B, C; Clem. Alex. in *Protreptico*, p. 39.

Τί δὲ Ἐριχθόνιος; οὐχὶ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Πολιάδος κεκήδευται; Ἴσμαρος δὲ Εὐμόλπου καὶ Δαείρας οὐχὶ ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ κεκήδευται τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου, τοῦ ὑπὸ ἀκροπόλει; “The tomb of Acrisius is in the temple of Minerva, in the citadel of Larissa; that of Cecrops in the citadel of Athens, as Antiochus asserts in the ninth book of his History. What shall I say of Erichthonius? is he not buried in the temple of Minerva Polias? Ismarus, son of Eumolpus, and Dairas, are they not buried in the precincts of the Eleusinium, or temple of Ceres, which is at the foot of the citadel?” What Arnobius terms ‘civitas,’ Eusebius calls ἀκρόπολις.

The citadels were not only under the protection of this goddess, but in the greater part of them she possessed a temple. We find in Homer⁷, that she had one in the citadel of Troy.

264. Χίων οὐδεὶς οὔτε οὐλὰς κριθῶν πρόχυσιν ἐποιέετο. *No Chian poured an oblation of grains of barley.* [The historian here speaks of the produce of Atarneus. That territory being acquired by the Chians as the price of an impious act, they abstained for many years from using its produce in the service of religion.] The ancients scattered on the head of the victim barley mixed with salt. This was what the Latins called ‘mola salsa,’ whence the term to immolate; ‘immolare est molâ, id est, farre molito et sale, hostiam perspersam sacrare,’ says Festus, under the word ‘immolare.’ There was, nevertheless, some difference between the customs of the Greeks and of the Latins. The former cast the barley in whole grains upon the forehead of the victim. This barley in grains was called οὐλαί, and Attically ὀλαί.

Τὸ κανοῦν πάρεστιν, ὅλῃς ἔχον, καὶ στέμμα, καὶ μάχαιραν,
Καὶ πῦρ γε τουτὶ, κούδέν ἴσχει, πλὴν τὸ πρόβατον, ἡμᾶς⁸.

“Here is the basket, containing the barley, the crown, and knife; here also is the fire, and we wait only for the sheep.”

The Latins, after having roasted the barley and reduced it to meal, mixed it with salt, and threw it on the victim. Thus the Greeks, when speaking of their own customs, use the expressions οὐλαί, οὐλοχύται, which we find in a hundred places of the Iliad and the Odyssey; and when mentioning those of the Latins, they say ἄλφιτον, which means the flour of barley. Θυσίαι ἀναίμακτοι ἦσαν, αἵτε πολλαὶ δι’ ἄλφίτου καὶ σπονδῆς καὶ τῶν εὐτελεστάτων πεποιημέναι⁹. “The sacrifices were not bloody. The greater part of them were made with barley-meal, libations, and articles of the commonest description.” Festus says¹⁰, ‘Mola

⁷ Iliad. VI. 297.

⁸ Aristoph. Pax, 948.

⁹ Plutarch. in Numâ, p. 65, c. The Latin translators put libations of wine; Amyot, a slight effusion of wine and of milk. Dacier has more properly read ἄλφιτον, but he has incorrectly translated it. The Greek has only ‘libations;’ and

I am inclined to believe that in the remote times of which Plutarch speaks, they were of milk only. ‘Verum et Diis lacte rustici multæque gentes supplicant, et molâ tantum salsâ litant, qui non habent thura.’ Plin. Hist. Nat. Præf. ad lib. I.

¹⁰ Sextus Pompeius Festus, voc. ‘Mola.’

vocatur far tostum et sale sparsum, quod eo molito hostiæ aspergebantur.' To invest this custom with a peculiar reverence amongst the Romans, the Vestals alone could prepare this meal. And this is the manner in which they did it: "The three eldest of the Vestals¹ deposited every other day, from the Nones of May to the eve of the Ides of the same month, some ears of barley in a harvest basket. They then roasted these ears, brayed them, and ground them. This meal was carefully preserved; it was made three times a year, viz. at the period of the Lupercalia, of the festival of Vesta, and of the Ides of September, and was called 'mola' when it had received the addition of rock salt and refined salt." The mode of preparing this salt may be seen in Festus².

This premised, I cannot conceive what induced Father de la Rue to assert, in his notes on Virgil³, that the 'mola' was a species of cake. Desfontaines always translates 'paste;' and in his note on verse 133 of the second book of the *Æneid*, he says, that the forehead of the victim was rubbed with a consecrated paste; and this 'paste,' adds he, is called 'mola.' And he makes Nieuport⁴ say the same thing, in the translation which he has given of the 'Ceremonies observed amongst the Romans.' Father Sanadon⁵ is equally mistaken, when he asserts that 'mola' was a species of barley-cake seasoned with salt, which was placed on the head of the victim. These authors should, at least, have produced some authority in support of their assertions. How would they have explained these verses of Horace⁶?

Immunis aram si tetigit manus,
Non sumptuosâ blandior hostiâ
Mollivit aversos Penates
Farre pio et saliente micâ.

Or these of Ovid⁷?

Antè, Deos homini quod conciliare valeret
Far erat, et puri lucida mica salis.

The passage was scarcely worth so detailed an explanation as I have given of it; but apprehensive that young students might be misled by the high character of the translators I have cited, I have thought it best to set them right on this point.

CLXIII. 265. Τὸν τε Ἀδρίην καὶ τὴν Τυρσηνίην καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίην καὶ τὸν Ταρτησσὸν οὗτοί εἰσι οἱ καταδέξαντες. *It was they* (the Phocæans) *who discovered the Adriatic, and Tyrrhenia, Iberia, and Tartessus.* The Greek has τὸν Ἀδρίην Ionically for τὸν Ἀδρίαν, the nominative

¹ Servius ad Virgilii Eclog. VIII. 82.

² Festus, voc. 'Muries,' pp. 253-4.

³ P. de la Rue, on verse 82 of the 8th Eclogue.

⁴ Nieuport, Explication abrégée des Coutumes et Cérémonies observées chez

les Romains, p. 223 et 224.

⁵ Sanadon, in notis ad Horat. Sat. II. iii. 199.

⁶ Horat. Od. III. xxiii. 17.

⁷ Ovid. Fastor. I. ver. 337.

of which is ὁ Ἀδρίας, and the genitive τοῦ Ἀδρίου, and can signify nothing but the Adriatic sea⁸. Καὶ ἀποπέμψας εἰς τὸν Ἀδρίαν ὀλκάδα δυοῖν ταλάντων⁹, “and having sent into the Adriatic sea a vessel of burden, the cargo of which was worth two talents.” Ἀδρία πόλις, καὶ παρ’ αὐτὴν κόλπος Ἀδρίας¹, “Adria, a city near which is the Adriatic gulf.”

The learned Mazzocchi² contends, that in this passage of Herodotus τὸν Ἀδρίην must be understood to mean the coast of the Adriatic sea; and the reason which he gives for it is, that Herodotus having spoken of Tyrrhenia and Iberia, which are two considerable countries, and of the city of Tartessus, it is more natural to suppose that τὸν Ἀδρίην is also a country, that is to say, the coast of the Adriatic, than the name of a sea. This reason appears to me by no means conclusive. The Adriatic sea was not known at that time to the Greeks, and Herodotus remarks that the Phocæans were the first who discovered it.

[The interpretation which Larcher gives to this passage is ably defended by Letronne³, who, at the same time, rather inconveniently maintains, that in the age of Herodotus the name Ἀδρίας was confined to the portion of the Adriatic gulf, north of the river Po. He founds this opinion on a passage of Hellanicus⁴, who calls the sea at the mouth of the Po, the Ionian gulf. But are we justified in assuming that Greek writers were perfectly agreed among themselves with respect to the application of these names? M. Letronne forgets in this place his own valuable remark on the difficulties often raised by critics. “These scruples,” he says, “have no solid foundation; they spring from the supposition that the Greeks, stiffening their style by constant straining, measured out their words by rule and line.”

Müller⁵, resting on the authority of Polybius, leans to the opinion of Mazzocchi. By Tyrrhenia we are probably to understand the greater part of Italy⁶. The city of Tartessus stood between the mouths of the river Bœtis, or, as it is now called, the Guadalquivir⁷. The first voyages of the Phocæans were made before the 35th Olympiad. Müller thinks they might have been as early as the 20th Olympiad⁸.]

266. Νηυσὶ . . . πεντηκοντέροισι. *Vessels of fifty oars.* These were long vessels. Herodotus remarks that in his time the long vessels were used for war, and the wide ones were merchant-vessels. The long vessels were not exclusively appropriated to war in the time of Liparus, who made use of one to pass from Italy⁹ to the isle of Lipara. Nor were they so at the time of the voyage of the Argonauts to Colchis,

⁸ Strabo, VII. p. 488, A, where in the space of a few lines will be seen ὁ Ἀδρίας, τοῦ Ἀδρίου, and τὸν Ἀδρίαν.

⁹ Lysias contra Diogit. p. 211. lin. 21.

¹ Steph. Byz. voc. Adrias.

² Mazzocchi Comm. in Tab. Heracl. p. 90. note 37.

³ Recherches sur Dicuil, p. 176.

⁴ Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. I. xviii, xxviii.

⁵ Die Etrusker, vol. I. p. 140.

⁶ Bredow, Uranologia Herodoti, p. 24.

⁷ Strabo, III. p. 221, B; Paus. VI. xix. p. 497.

⁸ Die Etrusker, I. p. 193.

⁹ Diod. Sic. V. vii. vol. I. p. 336.

who then used them for the first time, if we may rely on Philo-Stephanus; but it should appear from Diodorus Siculus, that on this point there were various opinions. 'Longâ nave' Jasonem primum navigasse, Philo-Stephanus auctor est.' The expedition of the Argonauts was altogether of a commercial nature. The Abbé Banier⁵ asserts, that this was a vessel of war, and consequently that the expedition of the Argonauts was not purely commercial. He proves clearly enough from Ulpian and from the Scholiast of Aristophanes, that the long vessels were appropriated to war; but the authors he quotes spoke of the usage of their own times, and not of those of antiquity: and it is certain, that long vessels were used for purposes of commerce considerably subsequent to that expedition. The voyages of the Phocæans to Tartessus, &c. which had no other object than commerce, were performed, in the time of Cræsus, only in long vessels.

267. Ἀργανθώνιος. *Arganthonius*. This king lived 120 years, during eighty of which he reigned. Pliny and Cicero⁶ look on this as an established fact. But Anacreon⁷ and Appian⁸ attribute to Arganthonius a reign of 150 years, which wars against all probability.

The death of this prince is usually referred to the 211th year from the foundation of Rome, because Herodotus seems to make it coincide with the conquest of Ionia by Harpagus⁹. Yet it is clear, from the testimony of this historian, that twenty years before the taking of Phocæa, the Phocæans had founded the city of Alalia, in the island of Cynus (Corsica), and that it was during this interval that Arganthonius died.

268. Ὁ δὲ πυνθόμενος τὸν Μῆδον παρ' αὐτῶν ὡς αὖξοιτο. *Hearing from them how the Median increased*. This may be understood of Harpagus, of Mazares, or even of Cyrus, though that prince was by birth a Persian; for in Herodotus 'the Persians' and 'the Medes' are indiscriminately put for each other. For instance, Sperthies¹ and Boulis, speaking to Xerxes, call him king of the Medes, and those to whom this historian² has three times given the name of Persians, at the end of the same paragraph he calls Medes.

Nevertheless, the expression under consideration cannot apply to the arrival of the Persians in Lydia. 1. Because Herodotus says, that the Mede continued increasing in force. Now it is certain that the forces of Cyrus never increased after he had set foot in Lydia; and that he left with Mazares but a small body of troops for the conquest of Ionia.

2. The Ionians had no real cause for fear, so long as Sardes was not

⁴ Plin. Hist. N. VII. lvi. vol. I. p. 417. lin. 16.

⁵ Mém. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lett. lxiii. vol. IX. p. 69.

⁶ Plin. Hist. Nat. VII. xlvi. vol. I. p. 403. lin. 7; Cic. De Senect. XIX.

⁷ Anacr. Od. pp. 239, 240.

⁸ Appian, de Rebus Hispanicis, VI.

⁹ Herod. I. clxv.

¹ Id. VII. cxxxvi.

² Id. V. cxix.

taken. Moreover, how, during the time which elapsed from the taking of that city to the siege of Phocæa, could the Phocæans have gone to Tartessus, (a voyage rather tedious, especially in the infancy of navigation,) have made their report to Arganthonius, have returned with a considerable sum, have worked stones from the quarries, cut them into form, and tranquilly built their walls, without impediment either from Harpagus or Mazares, though both were near at hand?

3. It cannot correspond with the death of the king of Tartessus. Herodotus relates³ that the Phocæans had founded the city of Alalia, in the island of Cynus (Corsica), twenty years before the taking of Phocæa, and that Arganthonius died in that interval. He does not, indeed, determine the year of his death; but we cannot place it one or two years before the taking of Phocæa, without subjecting him to the charge of inaccuracy: we must then fix his death at least four or five years before the taking of Phocæa.

4. The ambition of Cræsus was as just a ground of apprehension to the Ionians, as that of Cyrus became afterwards; and it is exceedingly probable, that Arganthonius, who loved the Phocæans, was touched with the misfortunes which threatened them, and that it was then that this prince supplied them with money to secure their city from insult.

It follows from this, that we must read τὸν Λυδὸν, and understand Cræsus, who in the commencement of his reign rendered himself formidable to the Ionians, and even subjugated a part of them, as we have seen above.

CLXV. 269. Μύδρον σιδήρεον. *A mass of burning iron.* Such is the true meaning of the word μύδρος, as we see in Hesychius and in Suidas. Ἐσταότας περὶ μύδρον⁴, 'stantes circà ferrum candens.' Hence the term μυδροκτυπεῖν, 'to forge masses of burning iron,' which Æschylus⁵ uses when speaking of Vulcan.

This word afterwards signified a mass of stone, and in this sense we often find it in Strabo; and so has Horace understood it, though Herodotus, to whom he refers, had added the epithet σιδήρεος to μύδρος.

Sed juremus in hæc: simul imis saxa renarint

Vadis levata, ne redire sit nefas⁶.

CLXVI. 270. Νίκη τοῖσι ἐγένετο. *They (the Phocæans) obtained the victory.* This victory cannot be the one which they obtained over the Carthaginians, and of which both Thucydides⁷ and Pausanias⁸ speak; for, in that which Herodotus mentions, they sustained great loss, and went to found the city of Hyele (Velia); but, according to the two his-

³ Herod. II. clxv.

⁴ Callimach. Hymn. in Dianam, 49.

⁵ Æschyl. in Prometheo vineto, 366.
See Blomfield's Gloss. Æsch.

⁶ Horat. Epod. XVI. 25.

⁷ Thucyd. I. xiii. p. 13.

⁸ Pausan. Phocic. sive X. viii. p. 817.

torians I have just named, they founded the city of Marseilles, after having beaten the Carthaginians on the sea.

271. Καδμείη τις νίκη ἐγένετο. *It was a sort of Cadmean victory to them.* This was a proverbial expression to signify a victory fatal to the conqueror⁹. Plato uses the term παιδεία Καδμεία, 'a Cadmean education,' for an education fatal to those who receive it¹. Παιδεία μὲν οὐδὲ πώποτε γέγονε Καδμεία· νῖκαι δὲ ἀνθρώποις πολλαὶ δὴ τοιαῦται γεγόνασί τε καὶ ἔσονται. "A good education has never been fatal to any one; but there have been many victories which were and still will be fatal to nations." See Hesychius under the word Κάδμιοι, and Suidas under the words Καδμεία νίκη and Καδμείαν νίκην. Both these authors give several reasons for the proverb; which the reader may consult. Plutarch says², that by 'Cadmean victory,' the ancients understood one parallel to that of the two brothers Eteocles and Poly- nices, both disgraceful and pernicious.

272. Ἐπλεον ἐς Ῥήγιον. *They sailed to Rhegium.* It is astonishing that Herodotus should have passed over in silence the foundation of the city of Marseilles. Eusebius³ says, that the Phocæans founded it in the third year of the 45th Olympiad. Solinus refers it to the first year of the same Olympiad⁴: 'Ligurum ora, in quâ Phocenses quondam fugati Persarum adventu Massiliam urbem Olympiade quadragesimâ quintâ condiderunt.' He is mistaken, however, in calling these people 'Phocenses;' but this error is common to him with many Latin authors, who confound the Phocæans (of Asia Minor) with the inhabitants of Phocis (in Greece): and he is equally mistaken in saying that it was at the time when the Persians entered Ionia. The 45th Olympiad is long anterior to the reign of Cyrus. I am persuaded that it was founded in the first year of the 45th Olympiad, which answers to the year 4114 of the Julian period, 600 years before our era, and that it was enlarged by the same Phocæans in the second year of the 61st Olympiad, the year 4179 of the Julian period, 535 years before our era. Aristotle mentions⁵, in his 'Republic of the Marseillaise,' some particulars which the reader probably may not dislike to see recorded.

"Certain merchants of Phocæa, an Ionian city, founded Marseilles. Euxenus of Phocæa was the guest of Nanus, king of the country. This prince, about to dispose of his daughter in marriage, invited Euxenus, who had just arrived, to a festival. Marriage ceremonies were there celebrated in the following manner: The lady about to be married entered after the repast, and presented to the individual among her lovers whom she preferred a goblet full of wine; and he who received it became her husband. This young lady, whose name was Petta, pre-

⁹ Moschopul. περὶ Σχεδ. p. 112. Suidas, under the word Καδμεία νίκη.

¹ Plato de Legibus, I. vol. II. p. 641,

² Plut. de Fraternali Amore, p. 488, A.

³ Eusebii Chron. p. 124.

⁴ Solini Polyhist. II. p. 12, E.

⁵ Athen. Deipnos. XIII. v. p. 576, A.

sented the cup to Euxenus, either by chance or from some other motive. Euxenus, having married her with the permission of her father, changed her name to Aristoxena. He had a son by her, whom he called Protis, and from him are descended the illustrious family of the Protiades." His father-in-law assigned him a tract of country on which to build a town. The same circumstances are related by Justin⁶, with some slight variation; and this author refers the foundation of the city to the reign of Tarquinius Priscus. This foundation having occurred 600 years before our era, coincides with the fourteenth year of the reign of that prince.

The Greeks called Marseilles *Μασσαλία*. And according to the historian Timæus⁷, this name was derived from the word *Μᾶσσαι ἄλιεὺς*, 'fasten it, fisherman,' which was called out by the pilot to a fisherman, to whom he had thrown a cable, on that coast. Though this etymology belongs to Timæus, I do not think it better founded on that account, but prefer that of M. St. Simon Sandricourt, bishop of Agde. This illustrious prelate thought, and with reason, that this name came⁸ from the Celtic word 'mas,' which signifies 'dwelling, habitation,' and the name of the Salians, who formerly inhabited this country. The term is frequently found in Burgundian, with some slight variation.

When the Phocæans wished to escape from the yoke of the Persians, a part of them⁹ repaired to Marseilles, under the conduct of Creontiades; but having been repulsed, they went and founded the city of Velia. Others were more fortunate. The Phocæans, says Isocrates¹, flying from the domination of the great king, abandoned Asia, and went to live at Marseilles. Thucydides and Pausanias² fix the foundation of Marseilles at the same time. It appears certain, therefore, that there were two colonies of Phocæans at this place; the first of whom founded the city, and the second enlarged it. I believe that Agathias³ is the only author who says that the Phocæans, expelled by Darius, son of Hystaspes, founded Marseilles, which, from a Greek city, adds he, has now become completely barbarous. What would this historian say, could he revisit the world in our day? [It is still barbarous in the Hellenic sense of the term, being inhabited by a people who are not Greeks.]

CLXVII. 273. *Ἐκτήσαντο πόλιν γῆς τῆς Οἰνωτρίας. They obtained possession of a city in the land of Œnotria.* A part of the Phocæans founded in Œnotria, since called Lucania, the city of Hyele, which the Latins call Velia⁴. "A Phocæâ verò Asiaticus populus Harpagi inclementiam vitans, Cyri regis præfecti, Italiam navigio petiit. Cujus pars in Lucaniâ Veliam, alia condidit in Viennensi Massiliam." The Phocæans there

⁶ Justin. XLIII. iii. vol. II. p. 712.

⁷ Steph. Byz. voc. *Μασσαλία*.

⁸ Lettres sur la Grèce, par M. Guys, tom. I. p. 429.

⁹ Strabo, VI. p. 388, A.

¹ Isocr. in Archidamo, vol. II. p. 54.

² Thucyd. I. xiii. p. 13; Pausanias, X. viii. p. 817.

³ Agathias, I. p. 12, D.

⁴ Amm. Marcell. XV. ix. p. 75.

consecrated a chapel to the hero Cynus. Perhaps the city was already founded, and then bore the name of Cynus: the Phocæans founded it anew, and called it Hyele, from the marsh by which it is surrounded. 'Velia⁶ autem dicta est à paludibus, quibus cingitur, quas Græci ἑλη dicunt. Fuit ergò Helia, sed accepit digammon, et facta Velia, ut Henetus, Venetus.'

274. Κύρνον. *Cynus*. Cynus⁶, son of Hercules, gave his name to the island of Cynus. He was no doubt honoured as a hero, and it is probably of him that Herodotus speaks. Diodorus Siculus⁷ mentions another Cynus. Inachus sent him with a considerable fleet, in search of his daughter Io, and forbade him to return without her. Not having been able to find her, he established himself in the Carian Chersonesus, and there built a town of his name.

If Herodotus meant to speak of either of these two Cynuses, it was more probably the first. It is very astonishing that this son of Hercules should have been unknown to all the poets and all the historians, and that the grammarian Servius should be the only writer who mentions him.

CLXVIII. 275. Κλαζομένιος Τιμήσιος. *Timesius of Clazomenæ*. We read in all the MSS. and all the editions of Herodotus, 'Timesius;' yet Plutarch, as well as Ælian, writes Timesias.

Timesias of Clazomenæ⁸ was a man of character, who had wisely governed that city. Envy, which instinctively fastens on men of that stamp, directed its bitterness against him. He at first despised its efforts; but the cause of his ultimately quitting his country was as follows. He was passing before a school, the pupils of which had just been dismissed by their master, and were playing together. A dispute arose between two of them as to the game. One of them said, with an oath, Why cannot I brain Timesias in this way, which would be no harm done? This expression having fully convinced him of the hatred borne to him by his fellow-citizens, since he was detested not only by grown men, but even by children, he retired into voluntary banishment.

He afterwards repaired to Delphi⁹ to consult the oracle respecting a colony which he proposed to found. The god answered; 'You are about to conduct a swarm of bees, which will soon be followed by wasps.'

The oracle was verified. He founded the city of Abdera; but shortly afterwards was driven out of it by the Thracians, as Herodotus relates. The time of his founding that city is not known. The Teians certainly colonized Abdera in the year 4173 of the Julian period, 541 years before our era. But, as Eusebius¹ says that it was founded in the

⁵ Servius ad Æneid. VI. 359.

⁶ Idem ad Virgilii Eclog. IX. 30.

⁷ Diod. Sic. V. lx. vol. I. p. 379.

⁸ Æliani Var. Hist. XII. ix. pp.

731.2; Plut. Reipubl. gerendæ Præc. p. 812, A.

⁹ Plutarch, de Amic. Multit. p. 96, B.

¹ Eusebii Chron. Can. p. 157.

second year of the 31st Olympiad (656 B. C.), I am persuaded that he intended to speak of its foundation by Timesius.

CLXXI. 276. Εἶχον τὰς νήσους. *They inhabited the islands.* Thucydides says, on the contrary, that Minos drove the Carians from the Cyclades, and gave to his children the government of those islands. If the account of Thucydides be correct, we must, in conformity with the Arundelian Marbles, fix ² this conquest of Minos about 100 years before the siege of Troy. But several reasons incline the balance to the side of Herodotus. 1. He was of Halicarnassus, a town of Caria, and therefore better enabled than Thucydides to acquire information as to the antiquities of that nation. 2. He says himself, that he carried his researches into the ancient traditions of the Carians, as far back as possible. 3. This is not the only point in which Thucydides, so jealous of Herodotus as even to shed tears, affects to contradict him. 4. Pausanias intimates, that the Carians treated with Minos on equal terms; a statement which should incline us to prefer the account of Herodotus.

All this difference of opinion appears to me to be very easily reconcilable. Minos was master of all the Cyclades; but he drove the Carians only from those to which he sent colonies, as Thucydides ³ says, and doubtless left them in possession of the others, on condition that they should acknowledge him for their sovereign, and that they should furnish him with mariners, as Herodotus affirms.

According to Homer⁴, the Carians were a distinct people from the Leleges, which latter were a confused multitude collected from various nations. There were great numbers of them in the islands occupied by the Carians; and hence their name was given to the Carians of the isles. The continental Carians were, in the first instance, quite distinct from the Leleges; and Strabo says⁵, "The insular Carians, having passed over to the continent, took possession of a large portion of the coast and of the interior, of which they deprived the ancient proprietors; these being for the greater part Leleges and Pelasgi." Thus these Leleges were not identical with those of the isles; but being afterwards incorporated with the Carians who came from the isles, and who were likewise called Leleges, they became so entirely confounded together, that the metropolis of Caria was called the city of the Leleges⁶: nevertheless, the appellation of Carians at length prevailed.

277. Ἐπὶ τὰ κράνεια λόφους ἐπιδέεσθαι Κάρεις εἰσι οἱ καταδέξαντες. *The Carians were the inventors of plumes attached to helmets.* This is

² Minos was much more ancient. See my Essay on the Chronology of Herodotus, chap. xii.

³ Thucyd. I. iv. p. 5.

⁴ Iliad. VII.

⁵ Strabo, XIV. p. 976, A, B.

⁶ Eustath. in Hom. Iliad. XX. p. 816. lin. 32.

confirmed by the following fragment of Alcæus⁷:

Λόφον τε σείων Καρικόν.

“Shaking a Carian plume.”

“The Persians⁸,” says Plutarch, “call the Carians cocks, from the plumes with which they decorate their helmets.”

This aigrette or plume occasioned the Egyptian oracle also to give the Carians the appellation of cocks⁹. [The oracle here referred to is reported differently by Herodotus¹, and passed over in silence by Diodorus Siculus². It may be justly suspected of being a Greek fable.]

278. Ὀχανα ἀσπίσι οὗτοί εἰσι οἱ ποιησάμενοι πρῶτοι. *They were the first who made holders to shields.* It appears, nevertheless, from Homer³, that at the time of the siege of Troy, the buckler or shield had two staples, or hoops of wood, through one of which the arm was passed, and the other was held in the hand, for its more easy government: and for these were probably substituted the leathern belts, of which Herodotus speaks. This loop of leather⁴ had not been previously known, and was invented by the Carians. It was called ὄχανον or πόρπαξ. Anacreon calls it Καρικοεργές ὄχανον⁵.

Διὰ δεῦτε Καρικοεργέος ὄχάνοιο
Χεῖρα τιθέμεναι.

“Come, let us thrust our arms through the staples (or loops) of the buckler, the work of the Carians.”

Sophocles, therefore, does not strictly observe costume, when he gives to the buckler of Ajax two leathern loops⁶.

279. Τῷ οὐνόματι τῷ αὐτῷ ἀεὶ διαχρεωμένους τῷ περ νῦν. *They have always borne the same name as at present.* They probably called themselves only Carians; but others undoubtedly called them Leleges, because people of all nations were incorporated with them.

280. Διὸς Καρίου ἱερὸν ἀρχαῖον. *An ancient temple of Jupiter Carius.* Ælian⁷ confounds the temple of the Carian Jupiter with that of Jupiter Stratius (or Warrior). “This temple,” says he, “is sixty-six stadia distant from the city of the Mylasians. A sword is suspended from the statue of this god, and he is honoured under the names of Carius and of Stratius.” Herodotus distinguished⁸ between these two temples, and Strabo has followed him. “Labranda,” says the latter writer⁹, “is a hamlet on a mountain, near its summit, on the road from Alabanda to Mylassa, but a considerable distance from the latter. There is, on this

⁷ Strabo, XIV. p. 976, B.

⁸ Plutarch, in Artaxerxe, p. 1016, B.

⁹ Polyænus, VII. Strateg. iii. p. 609.

¹ Herod. II. clii.

² Diod. Sic. I. lxvi.

³ Iliad. VIII. 193.

⁴ Eustath. Comment. ad Hom. Iliad.

VIII. p. 707. lin. 59 et s.

⁵ Strabo, XIV. p. 976, B.

⁶ Ajax Mastigoph. 576.

⁷ Ælian de Nat. Animal. XII. xxx. vol. II. p. 695.

⁸ Herod. I. clxxi. V. cxix.

⁹ Strabo, XIV. p. 973, c; 974, A.

spot, an ancient temple, and a statue of Jupiter Stratius. It is honoured by the neighbouring people and by the inhabitants of Mylassa. It is about sixty-eight stadia from their city The third temple is that of the Carian Jupiter. It is common to all the Carians; the Lydians and the Mysians being kindred nations, are also admitted into it."

CLXXIII. 281. Τὴν γὰρ Κρήτην εἶχον τὸ παλαιὸν πᾶσαν βάρβαροι. *In remote times, the island of Crete was inhabited by barbarians.* These ancient inhabitants are distinguished by the name of Eteocretæ¹ (or true Cretans). They are believed to have been Autochthones, that is to say, indigenous inhabitants of the island. Their king's name was Cres². After several generations had passed away, the Pelasgians occupied³ a part of the island. The third nation were the Dorians, who for the most part came from the countries adjacent to mount Olympus, under the conduct of Tectamus, son of Dorus, and of the Achæans of Laconia. This Tectamus became king⁴ of the island. Having married the daughter of Cretheus, he had by her Asterius. Whilst this Asterius was king of Crete, Jupiter, it is said, carried off Europa of Phœnicia, and by her had Minos, Rhadamanthus, and Sarpëdon. Asterius afterwards married Europa; but having no children by her, he adopted those of Jupiter, and left them his kingdom. Minos was the father of Lycastus, whose son Minos the Second, having equipped a fleet, became master of the seas. He married Pasiphaë, by whom he had Androgeus, Ariadne, &c. Fourthly, there passed into Crete a mixture of barbarous nations⁵, who, in time, learned the language of the Greeks established there: and lastly, after the return of the Heraclidæ, the Argians and Lacedæmonians sent colonies thither.

282. [Νῦν ἔτι καλέονται ὑπὸ τῶν περιόικων οἱ Λύκιοι, Τερμίλαι. *The Lycians are now still called by their neighbours, Termilæ.* This statement, from which Strabo seems disposed to dissent, receives sufficient confirmation from the authorities collected by Stephanus of Byzantium. But it is interesting to remark that the ancient name Termilæ, or, as Stephanus writes it, Tremiles, has been recently deciphered in inscriptions in the Lycian character and on coins collected in Lycia by Mr. Fellowes⁶.]

283. Καλέουσι ἀπὸ τῶν μητέρων ἑωντούς. *They call themselves after their mothers.* This is confirmed by Nicolaus of Damascus⁷. The Xanthians had a similar custom, the origin of which is recounted by Nymphis⁸, in the fourth book of his History of Heraclea. A wild boar committed dreadful depredations in their country; Bellerophon slew it, but the Xanthians testified not the slightest degree of grati-

¹ Diod. Sic. V. lxiv. vol. I. p. 381; and lxxx. p. 395.

² Id. V. lxiv. vol. I. p. 381.

³ Id. ibid. p. 395.

⁴ Id. IV. lx. vol. I. p. 304.

⁵ Id. V. lxxx. vol. I. p. 396.

⁶ Discoveries in Lycia, 1840, pp. 465. 499, &c.

⁷ Excerpta ex Nic. Damasc. p. 517.

⁸ Plutarch. de Virt. Muli. p. 246, c, d.

tude. This prince uttered a curse upon them, and obtained as a boon from Neptune, that a particular species of salt should issue from the soil and destroy its fruits. This plague endured, till the prince, overcome by the entreaties of the women, supplicated Neptune to lay aside his wrath; and thence the custom of the Xanthians of taking their names only from their mothers. This reason, borrowed from mythology, is not very well calculated to persuade persons of reflection.

Xanthia was a small country of Lycia. Though this custom might have originated with the Xanthians, the Lycians certainly adopted it. Among them, the inheritance descended to the female children, and the male were excluded⁹.

[The custom here described, of preferring the female line in tracing lineage or regulating succession, still exists in India, among the Nairs on the Malabar coast, and in some parts of Africa¹. Wherever it is followed, the sister's son is the nearest heir. Proofs of the existence of this custom in Lycia may be found in some of the sepulchral inscriptions copied by Mr. Fellowes.]

CLXXIV. 284. *Τῆς Βυβασσίδος. Bybassia.* The text formerly had 'Byblesia,' now altered to Bybassia in conformity with a conjecture of Vossius², which has been adopted by Gronovius and by Wesseling, and confirmed by Diodorus Siculus³ and Pliny the naturalist⁴. The following verses of Ovid⁵ were not without their influence in effecting this change:

*Byblida non aliter latos ululasse per agros,
Bubasides vidêre nurus.*

I propose to make the construction thus: *τῆς Βυβασσίδος ἀργμμένης ἐκ τῆς Χερσονήσου.* 'Bybassia commencing at the Chersonesus.' In this case, the whole peninsula will bear the name of Cnidia, and Bybassia will be without the peninsula. This appears to me conformable to reason, and I have therefore adopted it. It strikes me, however, that the meaning would be more clear, if we placed the preposition after *Χερσονήσου*, which would make but a very slight change, *ἀργμμένης τῆς Χερσονήσου ἐκ τῆς Βυβασσίδος.*

I am aware that Vossius, in his notes on Pomponius Mela, supposes that Bybassia is a peninsula; while Valckenaer appears to think that it is the little island of which Pausanias speaks⁶. But how could an island, which, according to Strabo⁷, was but seven stadia in circumference, be connected with the continent by an isthmus of five stadia? It must be remembered that the city itself was partly on the island: and superstition having once forbidden the cutting through of the isthmus,

⁹ Stob. p. 292. 23.

¹ Travels of Ibn Batutah, by Prof. Lee, p. 234.

² Vossius ad P. Melam, I. xvi. p. 637.

³ Diod. Sic. V. lxii. p. 380.

⁴ Plin. Hist. Nat. V. xxviii. vol. I. p. 274.

⁵ Ovid. Metam. IX. 642.

⁶ Paus. V. xxiv. p. 440.

⁷ Strabo, XIV. p. 969, B.

would afterwards have continued to oppose that work. It is highly probable that the isthmus of which Herodotus speaks could not be cut through, because it was of rock; and before the invention of gun-powder, such an undertaking was scarcely practicable.

285. Ζεὺς γάρ κ' ἔθηκε νῆσον εἰ κ' ἐβούλετο. *Jupiter would have made an island of it, if it had so pleased him.* The answer of the oracle reminds me of an historical anecdote, which the reader will perhaps not be displeased to find here⁸. "Certain Dutchmen offered Charles II. king of Spain, to make the Tagus navigable as far as Lisbon, on condition of being allowed, for a term of years, to levy certain duties upon the merchandise embarked there. They had also an intention of making the Mançanarez navigable from Madrid to the place where it joins the Tagus. The council of Castille, after mature deliberation, returned the following notable answer: Had it pleased God to make those two rivers navigable, he would not have needed man's assistance to do so. Since he has not done so, it is evident that it did not please him that those two rivers should be navigable. Such an enterprise, therefore, seems opposed to the decrees of Providence, and involves a wish to remedy imperfections which God has purposely left in his works."

CLXXVI. 286. Ὑπῆψαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν πᾶσαν ταύτην καίεσθαι. *They set fire to the citadel so that it should be all consumed.* Similar despair⁹ seized on the Xanthians, when Brutus besieged their city. In an endeavour to set fire to the engines of the Romans, an impetuous wind drove back the flames upon the walls, and the fire gained the neighbouring houses. The Romans, by the order of Brutus, hastened to extinguish the flames; but the Xanthians, men, women, and children, slaves and freemen, repelled them, and on all sides supplied reeds, wood, and every thing that could serve as fuel to the fire. Men and women perished, some in one way and some in another; even children threw themselves into the flames; some precipitated themselves from the walls; others held up their throats to their fathers, entreating them to slaughter them. A woman, with a dead infant hanging round her neck, was seen with a torch setting fire to a house. Moved with compassion, Brutus offered a reward to his soldiers for every Lycian that could be saved. It is said that 150 accepted of life thus offered them.

Appian¹ remarks, that the Xanthians on three occasions gave unequivocal proofs of their preference of liberty to life. The first is that of which Herodotus speaks; the second was in the time of Alexander, son of Philip; and the third when Brutus besieged them.

CLXXVIII. 287. Μέγαθος ἐοῦσα μέτωπον ἕκαστον εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίων. *Being on each face a hundred and twenty stadia in length.*

⁸ Letters concerning the Spanish Nation; by the Rev. Ed. Clarke, 1763. 4to. p. 284.

⁹ Plutarch, in Bruto, p. 998, D.

¹ Appian. Hist. Bell. Civ. IV. p. 1014 et s.

Pliny² assigns to Babylon sixty miles of circumference; but he reckons eight stadia to the Roman mile, without taking the pains to ascertain whether the author he copies means the great, the small, or the middle stadium. He limits himself to literally translating Herodotus, without endeavouring to convey his true meaning.

Diodorus Siculus³, who copies Ctesias, states that the circumference of Babylon was not more than 360 stadia. This statement appears, at first sight, to differ materially from that of Herodotus. M. D'Anville has endeavoured to make these two calculations square with each other. His method of doing this, like every thing else proceeding from that skilful geographer, is exceedingly ingenious. The temple of Belus, he observes⁴, was eight stadia in circuit, according to Herodotus. Now Pietro della Valle found its circuit to be 1134 common paces; and M. D'Anville calculates the common pace at twenty-one inches. Therefore, the 1134 paces of the circuit of this temple are equal to 330 toises (or fathoms) four feet; and if this number of toises represent the eight stadia which Herodotus allows to this circuit, what he calls a stadium can be no more than forty-one toises two feet. According to this calculation, we shall have 19,840 toises for the circumference of Babylon. But as Diodorus Siculus often computes the stadium at fifty-four toises two feet, the 360 stadia, which according to him constituted the circumference of Babylon, will amount to 19,560 toises; which agrees very nearly with the calculation of Herodotus. Thus Babylon, though still immense, ceases to be a prodigy in extent, and its circumference is reduced to little more than eight of our leagues.

[The mound measured by Pietro della Valle is no longer considered as the temple of Belus: D'Anville's attempt, therefore, to reconcile the two Greek historians, falls to the ground. Respecting the convenient hypothesis of a variety of stadia, see the last paragraph of note 302.]

According to Strabo⁵, Babylon was 385 stadia in circumference. The thickness of its walls was thirty-two feet, their height fifty cubits, and that of the towers ten. Had Strabo been at Babylon, or had he read authentic accounts of it?

Eustathius⁶ agrees pretty nearly with Strabo; but he places the towers over the gates, which will reduce them to 100. The description of Herodotus supposes a much larger number, and Diodorus Siculus⁷ reckons them at 250.

288. *Διηκοσίων πηχέων. Two hundred cubits in height.* The different writers who have spoken of the walls of this city, do not agree as to their height. They all founded their calculations on Herodotus, and the difference between them appears to have arisen from a too cursory

² Plin. Hist. Nat. VI. xxvi. vol. I. vol. XXVIII. p. 246. p. 331.

³ Diod. Sic. II. vii. vol. I. p. 120.

⁴ See the Memoir on the position of Babylon, Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. p. 175. col. 2.

⁵ Strabo, XVI. p. 1072, B.

⁶ Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. 1005.

⁷ Diod. Sic. II. vii. vol. I. p. 120.

or inattentive perusal of that historian, as the reader may easily convince himself. But before proceeding to prove this, let us present, under the same point of view, these different admeasurements reduced into Greek feet. As the royal cubit was three inches more than the mean, the 200 cubits make 337 feet eight inches, at sixteen inches to the foot.

		Greek feet	Inches.
Herodotus . . .	200 royal cubits . . .	337	8
Ctesias ⁸ . . .	50 orgyia . . .	300	
Diodorus Siculus } Quintus Curtius ⁹ }	50 cubits . . .	75	
Pliny ¹ . . .	200 feet . . .	200	
Orosius ² . . .	200 . . .	300	

Ctesias evidently copies Herodotus: fifty orgyia are just 200 cubits; only he has not remarked that our author spoke of royal cubits.

It is equally evident that the anonymous writer of whom Diodorus Siculus speaks had Ctesias in his eye, as had Strabo and Quintus Curtius; but alarmed at the number of fifty orgyia, they have reduced it to fifty cubits. The number 200, assigned by Pliny, proves that he consulted only our historian; but for cubits he has inadvertently written feet, or perhaps that is an error of the copyists. This appears from his observing that these feet are three inches longer than the Roman foot. Now this is precisely what Herodotus says of the royal cubit; but there never was any foot three inches longer than the Roman.

Orosius follows Herodotus; but forgetting that our historian speaks of royal cubits, which are three inches longer than the ordinary cubit, he computes only 200 of the shorter ones.

The medium cubit is probably that which was in use among the Greeks of Asia Minor, and therefore the most familiar to Herodotus. The cubit of Samos was equal to that of Egypt³. M. D'Anville⁴ reckons the cubit of Egypt at one foot eight inches and six lines. The royal cubit was one foot nine inches and ten lines.

CLXXIX. 289. *Οικήματα. Towers.* *Οίκημα* is taken in a very general sense, and signifies 'a habitation;' or, according to the situation in which it is applied, 'a house, a temple, a bagnio, a prison, a tower,' &c. This word must here be taken in the last sense, both from circumstances and from the authority of Strabo, who in speaking of these same buildings uses the word *πύργος*, 'a tower.' This geographer allows to these towers ten cubits in height. This term *μονόκωλα* seems to me rather to signify their small width than their height, and that they had but a single chamber or division.

⁸ Diod. Sic. II. vii. vol. I. p. 120.

² Oros. Histor. II. vi. p. 102.

⁹ Quintus Curtius, V. cap. i. § xxvi.
Strabo, XVI. p. 1072, B.

³ Herod. II. clxviii.

¹ Plin. Hist. Nat. VI. xxvi. vol. I. p. 331. lin. 18. Solin. lvi. p. 62, c.

⁴ D'Anville, *Traité des Mesures itinéraires*, p. 26.

290. Πύλαι δὲ ἐνεστᾶσι περίξ τοῦ τείχεος ἑκατὸν, χάλκεαι πᾶσαι. *There were a hundred gates in the compass of the wall, all of brass.* Which gave rise to the saying of Isaiah⁵, "I will go before you, and I will break the gates of brass." Eustathius also remarks, that Babylon had a hundred gates, all of brass, as well as the jambs, or door-posts, and the lintels⁶; or rather, he exactly copies our historian.

291. [Ἰς οὖνομα αὐτῇ. *It is named Is.* It can hardly be doubted that the place thus described by Herodotus as eight days' journey distant from Babylon and on a stream in which were springs of Naphtha or Bitumen, occupied the site of the modern Hit, although the stream has dried up. Pliny mentions that bitumen served for lime in the walls of Babylon⁷.]

CLXXX. 292. Πέει δὲ ἐξ Ἀρμενίων. *It flows from Armenia.* [The exact geography of the country round the sources of the Euphrates is a recent acquirement, and may be best learned from Arrowsmith's maps⁸, illustrating the routes of Ainsworth, Lynch, Brandt, &c.]

I should not forget that there was another stream which flowed into the Euphrates, and bore the same name. It is the same which the Ten Thousand encountered on their return to Greece, and which Pliny describes in his Natural History⁹.

293. Τοὺς ἀγκῶνας. *Forms an elbow.* Herodotus means, that the outer wall of the city formed, at each of its extremities on the river, an angle with the interior wall, by which the banks of the Euphrates were bounded.

Herodotus spoke of its gates and its walls only from hearsay. Neither of them existed in his time. After the revolt of Babylon, Darius had the walls beaten down and the gates carried away¹.

CLXXXI. 294. Διὸς Βήλου ἱρόν. *The precinct consecrated to Jupiter Belus* [Baal or Bel]. Arrian asserts² that Xerxes destroyed it on his return from Greece. Strabo³, who affirms the same thing, calls this temple the tomb of Belus. It was, according to this geographer, a square pyramid, one stadium in height, each side of which was one stadium long, that is to say, a little more than 300 feet. I suppose that he here means the little stadium of about fifty toises. It is true, that in the time of Strabo, the stadium was computed to be much longer; but that author is not in the habit of reducing measures to the standard of his own time. On the contrary, he always means the stadium known at the place of which he speaks. Neither of these authors speaks of the

⁵ Isaiah xlv. 2.

⁶ Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. 1005. p. 176. col. 1. Conf. eundem ad Hom. Il. IX. p. 758.

⁷ Plin. Hist. Nat. XXV. xv.

⁸ Journ. R. G. Soc. vols. IX. X.

⁹ Plin. Hist. Nat. V. xxiv.

¹ Herod. III. clix.

² Arrian. de Exped. Alex. VII. xvii. p. 517.

³ Strabo, XVI. p. 1073, B.

destruction of this temple, but from the report of others. Herodotus, who had seen it, entirely divests them of credibility. Pliny also contradicts them : 'Durat⁴ adhuc ibi Jovis Beli templum.'

[Herodotus describes the walls and gates of Babylon, though Darius had destroyed them ; why may he not have described from hearsay, in like manner, the temple of Bel ?]

We must bear in mind, that a temple of the ancients was very different from one of our churches. It comprised a considerable extent of ground, enclosed by walls, within which were courts, a grove, pieces of water, sometimes habitations for the priests, and lastly the temple properly so called, and into which, usually, the priest alone was admitted. The entire precinct was called τὸ ἱερόν, or, in the Ionian dialect, τὸ ἱρόν. The temple, properly so called, or the habitation of the god, was named ναός, and in Ionian νηός. It is, therefore, obvious, that in this passage we should understand the entire precinct. If it had meant the temple only, this tower of a stadium on each side, occupying the middle of the space, would have produced a monstrous effect ; but supposing that admeasurement to apply to the entire space, and the tower to have stood in the middle of it, we shall obtain a meaning more conformable to reason.

Herodotus on a hundred occasions distinguishes the ναός from the ἱερόν. Ἱρόν⁵ δὲ τὸ ἐν Διδύμοισι, καὶ ὁ νηός τε, καὶ τὸ χρηστήριον συληθέντα ἐνεπίμπρατο. "The sacred enclosure, the temple, and the Oracle of Didyme, were pillaged and burnt." Pausanias⁶ says, that the Epidaurians had in the enclosure consecrated to Æsculapius a theatre, which for the beauty of its proportions surpassed all those of Greece and Rome. To suppose this built in the temple itself, as the Abbé Gedoyne makes Pausanias⁷ say, would be absurd.

[From the surveys of the site of Babylon, by recent travellers, Claudius Rich and Ker Porter in particular, it may be positively concluded that the Birs Nemrud or Nimrod's tower, about five miles south-west from Hillah, is a remnant of the tower of Bel.]

295. Χαλδαῖοι ἰόντες ἱερείς. *The Chaldeans who are priests.* Belus was originally from Egypt⁸. He went to Babylon, accompanied by other Egyptians, and established them there as priests : and these are the people whom the Babylonians call Chaldeans. The Chaldeans carried to Babylon the science of astrology⁹, which they had learned from the priests of Egypt.

[The question, who were the Chaldeans, involves many difficulties, which the hypothetical statement of Diodorus respecting their origin affords little chance of clearing up¹.]

⁴ Plin. Hist. Nat. VI. xxvi. vol. I. la Grèce, tom. i. p. 214.
p. 331. lin. 20.

⁵ Herod. VI. xix.

⁶ Paus. II. xxvii. p. 174.

⁷ Pausanias, ou Voyage Historique de

⁸ Diod. Sic. I. xxviii. p. 32.

⁹ Id. ibid. lxxxix. p. 92 ; and II. xxix.
p. 142.

¹ See Heeren's Ideen, I. 2. p. 150.

Voltaire² confounds these priests with the Magi who were the priests of the Persians. The following passage of Diogenes Laërtius will suffice to correct him. "Some maintain³ that philosophy commenced amongst the barbarians; that the Persians had their Magi, the Babylonians their Chaldeans, and the Indians their Gymnosophists, &c."

CLXXXII. 296. Ἐν Θήβησι τῇσι Αἰγυπτίησι. *At Thebes in Egypt.* If we believe Strabo, this custom was somewhat different. "They consecrate to Jupiter," says he⁴, "a young girl of illustrious birth and striking beauty. She grants her favours to whomsoever she thinks proper, till a certain time, when she is married; but between the time of her concubinage and her marriage, they wear mourning for her."

297. Οὐ γὰρ ὧν αἰεὶ ἐστὶ χρηστήριον αὐτόθι. *For he does not deliver the oracle at this place at all times.* Apollo delivered the oracles at Patara during the six winter, and at Delphi during the six summer months, as we learn from Servius⁵: 'Nam constat Apollinem sex mensibus hiemalibus, apud Patara, civitatem Lyciæ, dare responsa, unde Pataræus Apollo dicitur, et sex æstivis apud Delum.'

CLXXXIII. 298. Ξέρξης δὲ ἔλαβε. *Xerxes took possession of it.* This was, in all probability, on his return from Greece. Arrian does not mention⁶ the statue of Jupiter Belus, but the temple of the god, which, according to this author, Xerxes destroyed on his return from Greece, as well as all the other temples of Babylon. Diodorus Siculus⁷ asserts, that all the relics of this temple were carried away by the kings of Persia. [The Persians, having themselves no temples nor images of the gods⁸, had no respect for the idolatry of other nations.]

CLXXXIV. 299. Σεμίραμις. *Semiramis.* There have been several princesses of this name. Herodotus very clearly points out which of them he here means. She preceded Nitocris by five generations. We have only therefore to fix the period at which this latter princess reigned, or governed the kingdom of Babylon, during her husband's illness. She was the wife of Nabopolassar II. or Nebuchadnezzar, who reigned forty-three years. Now, as this prince died, according to the Canon of Ptolemy, in the year 4134 of the Julian period, 580 years before our era, she must have governed during his illness, about the year 4110 of the Julian period, 604 years before our era, and have preserved her authority till the death of Nebuchadnezzar, in 4134 of the Julian, and 580 years before our era. If from this epoch we reckon back 166 years for the five generations⁹, Semiramis will have lived in the second year of the era of Nabonassar.

² Philosophie de l'Histoire, p. 117.

³ Diog. Laërt. I. Proëm. p. 1.

⁴ Strabo, XVII. p. 1171, c.

⁵ Ad Æneid. IV. 143. vol. II. p. 492.

⁶ De Exped. Alex. VII. xvii. p. 517.

⁷ Diod. Sic. II. ix. p. 123.

⁸ Herod. I. cxxxi.

⁹ Ibid. II. cxliii.

It may be objected that Herodotus counts only five generations between these two princesses, whereas, in the Canon of Ptolemy¹, there appear fourteen generations or successions, without including two distinct periods of interregnum, between Nabonassar and Nabopolassar. I answer, that Herodotus reckons for each generation a little more than thirty-three years; for he says (II. cxliii.) that three generations make 100 years: so that he here uses the term generation merely as a measure of time, without reference to succession: he merely intended to say, that 166 years and some months elapsed between Nabonassar and the death of Nabopolassar, though between those two princes there might have been fourteen successions.

I have advanced that Labynetus was the same with Nebuchadnezzar. This latter name appears to me a mere honorary title, common to all the kings of Babylon², as that of Pharaoh was to the kings of Egypt, and Syennesis to the kings of Cilicia.

Many learned men, thinking that Herodotus here alludes to Semiramis the wife of Ninus, have substituted, some fifteen generations, others fifty, for the five which our historian mentions. But he never, in all his history, names either Ninus or his wife, but that Semiramis only, who preceded Nitocris by five generations. Stephanus of Byzantium³ falls into a gross error, when he makes Herodotus say that this queen founded the city of Babylon. It is obvious that the historian speaks only of the sluices which she constructed, to prevent inundations of the Euphrates.

CLXXXV. 300. [Τρὶς ἐς τῶν τινὰ κωμέων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσσυρίῃ ἀπικνέεται ῥέων. *Three times in its course, it (the Euphrates) approaches a certain village in Assyria.* The historian adds, that the village here alluded to was named Ardericca. That it was above Babylon is evident from the context; but there is no ground for conjecturing its precise situation. At the present day the river flows sluggishly from Hit downwards, and needs no artificial lengthening of the channel to check its current.

Herodotus, still dwelling on the tortuous course of the Euphrates, proceeds in these words: Νῦν οἱ ἂν κομίζονται ἀπὸ τῆσδε τῆς θαλάσσης ἐς Βαβυλῶνα, καταπλέοντες ἐς τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν, τρίς τε ἐς τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην κώμην παραγίνονται, καὶ ἐν τρισὶ ἡμέρησι. 'Those who now-a-days go from this sea (the Mediterranean) to Babylon, sailing down into the river Euphrates, arrive three times at that same village (Ardericca), and in three days,' that is, they arrive at the same place, owing to the winding of the stream, on three successive days. From the expression 'sailing down into the Euphrates,' it would naturally be

¹ Petav. de Doctrinâ Temporum, IX. annum ante Christum 536.
lviii. vol. II. p. 70.

² Harduinus, Chronol. vet. Testam. ad

³ Steph. Byz. voc. Βαβυλῶν.

inferred that the river navigation downwards to Babylon commenced on one of the tributaries to the Euphrates. It can hardly be denied that such may have been the fact; but even if it were not so, the inaccuracy of the historian, who speaks with animation, is of little importance. In modern times, the route overland from the Mediterranean has always conducted from Scanderoon to Aleppo, and thence to Bír on the Euphrates⁴. Yet it is certain that this river is navigable a long way above Bír. Rauwolff waited at Bír 'for a barge that was to come from Armenia,' and in which he subsequently embarked⁵. Larcher doubted whether the Euphrates could be navigated up from the Persian Gulf to Babylon; 'its rapidity,' he says, 'would in all probability prevent such navigation.' All doubts on this subject have been recently dissipated by Colonel Chesney and the expedition under his command⁶. A small steamer could probably ascend the river to Samisat, 1200 miles at least from the head of the Persian Gulf⁷.]

301. Ὡρυσσε ἔλυτρον λίμνη. *She dug a drain for the lake.* Our historian meant nothing more than this; that the overflowing of the Euphrates formed a kind of marsh, and that Nitocris, wishing to remedy this inconvenience, caused a large reservoir to be cut out, which should drain off the waters of this marsh, and receive the inundation of the Euphrates.

302. Τὸ περίμετρον αὐτοῦ εἴκοσί τε καὶ τετρακοσίων σταδίων. *It was four hundred and twenty stadia in circumference.* If these stadia are reckoned at forty-one toises and two feet, after M. D'Anville, in measuring the temple of Belus, these 420 stadia will amount to 17,360 toises, or nearly seven leagues, of 2500 toises each. But if we use the little stadium⁸, the stadium of which Herodotus most frequently makes use, and which is computed at fifty-one toises, the 420 stadia will give 21,420 toises, or a little more than eight leagues and a half.

M. Rollin⁹ reckons twenty stadia to a league; and consequently assigns to this lake twenty-one leagues of circumference, which exceeds all probability, and he felt that it did so: but he was doubtless not aware that there were stadia of different lengths.

[The learned and ingenious men who have at various times persuaded themselves that the Greeks used stadia of different lengths, seem to have all started from the principle that Greek writers never err, and, consequently, that when they assign different measures to the same object, their disagreement can only be ascribed to their using different standards of measure. The merely arbitrary nature of such an hypothesis, however, is manifest from the difficulty of setting limits to its

⁴ See the narrative of Rauwolff, in Ray's Travels, vol. II; Balbi, Viaggio dell' Indie Orientali, and the travels of Newberie, Fitch, Sir J. Shirley, &c. in Hacluyt's Collection.

⁵ Ray's Travels, II. p. 91.

⁶ Papers relative to the Euphrates

Expedition, 1837.

⁷ Report on Steam Navigation to India, 1834, p. 18.

⁸ Supplément à la Philosophie de l'Histoire, p. 168 of the first edition; and pp. 285, 286 of the second.

⁹ Histoire Ancienne, tom. I. p. 337.

application. While some, as D'Anville, have satisfied themselves with four kinds of stadia, others have imagined eight or nine. There is, however, no solid ground for believing that the Greeks ever used any other stadium than that of 600 Greek feet, which are equal to 606·875 English feet¹. The circumference of the lake, therefore, must have been forty-eight miles and 700 yards, a great length certainly; yet less than the circumference of the city-walls, which we are told were 360 feet high, or as high as St. Paul's. Where all is so wonderful, we have no right to object to a single particular because it exceeds the bounds of probability.]

303. Ἐκ τε τῶν πλόων ἐκδέκεται περίοδος τῆς λίμνης μακρή. *After the channels (of the river) succeeds the great circuit of the lake.* This passage was explained to me by M. Toup, one of the cleverest critics that Europe ever produced, in the following manner: "The word σκολιῶν appears to have been omitted in the passage of which you speak. We should read Ἐκ τε τῶν πλόων σκολιῶν ἐκδέκεται περίοδος τῆς λίμνης. The historian means to say that after having passed the 'anfractus,' or windings of the river, you entered the lake. He had just before called these windings οἱ πλόοι σκολιοί."

This explanation is the very same that I as well as Wesseling had rejected; but after mature reflection I have determined on adopting it. The lake appears to me destined not only to receive the superflux of the river, but also to retard, or perhaps intercept, the navigation of it, in case the country should be attacked. 1. This lake must have been below the sinuosities of the river. 2. There must have been, at the upper end of the lake, a canal to conduct the waters of the river into the lake. 3. There must have been another canal at the lower end of the lake, to facilitate the communication of its waters with those of the river. On each of these canals, there were, in all probability, flood-gates; and the sinuosities of the river, by retarding its navigation by an enemy, afforded time for measures of precaution. They could throw into the lake the waters of the river, which thus was rendered unnavigable. The enemy, therefore, would be obliged to enter this lake and to quit it by the canal at the other extremity, which would still further retard their progress; and the more so, as it would afford an opportunity of fortifying the entrance of the canal.

CLXXXVI. 304. Ἀνοικοδόμησε πλίνθοισι ὀπτῇσι. *She built up (the banks of the river) with baked bricks.* Ἀνοικοδομεῖν also signifies 'to block up a passage with masonry,' but certainly not in this case, as we gather from § cxcī. that there was a passage through the gates. It is taken in this latter sense, in the harangue of Lycurgus against Leocrates², τὴν θύραν ἀνοικοδομήσαντες, 'having bricked up the door.'

¹ W. M. Leake on the Stade, in the *contra Midiam, altera Lycurgi contra Journ. R. G. Soc. vol. IX. p. 2.* Leocratem. *Cantabrigiæ, in 8vo, p. 242.*

² *Orationes duæ, una Demosthenis*

It is, therefore, unnecessary to make any change, as the late Mr. Taylor wished to do³.

305. Οἰκοδόμει γέφυραν. *She built a bridge.* Diodorus Siculus⁴ says that this bridge was five stadia long. But as Strabo⁵ affirms that the Euphrates was but one stadium wide, Rollin⁶ concludes that the bridge could not be five stadia long. It may be, however, that the Euphrates was usually but one stadium wide; but at the times of very high tides, it would certainly be wider. The length of the bridge, no doubt, corresponded with the width of the river at the time of an overflow; a circumstance which has escaped Rollin. The Mançanarez, which washes one of the extremities of Madrid, is but a brook; but as, when the waters are high, it overflows and inundates the adjacent country, Philip II. built a bridge over it, which is 1100 paces long. Computing the stadium at fifty-one toises, we shall have 255 toises for this bridge over the Euphrates. Westminster-bridge is 205 toises, though little more than seven wide; the Pont-Neuf is 144. The bridge of Babylon, however, must have been very inferior to the latter. It consisted only of huge stone pillars, at equal distances from each other, without arches; for it appears that planks of wood were laid down from one pillar to another for the purpose of crossing. [The stadium being assumed to be equal to 606·8 English feet, the bridge of Babylon must have been 3034 feet in length.]

CLXXXVII. 306. Ἦν σπανίση χρημάτων. *If he shall happen to want money.* The verb σπανίζω is much used by the Attic writers in the sense of ἀπορέω, 'indigeo.' A thousand examples are to be found, both in the poets and the prose writers. I cite only the following from Aristophanes⁷:

Ἄλλ' εἰ σπανίζεις, τ' ἀργυρίου μοι τὸν τόκον
ἀπόδος γε.

"If you fail in, that is, if you cannot pay the principal, pay at least the interest."

307. Οὐ γὰρ ἄμεινον. *For it is not right.* Literally, it is not the better course. This expression is a denunciatory formula much in use amongst the ancients, by which they intimated, that the gods would avenge such or such an outrage. They said also, in like cases, τῷ Θεῷ μελήσει⁸, 'Deo curæ erit,' or God will see to it.

CLXXXVIII. 308. Τοῦ μόνου πίνει βασιλεὺς καὶ ἄλλου οὐδενὸς ποταμοῦ. *Of which river (the Choaspes) and no other, the king drinks.* Eustathius remarks this in his Commentaries⁹ on Dionysius Periegetes,

³ Orationes duæ, &c. p. 341.

⁴ Diod. Sic. II. viii. vol. I. p. 121.

⁵ Strabo, XVI. p. 1073, A.

⁶ Histoire Ancienne, vol. I. p. 336,

note.

⁷ Aristoph. Nubes, 1285.

⁸ Xen. Anab. V. iii. xiii. p. 272.

⁹ Dionys. Perieg. 1073. p. 184.

and on the *Odyssey* of Homer¹, as do Athenæus² and several other writers.

Strabo names the Eulæus³ instead of the Choaspes; and he is right, because they are the same: but he erred a little before, in making a distinction between them⁴. Dionysius Periegetes⁵ is mistaken in deriving this river from India, ἔλκων Ἰνδὸν ὕδωρ. It is evident that he confounds it with the Choes (the modern Koorrum), which flows into the Sind or Indus.

[Major Rawlinson has the merit of clearing up the geographical difficulties respecting the rivers Choaspes and Eulæus. He has shown that the Eulæus was the river now called the Kuran (the Karún of Kinneir and others), which flows from the country of the Dinarún into Khuzistan, and joins the Tigris not far above the mouth of the latter river. The Choaspes is the modern Kerkhah (the Kerah or Kara Sú of most maps), which descends from Zagros and enters the Tigris a little below Korna⁶. The former of these rivers (the Eulæus) flowed by the walls of Susán; the latter (the Choaspes) watered Sús: and these two cities being confounded together, their rivers were also involved in the confusion. Both rivers are now renowned for the excellence of their waters; they are considered as far surpassing, in this respect, all other streams or springs in the world⁷.]

CLXXXIX. 309. Ἐπὶ Γύνδῃ ποταμῷ. *To the banks of the Gyndes.* [Rennell and Larcher agree in supposing the Gyndes to be the Mendeli of the modern Persians, which river descends from the frontiers of Kurdistan, and is lost in the plains midway between Kermanshah and Bagdad.]

310. Συμψήσας. *Sweeping him off.* Stephens appears to me to have correctly translated this word in his *Thesaurus*, where he says: ‘fluvius aliquem vel aliquid συμψᾶν dicitur, cum ipsum absorbens ex conspectu hominum subducit: ita ut non magis appareat quàm aliquod ἐκμαγεῖον ἐν ψάμμῳ συμψηθείσῃ καὶ συγχυθείσῃ,’ “so that it appears no more than a foot-print on the sand, after it has been smoothed and effaced.”

311. Κάρτα τε δὴ ἐχαλέπαινε τῷ ποταμῷ ὁ Κῦρος τοῦτο ὑβρίσαντι. *Cyrus was very indignant at this insult offered him by the river.* I think this portrait of Cyrus is somewhat overcharged. The hatred entertained by the Greeks against the Persians, after the invasion of their country by the latter, is well known. I am of opinion, that Cyrus was more reasonable than to cut off the course of the Gyndes from such a motive. But the accident which had occurred to the sacred horse, made him fear a

¹ Eustath. in *Odyss.* IV. p. 1499. lin. 62.

² Athen. *Deipnos.* II. vi. p. 45, B.

³ Strabo, XV. sub finem, p. 1068, c.

⁴ Id. XV. p. 1059, c.

⁵ Dionys. *Perieg.* 1074.

⁶ Major Rawlinson on *Susiana*, in the *Journ. R. G. Soc.* vol. IX. p. 89.

⁷ Compare Von Hammer, in the *Recueil de Mémoires*, &c. publiées par la Soc. Géogr. de Paris, tom. II. p. 337.

like fate for his army, and induced him to divide the river into so many branches, for the purpose of rendering it fordable.

It is impossible for any man, however judicious he may be, wholly to guard against the national prejudices, which he has imbibed, if I may use the term, with his mother's milk, and which have become confirmed by education, by all he has seen and all he has heard. We cannot, therefore, be surprised to find Herodotus applying to Cyrus the same language as the rest of the Greeks. But what shall we say of Seneca, a Roman by birth and a philosopher by profession, when we find him, without investigation, adopting the account of our historian? 'Hic⁸ (Cambyzes) iratus fuit genti et ignotæ et immeritæ, sensuræ tamen: Cyrus flumini.' He then proceeds to relate the story of the Gyndes being cut into 360 canals.

312. Παρ' ἐκάτερον τὸ χεῖλος. *On each side of the river.* In all the editions that I have seen, a comma placed after ἐκατὸν changes the sense of the phrase, which then signifies that Cyrus cut in the whole only 180 canals; but as Herodotus enumerates 360 a few lines lower down, as he does also in ccii. and in V. lii. it is clear that we must omit the comma in this place.

CXCI. 313. Ἀπήλαυνε αὐτὸς σὺν τῷ ἀχρητίῳ τοῦ στρατοῦ. *He marched away with the useless part of his army.* I think he means by this, those troops who were the least warlike, the worst trained, the least effective. He uses the same term in cci. λειφθέντος δὲ τοῦ ἀχρητίου, 'having left in the camp the useless troops;' and explains it, ccvii. 'the worst part of the army,' τῆς στρατιῆς τὸ φλαυρότατον. It may be, however, that they were the suttlers, the slaves, and all such individuals as were not calculated to bear arms. I am led to this conclusion by the following passage of Xenophon⁹: Τὸν ἀγοραῖον ὄχλον ἰδόντες καὶ τὸν τῶν θεραπόντων, καὶ τὸν τῶν ἀνδραπόδων, οἰηθέντες ὄφελός τι αὐτῶν εἶναι, ἀπεστρέφοντο. "Having imagined that the suttlers, the servants and slaves whom they saw in the camp, were good troops, (good for something,) they retired."

The following passage of Appian, in my opinion, does away with the difficulty. This historian relates, that the Petilians besieged by Hanno, and pressed by hunger, drove from their city all those who were unfit for fighting¹, τοὺς ἀχρεῖους σφῶν ἐς μάχας ἐξέβαλον. We see, by this passage, that in Herodotus we must supply ἐς μάχας. We say, in like manner, useless mouths.

314. Ἔλαβον ἂν σφεας ὥς ἐν κύρτῃ. *They (the Babylonians) might have taken them (the Persians) as if in a trap-net.* Julius Pollux² gives to the word κύρτῃ the signification of 'cage,' and he even cites

⁸ Seneca de Irâ, III. xxi. vol. I. p. 128.

⁹ Xen. Hellen. VI. ii. xii. v. 373.

¹ Appian, Bell. Annibal. p. 571.

² Jul. Pollux, Onomast. X. xxxvi. clx. vol. II. p. 1346.

Herodotus. Hesychius gives the same interpretation ; but as this last author explains κυρτεὺς by ἀλιεὺς, 'fisherman,' it follows that κύρτη may very well signify a net.

315. Τυχεῖν γάρ σφι ἐοῦσαν ὁρτήν. *For it happened to be a day of festival with them.* Xenophon³ relates the same circumstance as Herodotus, and both writers agree entirely with Scripture. Mr. Rollin has applied himself to show this conformity of sacred with profane history ; on which point his work may be consulted⁴.

CXCII. 316. Ἡ δὲ ἀρτάβη, μέτρον ἐὸν Περσικόν, χωρέει μεδίμνου Ἀττικῆς πλεῖον χοίνιξι τρισὶ Ἀττικῇσι. *The Artaba, a Persian measure, contains three Attic chœnices more than the Attic medimnus.* The Attic medimnus contained twenty-four Attic chœnices, or ninety-six septiers, (which is a measure of twelve bushels,) the chœnix four septiers, the septier two cotylæ ; thus the artaba comprised twenty-seven chœnices, or 108 septiers (equal to 1296 bushels).

[This note, though wrong in every essential particular, has been retained here in order to exhibit the process by which errors accumulate. The Attic medimnus contained not twenty-four but forty-eight chœnices, equal to ninety-six ξέσται or Roman sextarii. The sextarius is called a *septier* by Larcher, although the Roman sextarius was in reality less than a twelfth of the old French septier. But the English translator, starting from this error, adds parenthetically, that the septier is a measure of twelve bushels, whereas the fact is, that the *boisseau*, which is the twelfth of a septier, is not above the fifty-eighth part of an English bushel. The medimnus or forty-eight chœnices equalled a bushel and two-fifths ; the artaba, or fifty-one chœnices, therefore, differed only by a very small fraction from a bushel and a half.

The daily income of the governor of Babylon, or the artaba full of silver, could not have been much less than £4750, amounting to £1,710,000 a year,—a very large but not incredible sum. But the calculation which makes the artaba contain 1296 bushels, would give the governor a daily revenue of four millions sterling !]

317. Κυνῶν δὲ Ἰνδικῶν. *Indian dogs.* The Indian dogs were very celebrated. The ancients, for the most part, believed them to be engendered from a bitch by a tiger⁵. The Indians affirm, says Pliny⁶, (after Aristotle,) that the bitches conceive by tigers, and for this reason they tie them up in the forests whilst they are at heat. They consider the first and second generations as very ferocious, but the third they bring up.

I should rather incline to think that the tiger would devour the

³ Xen. Cyropæd. VII. v. vii. &c. p. 920, B. Ælian, Hist. Anim. VIII. 1. p. 436, &c. p. 445.

⁴ Histoire Ancienne, tom. I. p. 444.

⁶ Plin. Hist. Nat. VIII. xl. vol. I.

⁵ Aristot. Hist. Anim. VIII. xxviii. p. 464.

bitch; and Aristotle remarks⁷, that he does so, unless he be under great excitement of passion. [This union of different genera is obviously fabulous. On the frontiers of India and in Afghanistan are many fine breeds of dogs; among others, the greyhound.]

CXCIII. 318. Οὐ κατάπερ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. *Not as in Egypt.* The Euphrates overflows, but its inundations do not, like those of the Nile, produce fertility. 'Limum autem⁸ non invehunt Euphrates Tigrisque, sicut in Ægypto Nilus.' And for this reason, Queen Nitocris had dug a lake of vast extent, to prevent the mischief that might be occasioned by its overflow. The machine used to spread the waters over the face of the country was the κηλῶνειον, called in Latin 'tolleno;' and is, I believe, the same kind of bucket still used in some provinces of France to raise the water from the wells, and pour it into the immense troughs where the cattle are watered.

319. Ὡστε ἐπὶ διηκόσια μὲν τὸ παράπαν ἀποδίδοι. *So as to yield on an average two hundred fold.* Herodotus here asserts, that the soil of Babylonia produces two hundred for one, and, in an abundant year, three hundred. Strabo remarks⁹, that no country produces so much barley, which bears three hundred for one. A bushel of grain sown by M. Duhamel, in land of indifferent quality, produced eighty bushels. We know that a grain of corn will sometimes produce eighty ears, which is much more than three hundred for one. What ground then was there to blame Herodotus for advancing a fact¹ which we find verified in regard to land far inferior to that of Babylonia? Herodotus was certainly neither a Jussieu nor a Linnæus; but a very slight degree of observation might satisfy him of that fact, and he had been in the country.

In Babylonia, says Pliny², they cut down the stalk of the corn twice, and afterwards turn the cattle into it, or it would otherwise produce straw or grass only. The least fertile spots produce fifty for one, and a hundred for one if well attended. No great degree of care is necessary, the principal point being to keep the ground well watered. M. Niebuhr asserts that in some provinces of Arabia the durra yields fifty for one³; and that several persons assured him, that in the mountains it produces a hundred and fifty, or two hundred, and in Tehama even four hundred; that in this latter country the durra, after being cut, shoots out again, ripens, produces a second, and sometimes a third harvest.

Dr. Shaw affirms⁴, that "some grains of corn which he brought from Murwaany in Barbary having been sown at Oxford, produced as much

⁷ Aristot. loco superius laudato.

⁸ Plin. Hist. Nat. XVIII. xvii. vol. II. p. 122. lin. 11.

⁹ Strabo, XVI. p. 1077, D.

¹ Questions sur l'Encyclopédie, 4me

partie, p. 313.

² Plin. loco superius laudato, p. 122.

³ Description de l'Arabie, par M. Niebuhr, p. 135.

⁴ Shaw's Travels in Barbary, I. p. 220.

as fifty stalks. Muzer Atty, the last caliph of the West, brought to Algiers, whilst Dr. Shaw was there, a plant which had eighty stalks, and affirmed, that on the occasion of a contest on the subject of the comparative fertility of Egypt and Barbary, the Emir Hadgi had sent to the Pacha of Cairo a plant which had produced one hundred and twenty. These stalks have sometimes two ears each, and each of these ears frequently encloses others, which occasions a vast produce."

320. *Σησάμουν. And of sesamum.* Sesamum is the same grain which we (the French) call jugeoline or jugioline [from the Italian Gergelino]. It is a herb or plant that comes from a grain. Its stalk resembles that of millet, but it is taller and thicker; the leaves are red, the blossom of a grass green; the grain is enclosed in small capsules, like the poppy. It exhausts and impoverishes the earth, because its roots are very fibrous and spreading, more so than those of millet. This grain comes from India⁵. A viscous oil is drawn from it, which is proper both for burning and for food. Dioscorides says⁶ that the Egyptians use this oil. [The oil of sesamum is refined in some parts of India so as to resemble the finest nut oil. The sesamum is produced in great abundance on the east coast of Africa. Some rivers, as the Mapúta in Dalagôa Bay (Mapúta means oil), are named from it.]

321. *Τοὺς συκέων τρόπον θεραπεύουσι. Which they cultivate in the same manner as fig-trees.* Herodotus having observed a little before that fig-trees did not grow in Babylonia, it is evident that we must not understand, 'the same manner in which the Babylonians cultivate fig-trees;' but 'the same as we (the Greeks) cultivate them.' I am not sure that Valckenaer's correction of Zenobius⁷ where this author speaks of the process of caprification is worthy of adoption, ἐνδυνόμενον εἰς τοὺς σφῆνας τὸ θηρίδιον στερεοῖ τούτους καὶ πεπαίνει: he corrects εἰς τοὺς ὀλύνθους, which appears to me too great a variation. I read, with a much slighter alteration, εἰς τοὺς φήληκας, with the author of the Etymologicum Magnum, under the word Ἀνηρίναστος.

322. *Ψῆνας γὰρ δὴ φορέουσι ἐν τῷ καρπῷ οἱ ἔρσενες, κατάπερ δὴ οἱ ὀλυνθοί. The male palm-trees, like the wild-figs, bear in their fruit the fly called Psen.* Theophrastus says the contrary; and the learned Salmasius⁸, relying on his testimony, asserts, that the flowers alone of the male palm-tree produce on the fruit of the female, the same effect that the fly of the wild-fig produces on the cultivated fig-tree, that is, they cause the fruit to ripen, and prevent its falling. These writers are both mistaken.

There is no need of art⁹ to ripen the date in Arabia; where whole forests of palm-trees are seen to yield very good fruit. Prosperus Alpinus attributed it to a dust or farina, which, being blown by the

⁵ Plin. XVIII. x. tom. II. p. 111.

⁶ Diosc. II. cxxi.

⁷ Zenobii Prov. cent. ii. 23. p. 33.

⁸ Salmasius in Polini Polyhist. p. 938. col. 2, A, B.

⁹ Pontedera, Anthologia, sive de floris Naturâ, Patavii, 1720, 4to. This is extracted from chap. xxxi. and xxxii. of the 2nd bk.

wind from the summit of the male palm-tree to the flowers of the female, not only fecundates them, but also ripens the fruit already formed. But why then does not the dust of the male palm-tree produce the same effect in Egypt, and in many other parts of the East? It is much more probable that it is occasioned by the soil, which in Arabia contains a species of moisture more favourable to the palm-tree. What the soil of Egypt cannot effect on the palm-tree, is accomplished by art. As this tree is of the first utility, the cultivators have been fain to discover, in all the countries of the East, every means of preventing the fruit from falling. And whether it was discovered by chance, or by a course of assiduous observation, that the insertion of a blossoming branch of the barren palm-tree into the core of the fruit prevents it from falling, this method has been for ages practised in Egypt with complete success. The juice collected in its proper vessels being either thicker than it ought to be, or composed of certain elements hostile to the growth and maturity of the fruit, all the exterior part round the core is torn off, when the blossoming branch of the barren palm is inserted¹; by this means, the coarser juices are carried off; the embryo is better exposed to the air and the sun, and thus arrives at maturity.

The same end is attained in the environs of Babylon, by means of a fly which introduces itself into the female fruit; this fly, by piercing the core, occasions the useless juices to evaporate, the air and the sun more easily penetrate, attenuate the juices of the utriculus, and perfect them; and thus the fruit remains on the tree and ripens.

In Arabia, the soil being less rich, and the moisture less thick and viscous, nature itself accomplishes the maturity of the fruit; but in Egypt and at Babylon, the earth being rich, recourse must be had to art to dilute the too glutinous juices which are conveyed into the palm-tree.

It is thus that Pontedera, who professed botany with some distinction at Padua, explains the above passage of Herodotus. The reader may also consult the 35th chapter of the 2nd book of his *Anthologia*, in which he satisfactorily proves that the caprification of the palm and of the fig-tree is not necessary on account of the nature of those trees, but of the soil in which they grow.

Notwithstanding what I have just said, I am aware that the authority of Theophrastus will with some persons have greater weight than that of Herodotus; but if we remark that the one describes only from report, and the other from ocular examination, I think we shall be inclined to prefer the testimony of the historian to that of the naturalist; the account of the former being moreover corroborated by the opinion of Pontedera, one of the most skilful botanists in Europe.

The term ψήνας 'flies' is a very general appellative. Herodotus

¹ Theophrastus makes the same observation: 'They give (the insects) a free access to the exterior air.' Τῶ ἐξωθεν

ἀέρι δίδον διδόασι. — De Causis Plantar. II. fol. 147. lin. 12.

meant some particular species; and had he given us a description of the insect, we should be better able to judge of it. All those who have written on this kind of caprification (if I may use the term) of the palm-tree, have given us little information as to the insect. Hesychius and Julius Pollux were so far deceived, as to take it for the fruit of the palm itself.

Is it the same insect which ripens the figs in Greece? Aristotle and Theophrastus give it the same name; yet we cannot safely conclude that it is so, destitute as we are of any correct information.

But even did we know beyond a doubt that the insect of the palm-tree was the same as that of the fig-tree, we should still be as little acquainted with the insect itself. This is what Aristotle says of it²: "In the figs which grow on wild fig-trees is found an insect called 'psen;' at first it is but a worm, which, afterwards breaking through its skin, takes to flight; when it has quitted its chrysalis form, it insinuates itself into the fig, by the eye, which it pierces, and prevents the fruit from falling."

Theophrastus gives us no more particular information. "The flies³ (psenes) come out, as has been said⁴, of the wild-fig; they breed in the little grains of the fig; and the proof of this is, that when the insects have left it, there are no grains in the fig. Most of these flies, in quitting the fig, leave a wing or a foot behind them. There is another species of them, called 'centrines'⁵; these are lazy like drones, and kill the others when they enter the figs; but in killing them, they lose their own lives."

The author of the *Etymologicum Magnum* says⁶ that this fly resembles a sort of gnat, which is called 'empis.' Pliny contents himself with copying Theophrastus in this, as in every other point⁷. M. de Tournefort, who in Greece observed the caprification, has confined himself to detailing that operation, without describing the insect.

M. Pontedera remarked in Italy a peculiar species of fly on the wild fig-tree; but could scarcely venture to affirm that it was the same by which the operation is performed in Greece. I shall give his description of the insect, which may be compared by any curious traveller with that which is found on the fig-tree in Greece.

"These insects⁸ in shape approach very nearly to the little fly of the vine; but they are black, and somewhat larger: the head is smaller in proportion to the body than that of the common fly, of a black colour slightly tinged with yellow, having two articulated antennæ, black and very long. The mouth is like that of the wasp, without a trunk; the head is attached to the body by a very slender neck, as in the wasp.

² Arist. Hist. Anim. V. xxxii. p. 857, D. and thus Pliny calls them.

³ Theophr. Hist. Plant. II. fol. 23. in *aversâ parte*, lin. 23.

⁴ Id. *ibid.* lin. 11; but he here calls the flies Σήτις.

⁵ I read κεντρινάς instead of κεντινάς,

⁶ Etymol. Magn. voc. Ἀνηρίναστρος.

⁷ Plin. Hist. Nat. XVII. xxvii. vol. II. p. 89. lin. 26.

⁸ Pontedera, Anthologia, II. xxxiv. pp. 174, 175.

The back is of a brilliant black, having on each side two wings, the larger pair of which are narrow at their origin and wider towards the extremity: the insect keeps them extended when either walking or standing still; the smaller pair originate a little further back than the larger, and cover the lower part of the back. They have, under the stomach, six feet composed of several articulations, longer than those of flies. Immediately behind these, the thorax is much compressed; from this part the trunk gradually widens, and again diminishes towards the extremity, from which in females the tube of the uterus issues. The belly is composed of several rings, similar to that of the wasp: and indeed, both in appearance and in the mode of their birth and nourishment, these insects appear to me greatly to resemble the wasp. As soon as the eye of the fig opens, the females insert the tube of the uterus, and deposit their eggs in the grains. From these proceed a maggot, which shortly becomes a chrysalis, in which state it is hard and motionless, of an oblong form, having the head and the back yellow, and the rest of the body at first white, which afterwards becomes black. After having transpierced its nest, the insect comes forth. Its wings are not yet developed; it again changes its skin commencing at the head, and now appears white, but on drying becomes black; it turns from one side to the other while getting rid of its skin; and as it is moist, it becomes covered with the farina, of which the interior of the fig is full. After it has issued from the fig, and has dried itself in the sun, it frees itself from the dust in the following manner. Supporting itself with the four anterior legs, it cleans the abdomen, the lower part of the back and the wings, by repeatedly rubbing them with its feet; then balancing itself on the four hind-legs, it in like manner cleans its head, back, and antennæ."

[The fly in question is a cynips or one of the genus which by penetrating and breeding within plants, produces on them what are called *gall-apples*. Hasselquist⁹ observed it in the Levant, and has described it under the name of *Cynips Ficûs*. He seems to think that it does the fruit more harm than good. Linnæus¹ also has described this fly, entitling it, from its ancient appellative, *Cynips Psen*.]

The process of ripening figs is called caprification, from the caprificus or wild fig-tree, the produce of which are called ὄλυνθοι. Pliny, copying Theophrastus, has well described it². 'Caprificus vocatur è silvestri genere ficus nunquàm maturescens, sed quod ipsa non habet, aliis tribuens: quoniam est naturalis causarum transitus, atque è putrescentibus identidem generatur aliquid. Ergo culices parit: hi fraudati alimento in matre, putri ejus tabe, ad cognatam volant; morsuque ficorum crebro, hoc est, avidiore pastu aperientes ora earum, atque ita penetrantes, intùs solem primo secum inducunt, cerealesque auras

⁹ Travels in the Holy Land, p. 424.

¹ Linn. Amœn. Acad. I. p. 41.

² Plin. Hist. Nat. XV. xix. vol. I. p. 747. lin. 2.

immittunt foribus adapertis. Mox lacteum humorem, hoc est, infantiam pomi, absumunt: quod fit et sponte. Ideòque ficetis caprificus præmittitur ad rationem venti, ut flatus evolantes in ficus ferat. Indè repertum, ut illatæ quoque aliunde, et inter se colligatæ injicerentur fico: quod in macro solo et aquilonio non desideratur: quoniam sponte arescunt loci situ, rimisque eadem, quæ culicum opera, causa perficit, (necnon ubi multus pulvis: quod evenit maximè frequenti via appositæ; namque et pulveri vis siccandi, succumque lactis absorbendi): quæ ratio, pulvere et caprificatione hoc quoque præstat, ne decidunt, absumpto humore tenero, et cum quadam fragilitate ponderoso.'

As the operation of caprification is very little known, the reader will perhaps not be displeased to find here M. Tournefort's description of it, which enters into more minute detail than that of Pliny.

"In the greater part of the islands of the Archipelago," says he³, "two sorts of fig-trees are cultivated; the first of which is called 'ornos,' from the literal Greek 'erineos,' the wild fig-tree, or 'caprificus' of the Latins; the second is the domestic, cultivated, or garden fig-tree. The wild fig-tree bears three distinct sorts of fruit, called 'fornites,' 'cratitires,' and 'orni,' absolutely necessary to make the domestic fig ripen.

"The 'fornites' appear in the month of August, and remain till November, without ripening; a small worm breeds in them, which changes to a kind of fly, and may be observed swarming about those trees. In the months of October and November, these flies pierce the second fruit of the very same fig-trees, which is called 'cratitires,' and appears not till the month of September. Shortly after the flies have left them, the 'fornites' fall. The 'cratitires' remain on the tree till the month of May, and enclose the eggs which the flies of the 'fornites' have deposited there. In the month of May, the third kind of fruit begins to appear on the same trees that have produced the two others. This fruit is much larger, and is called 'orni;' when it has attained a certain age, and its eye begins to open, it is pierced by the flies of the 'cratitires,' which have the power of passing from one fruit to the other to deposit their eggs.

"It sometimes happens, that in certain places the flies of the 'cratitires' are slow in coming forth, while the 'orni' in the same places are ready to receive them. In this case, the cultivators are obliged to fetch the 'cratitires' from some other place, and tie them to the ends of the branches of those trees whose 'orni' are fit to receive them. If they fail in doing this, the 'orni' fall, and the flies of the 'cratitires' fly away. None but those peasants who devote themselves to the culture of the fig-tree know the particular time at which this must be done; and these carefully observe the eye of the fruit; and they not only note the time when the flies ought to come forth, but also when the fig

³ Tournefort, Voyage du Levant, Lettre VIII. p. 338.

may be pierced with the best prospect of success. If the eye of the fruit be too hard and close, the fly cannot deposit its eggs; and if the eye is suffered to remain too long open, the fig falls.

“Neither of these three kinds of fruit is good to eat; they serve only to assist the ripening of the domestic fig-tree. And this is the mode in which that purpose is accomplished. During the months of June and July, at the time when the flies are ready to quit the ‘orni,’ the peasants gather that fruit and place it on the domestic fig-tree; if the favourable time for this transposition is missed, the ‘orni’ fall, the domestic fig does not ripen, but shortly afterwards falls likewise. The peasants employed in this business know so well the time, that in making their daily review they move only such of the ‘orni’ as are in the fittest condition, or they would otherwise lose their crop. It is true, that they have still another, though not a very sure resource. It is to scatter upon the domestic fig-trees some springs of the ascolimbros⁴ (a plant very common in those islands), in the fruit of which are found flies fit for the purpose of piercing the fig, and which are perhaps some stray flies from the ‘orni,’ which have lighted on that plant. The peasants, however, usually manage the ‘orni’ so well, that their flies cause the domestic fig to ripen in about forty days.”

[The artifices of caprification are still employed in Egypt⁵, but no good argument in favour of that practice can be derived from an adherence to routine. Pontedera’s explanations, though well suited to the physiological notions of his age, will not be thought admissible by any naturalist of the present day. The flies may fecundate the flowers of the female palm by carrying to them the pollen of the male plant; but that office being performed, it can hardly be believed that they can hasten the maturation of the fruit or otherwise improve it by wounding or preying on it. The utility of caprification is denied by a very competent witness, M. Olivier⁶, well known for his travels in the east. He affirms that in some of the Greek islands caprification has fallen into disuse, its inutility being now fully recognised; that in some parts of the Levant it has never been practised, the fig-trees bearing perfectly well without such assistance; that there are some male flowers on every fig-tree; and, finally, that the figs ripen and are well flavoured even when not fecundated.]

CXCIV. 323. Τὰ πλοῖα αὐτοῖσι ἐστι, ἑόντα κυκλοτερέα, πάντα σκύτινα. *They have boats of circular form, all of skin.* Most nations anciently used boats of osier or willow covered with skins. ‘Timæus’⁷ historicus à Britannia introrsus sex dierum navigatione abesse dicit

⁴ This is the modern name of the plant which the ancient Greeks called Σκόλυμος. It is the Scolymus Chrysanthemus of Botanists.

Nachtr. p. 87.

⁶ Nouv. Dict. d’Hist. Nat. under the head Caprification.

⁷ Plin. Hist. Nat. IV. xvi. vol. I. p. 223. lin. 9.

⁵ Von Minutoli, Reise zu Siwah.

insulam Mictim, in qua candidum plumbum proveniat: ad eam Britannos vitilibus navigiis corio circumsutis navigare.'

Primum cana salix, madefacto vimine, parvam
Texitur in puppim; cæsoque inducta juvenco,
Vectoris patiens, tumidum superenatat amnem.
Sic Venetus stagnante Pado, fusoque Britannus
Navigat Oceano: sic cum tenet omnia Nilus,
Conseritur bibula Memphitis cymba papyro⁸.

But I do not find that these boats were round, like those of the Armenians.

324. Βίκους φοινικητίους κατάγουσι οίνου πλέους. *They bring down palm kegs of wine.* I read with Valla φοινικητίου οίνου. A thousand authors, and Herodotus himself, speak of the wine of the palm; but I find mention no where of casks made of palm wood. Wesseling is of the same opinion. [Yet all the MSS. have φοινικητίους; and besides, why should palm wine, the produce of the Babylonian plains, as our historian himself states (cxiii), be carried down the river from Armenia, the country of the vine?]

CXCV. 325. Ὑποδήματα ἐπιχώρια, παραπλήσια τῇσι Βοιωτίῃσι ἐμβάσι. *The shoes of the country, resembling the Bœotian slippers.* The foot-covering⁹ of the Bœotians was of wood, and was a species of 'cothurnus;' these shoes or sandals were called τὰ κρουπέζια, which procured their wearers the name of 'croupezophoroi.' M. Goguet asserts, on the contrary¹, that the foot-covering of the Babylonians consisted of a simple sole, very thin and delicate. He relies on a passage of Strabo, in which that author, speaking of the foot-covering of this people, calls it ὑπόδημα ἐμβάδι ὅμοιον. It is clear that M. Goguet had no acquaintance with the 'embas.' If he had consulted Julius Pollux, he would have learned that it resembled a small cothurnus: Τὴν ἰδέαν κοθόρνοις ταπεινοῖς ἔοικε.

[Larcher seems here to assume that the κρουπέζια and the ἐμβὰς were one and the same thing. The latter was worn by women alone and is described by Dicæarchus² in terms which favour the opinion of M. Goguet.]

326. Κομῶντες. *Wearing their hair long.* It is not very material whether the Babylonians wore long or short hair; but it is singular that Strabo³ should formally contradict Herodotus on that point, though in every other particular he copies him.

327. Ἡ αἰετός. *Or an eagle.* The kings in Greece had on the top

⁸ Lucani Pharsal. IV. 131.

⁹ Jul. Pollux, VII. xxii. § 85—87. p. 749.

¹ De l'Origine des Loix, tom. III.

p. 185.

² Creuzer, Meletem. III. p. 190.

³ Strabo, XVI. p. 1082, A.

of their staff or sceptre the figure of a bird, and frequently of an eagle:

Ἐπὶ τῶν σκήπτρων ἐκάθητ' ὄρνις, μετέχων ὃ τι δωροδοκοίη⁴.

"Sceptre-perched, a bird shared every gift."

The kings of Asia also observed this custom, as may be inferred from a verse in the same play of Aristophanes⁵. When Priam was introduced in tragedy, a bird was always seen on the top of his sceptre; the eagle always reposed on the sceptre of Jupiter, as is remarked by the same Aristophanes⁶, who in this particular agrees with all the other authors, Pindar included⁷.

Εὖ-

δει δ' ἀνὰ σκάπτῳ Διὸς αἰετὸς, ὠ-
κεῖαν πτέρυγ' ἀμφοτέρω-
θεν χαλάξαις,

Ἄρχος οἰωνῶν.

"The eagle, the king of the birds, folds his swift wings and sleeps upon the sceptre of Jupiter."

[The Babylonian costume, as described by Herodotus, is perfectly represented in some of the paintings in the tombs and temples of Egypt. The imputation of luxury easily fixed on a well-clad nation. According to the prophet Ezekiel (xxiii. 15), the Babylonians were 'all of them princes to look at.']

CXCVI. 328. Κήρυξ πωλέεσκε. *A public crier proceeded to sell them.* Herodotus omits one circumstance, which appears to me important, as showing with how much decorum these sales were conducted. They were carried on under the inspection of the magistrates, and the tribunal which took cognizance of adultery⁸ also took charge of the marriages of the young women. Three men respected for their virtue, and the heads of their tribes, conducted the marriageable girls to the assembly, and sold them by the voice of the public crier.

329. Ὁ μὲν νυν κάλλιστος νόμος, οὗτός σφι ἦν· οὐ μέντοι νῦν γε διετέλεσε ἔων. *This most excellent law was theirs, but it is now no longer in existence.* Strabo⁹ speaks of the same custom, but without observing that in his time it was discontinued. [The custom of selling the young women publicly being discontinued, as Herodotus relates, in consequence of the presence of foreign conquerors, who probably could not be compelled to marry those whom they purchased, it is natural to suppose that it revived when the strangers disappeared and social confidence was restored.]

CXCVII. 330. Τοὺς κάμνοντας ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν ἐκφορέουσι. *They*

⁴ Aristoph. Aves, 508.

⁵ Id. ibid. 512.

⁶ Id. ibid. 514.

⁷ Pindar, Pyth. Od. I. 10.

⁸ Strabo, XVI. p. 1081, c; et 1082, A.

⁹ Geogr. XVI. b; 1082, A.

carry the sick into the public place. Strabo¹ relates the same thing: "They expose their sick in the crossways, and inquire of the passengers if they know any remedy for the disease. No one is so ill-natured as to refuse his advice if he can be of any use." We may here perceive the first faint dawn of the medical science.

CXCIX. 331. Ὁ δὲ δὴ αἰσχιστος τῶν νόμων ἔστι τοῖσι Βαβυλωνίοισι ὁδε. *But the Babylonians have the following most shameful custom.* If this custom (the prostitution of the women on certain festivals) be hostile to morals, it is no less at variance with modern usages. But that circumstance does not constitute a reason for reproaching Herodotus as the promulgator of a falsehood. This author had been to Babylon, and had been an ocular witness of it. Jeremiah had, a century before, spoken of it. Strabo, who is as faithful an historian as he is an exact geographer, has subsequently mentioned it: and it would be rather presuming, were we, two thousand years afterwards, to insinuate a doubt as to the fact. But to proceed to some details.

I have already observed², that the temples of the ancients were not like ours. They comprised courts, groves, pieces of water, sometimes pieces of cultivated land for the support of the priests, and lastly, the temple, properly so called, into which no one but the priest could enter. The whole was enclosed by a wall, and was termed τὸ ἱερόν, 'the sacred place.' The grove was called ἄλσος; the piece of land, τέμενος; and the temple itself, ναός. It was in the open space near the temple, in the τέμενος, that the women of Babylon waited to be solicited. The priests, who did not admit men into the temple itself, doubtless would not have allowed the women there. Herodotus says, that they remained seated on the piece of ground which formed part of the enclosure consecrated to Venus, ἐν τεμένει Ἀφροδίτης. The men took out of the consecrated precinct, ἔξω τοῦ ἱεροῦ, the women who pleased them. Strabo³ expresses himself in like terms: τοῦ τεμένους ἀπαγαγὼν, 'having led her out from the piece of ground.'

This shameful practice was in all probability established amongst the Babylonians before they became a civilized people. It became afterwards a point of their religion. The magistrates, as superstitious as the rabble, would have esteemed it a crime to abolish it; and the less credulous amongst them were doubtless restrained from an expression of their opinion by the force of popular prejudice.

Jeremiah clearly enough alludes to this custom in the letter which he writes to the Jews, who were about to be led captive to Babylon⁴. 'The women also, with cords about them, sitting in the ways, burn bran for perfume: but if any of them, drawn by some that passeth by,

¹ Strabo, XVI. p. 1082, A.

² See note 292.

³ Strabo, XVI. p. 1081, C.

⁴ Baruch, VI. 42, 43.

lie with him, she reproacheth her fellow, that she was not thought as worthy as herself, nor her cord broken.'

By these women encircled with cords, we may understand those who, as Herodotus relates, sat in the alleys of the sacred precinct, enclosed with cords; or perhaps the prophet meant to say, that their heads were bound with cords, as both Strabo and Herodotus assert.

But, however this may be, I know of no historical fact that appears better established, or of which we have less reason to doubt.

Jeremiah wrote a century and a half previous to Herodotus; they inhabited countries very distant from each other; they had been brought up in different principles, and their modes of thinking and their religion were altogether opposite. Jeremiah wrote in Hebrew, and Herodotus in Greek: the latter could have no knowledge of the writings of the former; in the first place, because he did not understand the language in which they were written; in the second, if he had any knowledge whatever of the Jewish nation, a people limited in numbers and in a state of slavery was not likely to excite his curiosity; and in the third place, the letter of Jeremiah, written only for the captives, was not likely to transpire. Yet both the prophet and the historian agree in their accounts of this disgraceful custom.

To this may be added, that customs nearly similar subsisted in other cities. The married women and the girls⁵ prostituted themselves in honour of Venus, at Heliopolis in Phœnicia. Constantine abolished this practice, which had subsisted down to his time. Socrates enters into minute details of it. "I do not know," says he⁶, "what legislator the Heliopolitans had in the beginning of their policy, nor what were his morals; we may form some judgment of them however from those of the city. One of their laws ordains a community of the women, which renders the lot of children very uncertain, as it is impossible to know who are their fathers, or to whom they belong. They prostituted their daughters to the strangers who passed through their city. Constantine abolished this custom, which had subsisted from the most remote times He also destroyed the temple of Venus at Aphaca, near Lebanon, where similar disorders were committed."

332. Τὴν θεὸν Μύλιττα. *The goddess Mylitta.* Mylitta, or Mylidath, is a Chaldaic term, which Scaliger interprets by 'genitrix,' one of the epithets of Venus. Hesychius had an eye to this when he interpreted the word Μυλήταν by these words, τὴν Οὐρανίαν Ἀσσύριοι. "The Assyrians give the name of Mylitta to Venus Cœlestis." Her temple was called Succoth Benoth, the temple of Venus, or rather the tent of the girls⁷, on account of the custom that was observed there.

Sicca Veneria, about 120 miles distant from Carthage, was a Phœni-

⁵ Eusebii Vita Constantini, III. lviii. p. 48.
p. 613.

⁷ Selden, de Dis Syris, syntagm. II.

⁶ Socrat. Hist. Eccles. I. xviii. vol. II. vii. p. 234.

cian colony : and it is highly probable that the Phœnicians might have learned the worship of this divinity from the Babylonians. Not only Succoth but Siccoth were terms applied to the temple, the latter of which approaches very nearly to Sicca. Thus Sicca Veneria signified the tents of Venus. There was in that city a temple to this goddess, in which were practised the same rites as in that of Mylitta at Babylon. 'Siccæ⁸ enim fanum est Veneris in quod se matronæ conferebant, atque indè procedentes ad quæstum, dotes corporis injuriâ contrahebant, honesta nimirum tam inhonesto vinculo conjugia juncturæ.'

It was probably this temple which gave name to the town.

333. Ἐνιαχῇ δὲ τῆς Κύπρου. *In some parts of the isle of Cyprus.* Athenæus⁹ says, that the inhabitants of the isle of Cyprus devoted their daughters to the profession of courtesans. The reader may also refer to what Meursius¹ has related of the inhabitants of Amathontis and of Paphos.

CC. 334. Θηρεύσαντες ἀήνωσι πρὸς ἥλιον. *Having caught them, they dry them in the sun.* Arrian² speaks of a certain people of Asia called Ichthyophagi, who ate the most tender fish raw, and who, like the Babylonian tribes, dried the harder ones in the sun, reduced them to powder, and made of them a sort of bread or cake³.

[The name of Mekran, a province on the north-eastern side of the Persian Gulf, is said to signify Ichthyophagi or fish-eaters.]

CCI. 335. Σκυθικόν. *Scythians.* Arrian⁴ says, that the Massagetæ were Scythians by nation. Diodorus Siculus advances the same fact. "Cyrus," says he⁵, "made an expedition into Scythia. The queen of the Scythians beat him, made him prisoner, and tied him to a stake."

CCII. 336. Στόμασι δὲ ἐξερεύγεται τεσσαράκοντα. *It (the Araxes) disembogues itself by forty mouths.* What our historian relates of the Araxes, will apply in many particulars to the Wolga, which falls into the Caspian sea by many mouths, encircling several considerable islands. But this river neither can nor does come from the Matienian mountains. Herodotus speaks thus, only because there being two rivers called Araxes, which both flow into the Caspian sea, he confounds one with the other, though their mouths are nearly seven degrees apart. M. de St. Croix, who holds a distinguished place amongst the first-rate literati, thinks that there is but one Araxes, which takes its source in Mount Abos, and falls into the Caspian sea at the thirty-ninth degree of latitude, opposite the little island of Kur. To render his position

⁸ Valer. Maxim. II. vi. xv. p. 181.

⁹ Athen. Deipnos. XII. p. 516, B.

¹ Cypr. I. viii. et xv.

² Arrian, Indic. XXIX. xi. et xii. p. 609.

³ Burnes, Travels to Bokhara, I. p. 75.

⁴ Arrian, de Exped. Alex. IV. xvi. p. 299.

⁵ Diod. Sic. II. xliv. vol. I. p. 156.

more probable, he supposes⁶ that the Massagetæ had made incursions to its borders, and that it was to repel them that Cyrus fought that battle in which he lost his life. But unfortunately for this conjecture, the narration of Herodotus absolutely contradicts it. It appears that Cyrus, intoxicated with success, wished to unite the country of the Massagetæ to his other dominions. This country was beyond the Araxes or Wolga; and it was there that the founder of the Persian monarchy perished. If the battle had taken place upon the borders of the Armenian Araxes, why should the Massagetæ, after their victory, have abandoned an excellent country, their possession of which no one was in a condition to dispute? Why should they have returned within their ancient limits? This is a point which defies explanation. By supposing two rivers Araxes, which Herodotus may have confounded, all is cleared up. It was only by mistake that our historian gave the name of Araxes to the European river; it was called Rha. This name, which greatly resembles Aras, or Eras, by which the river of Armenia was known, has occasioned the error.

[Rennell, with his usual judgment and sagacity, sought the Araxes of Herodotus on the eastern side of the Caspian sea⁷. He supposes our historian to have meant the Jaxartes or Sir Darya of the moderns; though perhaps the Oxus or Amu Darya might be more naturally understood: a more convenient opportunity, however, of discussing this question will be offered hereafter. It is manifest that the Massagetæ occupied the plains east of the Caspian sea and beyond, that is, north of the Araxes, in the country where the Khirgiz-Cossacks now pitch their tents. The name Araxes was probably a general appellative of great rivers.]

337. Ἡ δὲ Κασπία θάλασσα, ἔστι ἐπ' ἑωυτῆς, οὐ συμμίσγουσα τῇ ἑτέρῃ θαλάσσῃ. *The Caspian sea is a sea by itself, not mixing with the other sea.* Herodotus distinguished but two seas, the Caspian and the Atlantic or Ocean, of which the Mediterranean, according to him, formed a part. The Caspian sea has no communication with the Northern Ocean, as Strabo⁸, Pomponius Mela⁹, Pliny¹⁰, Dionysius Periegetes¹, &c. believed. Our modern travellers have established the remark of Herodotus beyond a doubt. Ptolemy asserts², on the credit of Eustathius, that the circuit of it may be performed on foot; which agrees, adds this Archbishop, with what Herodotus says of it. Aristotle³ and Diodorus Siculus⁴ are of the same opinion.

CCIII. 338. Ἐοῦσα μῆκος μὲν πλόου, πεντεκαίδεκα ἡμερέων. *Having*

⁶ Mémoire sur le Cours de l'Araxes et du Cyrus, p. 109.

⁷ Geogr. Syst. of Herod. p. 204.

⁸ Strabo, XI. p. 773, A.

⁹ Pomp. Mela, III. v. vol. I. p. 266.

¹⁰ Plin. Hist. Nat. VI. xiii. vol. I. p. 310. lin. 9.

¹ Dionys. Perieg. Orb. Descr. 48. p. 10; 719. p. 128.

² Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. 48. p. 11. col. 2. Confer p. 128. col. 1.

³ Aristot. Meteorol. II. i. p. 550, c.

⁴ Diod. Sic. XVIII. v. vol. II. p. 261.

in length an extent of fifteen days' sail. According to the maps attached to the Geography of Ptolemy, the Caspian sea stretches from east to west. Isaac Vossius⁵ and Cellarius⁶ were of the same opinion. The latter observes, that Herodotus has ascertained its length from east to west, and its breadth from north to south; but I find nothing of that sort in our author. The discoveries made by order of the Czar Peter the Great have ascertained that the greatest length of this sea is from south to north.

[The Caspian sea has been carefully surveyed of late years, and a good map of it is published with Dr. Eichwald's Travels⁷. Its length from north to south is 650 geographical miles; its average width does not much exceed a third of that extent.]

CCVIII. 339. Κατὰ ὑπέσχετο πρῶτα. *According to her first engagement.* Κατὰ is used by the Ionians in the place of καθά (καθ' αἵ). We shall find several examples of it in the sequel.

340. Τῷ ἐωντοῦ παιδὶ Καμβύσῃ τὴν βασιληίην ἐδίδον. *Appointed his son Cambyses successor to his kingdom.* When the kings of Persia⁸ were going on any expedition, it was their custom to name their successor, with a view to prevent the confusion that might arise from their dying without having done so.

CCXI. 341. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐπελθόντες. *The Persians came upon them.* Strabo⁹ asserts, that Cyrus employed against the Sacæ the same stratagem that he used against the Massagetæ. This geographer has followed the account of Ctesias.

CCXII. 342. Μασσαγετέων τριτημορίδι τοῦ στρατοῦ κατυβρίσας. *Exulting over a third of the army of the Massagetæ.* ὕβριζω is often found with the dative, but κατυβρίζω seldom governs that case. Sophocles¹⁰, however, furnishes me with an example of it: τοῖς σοῖς ἄχεσιν κατυβρίζων, 'insulting to your grief.'

343. Ἡλίον ἐπόμνυμι τοι τὸν Μασσαγετέων δεσπότην. *I swear by the sun, the lord of the Massagetæ.* The title of despot, or supreme ruler, was given indiscriminately to all the gods. It was moreover peculiar to the Sun, who was THE God 'par excellence,' ὁ Θεός. The Egyptians invoked him under this name in their prayers: ¹ ὦ δέσποτα Ἡλιε, καὶ Θεοὶ πάντες, οἱ τὴν ζωὴν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις δόντες: "O Sun, sovereign Lord, and you, Gods, who have given life to men." ['Sun, Great Lord, the founder of Justice,' is an invocation of frequent occurrence in the hieroglyphic inscriptions.]

⁵ Isaaci Vossii Observ. ad Pomp. Temp.—Brisson, de Regno Pers. I. 9. Mel. III. v. p. 799.

⁶ Notitia Orbis Antiqui, vol. II. p. 674.

⁷ Peripl. des Caspien Meeres, 1834.

⁸ Scaliger, Prolegom. de Emend.

⁹ Strabo, XI. p. 780, A, B.

¹⁰ Sophocl. Ajax Mastigophoros, 153.

¹ Porphy. de Abstinentiâ ab esu Animal. IV. x. p. 329.

CCXIV. 344. Κατὰ τὴν Κύρου τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου ὅδε μοι ὁ πιθανώτατος εἴρηται. *With respect to the manner in which Cyrus terminated his existence, I have given the account which appears to me most credible.* Xenophon makes this prince² die peaceably in his bed. This was also the opinion of Strabo³, who asserts, that his tomb was shown at Pasargadæ. Lucian⁴ says, that he was more than one hundred years old when he died from grief that Cambyses had caused the death of the greater part of his friends.

Rollin has adopted⁵ Xenophon's account. "What likelihood," says he, "is there, that a prince so experienced in the art of war, and noted even more for his prudence than for his courage, should thus have fallen into the snares laid for him by a woman?"

This reproach is founded on the statement of Justin. Herodotus speaks of no snares, but of a victory obstinately contended for, and asserts, that it was after a tremendous conflict that the advantage remained with the Massagetæ. But there is another very plausible reason which may be opposed to M. Rollin.

What Herodotus relates of Cyrus, he had learned from the best-informed among the Persians. It would be surprising that, shortly after the death of that prince, they should have told Herodotus that he died in the country of the Massagetæ, and that his body remained in the hands of the enemy, if that had been untrue, and if his tomb existed in their own country. We could not be astonished that they should exaggerate the exploits of the founder of their monarchy, for whom they entertained a deep veneration; but how can we persuade ourselves that they would propagate a false report, which did so little honour to his memory? As to the inference which may be drawn from the circumstance of his tomb being exhibited at Pasargadæ, as Strabo asserts, it may be answered in the same way that Dionysius of Halicarnassus answers those who objected to the tombs of Æneas which were seen in different countries. This able historian⁶ remarks, that though the body of a hero can be but in one place, yet many different people might erect cenotaphs to his memory, in gratitude for benefits received, especially if any of his descendants still existed.

It might happen, however, that the Massagetæ had restored the body of Cyrus, or that the Persians had found some means of carrying it off; for we can scarcely reject the testimony of Arrian⁷, who says, that at Pasargadæ, in the royal park of Cyrus, they had raised a platform of stone, upon which stood a stone building, with so low a door-way, that a man of middling stature could scarcely enter it; that the pavement of this building was covered with a carpet of Babylonian manufacture; that upon this carpet stood a bed, the feet of which were of massy gold, and

² Xenoph. Cyropæd. VIII. vii. p. 551.

³ Strabo, XV. p. 1061, B.

⁴ Lucian. de Macrob. xiv. vol. III. pp. 217, 218.

⁵ Histoire Ancienne, vol. I. p. 486.

⁶ Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. I. xlv. p. 43.

⁷ Arriani Exped. Alex. VI. xxix. p. 470 et s.

the coverings of purple; and that on this bed was placed the golden coffin, which contained the body of Cyrus. Near the place where this sepulchre was shown, stood a small building intended for the residence of the magi, to whom the care of the body was entrusted. Sons succeeded their fathers in this employment. They received every day a sheep and a certain portion of corn and wine; every month a horse was presented to them, which they sacrificed in honour of this prince. On his tomb was seen this inscription, in the Persian language and character: "Man, I am Cyrus, son of Cambyses; I obtained the empire for the Persians, and I reigned over Asia: envy not therefore this my monument."

[It is manifest that Herodotus had heard various accounts of the death of Cyrus, since he takes care to inform us, that he relates what seemed to him most worthy of belief. This diversity of statements respecting a reign so brilliant and so little remote, justifies the suspicion, that the Persians had already begun to mix romance with history, and to heap all the remarkable events of their annals, good or bad, upon a few heroes. It is generally assumed that the Kei Khosrú of Persian history is the same with Cyrus⁸. But M. Burnouf, at the head of the Zend scholars and interpreters of the cuneiform inscriptions, denies their identity⁹.]

CCXV. 345. Μασσαγέται δὲ ἐσθῆτά τε ὁμοίην τῇ Σκυθικῇ φορέουσι. *The Massagetæ dress like the Scythians.* Strabo says¹⁰ that their garments are formed from the bark of trees, because they have no cattle. It must have been the pellicle under the bark, of which they formed a sort of cloth. Casaubon has a note on this, in which he cites the passage from Herodotus, but for the purpose of proposing an alteration. Instead of ὁμοίην τῇ Σκυθικῇ, he would have us read τῇ Σηρικῇ, 'like the habits of the Seres,' instead of 'like the habits of the Scythians.' But he assigns no reason for the change: and besides that this reading is unauthorized by any MS., can we imagine that Herodotus would undertake to explain to the Greeks the clothing of the Massagetæ, of whom they knew but little, by a reference to that of the Seres, of whom they knew still less? The Massagetæ were reputed Scythians¹¹.

CCXVI. 346. Γυναῖκα μὲν γαμέει ἕκαστος, ταύτησι δὲ ἐπικοινωνοῦνται. *Each man marries a wife, but these are used in common.* If the women were common amongst this people, why did they marry, and why had each man but one woman? The absurdity of this custom had at first led me to believe that the words ταύτησι δὲ ἐπὶ κοινὰ

⁸ Malcolm's Hist. of Per. I. pp. 41, 224.

⁹ Inscr. Cuneif. p. 175.

¹⁰ Strabo, XI. p. 781, B.

¹¹ Diod. Sic. II. xliii. vol. I. p. 155.

χρέονται should be rendered 'but they are seen in public;' and I was supported in my opinion by the following passage of Synesius, where εἰς κοινὰ signifies 'in public': Γέγονεν ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ γραμματεῖον τὸ λοίδορον εἰς κοινὸν ἅπασιν ἀναγνωσθῆναι. "There was a necessity for reading in public, and before all the world, this defamatory libel." But however absurd this custom may appear, Herodotus no doubt meant to assert its existence, as appears by what follows: τῆς γὰρ ἐπιθυμήσει γυναικὸς Μασσαγέτης ἀνὴρ μίσγεται ἀδεῶς: "The Massagetan sees without fear the woman whom he desires." Strabo understood it in the same sense: "Each man," say he², "marries but one woman; but they publicly make use of those of others. He who wishes to satisfy his desires with another woman, hangs his quiver on her chariot, and visits her without concealment." Moreover, ἐπὶ κοινὰ, or rather ἐπίκοινα in one word, is never taken in any other sense in Herodotus³. To the examples which I have already cited, I may add the following from Procopius⁴: νόμον ἔγραψεν ἐπὶ κοινὰ ταῖς γυναῖξι μίγνυσθαι Πέρσας. "He ordained, by a law, that amongst the Persians the women should be in common."

Among the Massagetæ, not only were the women in common, but the intercourse with them was carried on in public, as it was amongst the Tyrrhenians; at least so it should appear from the following passage of Theopompus⁵. "Among the Tyrrhenians, community of women is established by law And when they give themselves up to these pleasures, they do not attempt to conceal it from one another, though sometimes they surround their beds with hurdles." Θεόπομπος δ' ἐν τῇ μγ' τῶν ἱστοριῶν, καὶ νόμον εἶναι φησὶ παρὰ τοῖς Τυρρῆνοῖς, κοινὰς ὑπάρχειν τὰς γυναῖκας . . . ἀφροδισιάζουσιν δὲ καὶ ποιοῦνται τὰς συνουσίας, ὅτε μὲν ὁρῶντες ἀλλήλους, ὥς δὲ τὰ πολλὰ καλύβας περιβάλλοντες περὶ τὰς κλίνας.

347. Ἐπεὰν δὲ γέρων γένηται κάρτα, οἱ προσήκοντές οἱ πάντες συνελθόντες, θύουσίν μιν. *When a man grows very old, his relatives meeting together, sacrifice him.* Hellanicus⁶, in speaking of the Hyperboreans, who live beyond the Rhipean mountains, says, that they study justice, and eat no meat, but live on fruit. They lead the superannuated out of the city, and kill them. Timæus⁷ relates, that in Sardinia, when a man has passed the age of seventy, his children kill him, by beating him with sticks, in honour of Saturn, laughing all the time, and then throw his body down some frightful precipice. The inhabitants of Iulis⁸, in the isle of Ceos, had a law which compelled all those who had passed

¹ Synesii Epist. lxvii. p. 244. See also p. 227.

² Strabo, XI. p. 780, D; 781, A.

³ See bk. IV. civ, clxxvi, clxxx.

⁴ Procop. de Bello Persico, I. v. 14, c.

⁵ Athen. XII. iii. p. 517, D and F.

⁶ Clem. Alex. Strom. I. pp. 359, 360.

⁷ Tzetzes ad Lycophronis Alexandram, 796. p. 86. col. 2. lin. ult.

⁸ Steph. Byz. voc. Ἰουλίς.

the age of sixty to drink hemlock, that the rest might not be straitened by a deficiency of food. Strabo⁹ asserts the same thing of this people, and quotes with reference to the subject two verses of Menander, taken from a piece of which the subject is unknown. "Phanias, I highly approve the law of the inhabitants of Ceos, which prevents those who cannot live happily from dying miserably." Heraclides of Pontus¹ remarks, that the old of both sexes avoided the inconveniences of age, by drinking hemlock or opium.

This custom, which is so much at variance with modern manners, will probably be thought fabulous, by those whose judgment of antiquity is exclusively regulated by the transactions of their own times. But, in fact, it still subsists in the kingdom of Arracan. The inhabitants of this country² "accelerate the death of their friends and relations, when they behold them bowed down by age and infirmity, or by an incurable malady with them it is considered an act of piety."

The same barbarous custom also remains in use among many people not yet civilized³. [As in the interior of Brasil⁴. But it is more to the purpose to observe, that the custom of sacrificing and eating the aged was preserved in Thibet till the thirteenth century of our era. Rubruquis⁵ speaks of it, as if it had been but recently renounced in his time.]

348. Γῆ κρύπτουσι. *They bury them in the earth.* Strabo, who in this and many other passages copies Herodotus, differs from him in one circumstance. "They eject⁶," says he, "the bodies of those who have died of disease, as if they were impious, and deserved to be devoured by wild beasts."

349. Θεῶν δὲ μόνον ἥλιον σέβονται, τῷ θύουσι ἵππους. *The sun is the only deity they worship, to whom they sacrifice horses.* This custom was very ancient. It was practised amongst the Persians from the time of Cyrus⁷, and was perhaps anterior even to him. They also sacrificed horses to Neptune and the river gods, by precipitating them into the sea or into the rivers. In the time of the Trojan war⁸, the Trojans threw into the Scamander living horses, with the view of propitiating the god of that river. This custom subsisted long⁹. The Argians, in remote times, used, in honour of Neptune, to cast into the lake of Dineus a living horse with his harness; and Sextus Pompeius caused both horses and living men to be thrown into the sea¹⁰ in honour of Neptune, whose son he reputed himself.

⁹ Strabo, X. p. 745, A.

¹ Heraclides de Politiis, pp. 516. 518.

² Hist. Naturelle et Civile du royaume de Siam, tom. II. p. 371.

³ L'Hist. des Voy. tom. XIV. pp. 659, 667.

⁴ Spix and Martius. Reise III. p. 1310.

⁵ Voyage de Rubruquis, Recueil de

Voy. et Mém. tom. IV. p. 288.

⁶ Strabo, XI. p. 781, A.

⁷ Cyropæd. VIII. iii. v. p. 495.

⁸ Homeri Iliad. XXI. 132.

⁹ Pausan. Arcad. sive VIII. vii. p. 611.

¹⁰ Dio Cassius, XLVIII. vol. I. p. 564.

350. Τῶν θεῶν τῷ ταχίστῳ πάντων τῶν θνητῶν τὸ τάχιστον δατέονται. *To the swiftest of the gods they apportion the swiftest of creatures.* We must understand by θνητὸς an animal, as we must interpret 'mortalis' in the following passage of St. Augustine¹¹. 'Tertium gradum animæ esse summum, qui vocatur animus, in quo intelligentia præeminet: hoc præter hominem omnes carere mortales.'

EUTERPE. II.

I. 1. Ἄλλους τε παραλαβὼν τῶν ἥρχε, καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἑλλήνων, τῶν ἐπεκράτεε. *Taking with him the others whom he ruled over* (his own subjects), *and also those of the Greeks whom he had subjugated besides.* This period is not less remarkable for being elegantly turned than for the judicious choice of the expressions. Wyttenbach¹ has pointed out the propriety of the term ἐπεκράτεε here used by Herodotus.

II. 2. Οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐνόμιζον ἑωυτοὺς πρώτους γενέσθαι πάντων ἀνθρώπων. *The Egyptians believed themselves to be the first of all men.* Doubtless this opinion induced Cosmes², in the first book of his History of Egypt, and Cnossus, in the first book of his Geography of Asia, to assert that the Egyptians are the most ancient people on the earth, and that Thebes was the first city built in Egypt. Nicanor, Arche-machus in his Metonymies, Xenagoras in the first book of his Chronicles, and Hippys, all assert the same thing.

It is beyond a doubt that Egypt was one of the earliest populated countries in the world. But it does not therefore follow, that we are implicitly to believe all the absurdities that the Egyptians have promulgated as to their antiquity. Misraim, the son of Shem and grandson of Noah, was the first who peopled Egypt; and that which in my opinion incontestably proves it, is, that the Hebrews called this country Misraim, and that, at this day, it still retains the Arabic name Misr.

[The earliest historians in every country, however imperfectly informed with respect to contemporary events, affect to record first origins, and usually assign to each nation a founder or progenitor from whom it is supposed to take its name. Critics, it is true, see in these

¹¹ S. August. de Civitate Dei, VII. xxiii. p. 179, A.

¹ Selecta princ. Historic. p. 370.

² Schol. Apollonii Rhodii, IV. 262. p. 204. ex edit. Aldi.

progenitors in general only fabulous heroes, whose names are in reality derived from those of the nations to which they are respectively assigned. But whatever may be the weight of such objections, it is hard to understand how any national name actually existing can be taken as a proof of the authenticity of another name hypothetically related to it. The names Ionia, Lydia, Æolia, Tyrrhenia, Italia, afford no proof of the existence of such heroes as Ion, Lydus, Æolus, Tyrrhenus, and Italus; though viewed in conjunction with the latter, they do indicate a uniform system of popular story, more likely to be founded in the constitution of the human mind, than in the course of events.]

3. Τῶν ἀσήμεων κρυζημάτων. *Inarticulate cries.* "Ἀσημα is here said of the cries, *i. e.* the inarticulate sounds, uttered by infants. Its ordinary signification is any unknown word, conveying no idea to the person who hears it. Ὁ δὲ φωνάς τινας ἀσήμους φθεγγόμενος, οἷαι γένοιεντ' ἂν Ἑβραίων ἢ Φοινίκων, ἐξέπληττε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, οὐκ εἰδότας ὅ, τι λέγοι³. "By pronouncing unknown words, such as Hebrew or Phœnician, he astonished those who knew not what he said."

4. Βεκὸς, ἐφώνεον. *Began to cry Becos.* In all probability these children, attempting to imitate the cry of goats, as Apollonius Rhodius says, pronounced the word 'Bec,'—'os' being merely the Greek termination superadded.

The attempt to discover the primitive language, absurd as it is, has been renewed, even in modern times. In the fifteenth century, James the Fourth, king of Scotland, had two children secluded in the island of Inchkeith, under the sole care of a dumb person. When they had attained a sufficient age, they spoke the language of Paradise, that is to say, pure Hebrew. Dr. Henry, who relates this anecdote in the sixth volume of his History of England, very justly ridicules it.

5. Οὕτω συνεχώρησαν Αἰγύπτιοι τοὺς Φρύγας πρεσβυτέρους εἶναι ἑωυτῶν. *Thus the Egyptians conceded that the Phrygians were more ancient than themselves.* Psammitichus could have known but little respecting the origin of the Phrygians, a comparatively modern people, originally from Europe, and who had passed into Asia⁴. It is true that Herodotus, who informs us of this fact, relates it as a tradition of the Macedonians. But as the Phrygians, then called Brygians, were their neighbours, their traditions are more worthy of credit than the conjectures of Psammitichus, who lived at so great a distance from them. This is confirmed moreover by Strabo⁵ and other authors of credit, who affirm that they were a colony of Thracians.

It is to this anecdote of Herodotus that St. Clement of Alexandria alludes, when he says, "Do not the goats prove the antiquity of the Phrygians⁶?"

This poof, equivocal enough, not to say absurd, is founded on an

³ Lucian. Alexand. § xiii. vol. II. p. 221.

⁴ Herod. VII. lxxiii.

⁵ Strabo, X. p. 722, A.

⁶ Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gentes, p. 6. lin. 29.

ancient notion that certain names were dictated by nature. "The earliest dialects," says St. Clement of Alexandria, "those which give rise to all others, were barbarous; it was Nature that prompted them⁷."

Plato, commenting in the *Cratylus*⁸ on the conformity of the first names with Nature, gives as one proof of it, that amongst the Greeks, certain terms were in use, borrowed from the barbarians, who were more ancient than themselves.

In the times of Psammitichus, of Plato, and of St. Clement of Alexandria, very imperfect reflections had yet been made on man and on his nature. In tracing the progress of his intellect from birth to the dawnings of reason, it is obvious that the faculty of speech is not a gift of nature, but a talent acquired, like all others. In fact, if so much care were not taken with children, they would never learn to speak. The wild man found in the woods of Hanover, in the reign of George I., never could attain this art; which, moreover, like most others, may be forgotten. Selkirk, the Scotchman, who was left on a desolate island, not only forgot his own language, but experienced considerable trouble in regaining it after he had returned to his native country. There are some letters in all languages which can never be pronounced by those who have not from their infancy been accustomed to them. Such is the Greek theta (θ), so familiar to the English, but the stumbling-block of almost every other people; and such is the *ch* of the Germans and the Scotch.

Had not God, after creating man, imparted to him a language, the human race might have passed through many generations with no other means of communication than signs.

IV. 6. "Ἕλληνες μὲν διὰ τρίτου ἔτεος ἐμβόλιμον ἐπεμβάλλουσι. *The Greeks add an intercalary month every second year.* At the end of two complete years, or at the beginning of the third year⁹. Such was the custom of the Greeks. As in Aristophanes:

Εἰ γὰρ (Ζεὺς) ἐπλούτει, πῶς ἂν ποιῶν Ὀλυμπικὸν αὐτὸς ἀγῶνα,
 "Ἴνα τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἅπαντας αἰεὶ δι' ἔτους πέμπτου ξυναγείρει" . . .

"If Jupiter were rich, how is it, that in instituting the Olympic games, at which, in the beginning of every fifth year, he assembles all the Greeks" Hence the expressions, trieteric, pentaeteric, enneaeteric, applied respectively to periods of two, four, and eight years. [The Olympic games were celebrated every fourth year, which is expressed in the lines quoted above from Aristophanes, by δι' ἔτους πέμπτου. See the last paragraph of note 64 of the preceding book.]

Herodotus says, that after two complete years, the Greeks added a thirteenth month; but he omits to notice, that the year being by this

⁷ Clem. Alex. Strom. I. p. 405. lin. 18.

⁸ Plato, vol. I. p. 425, E.

⁹ Censorinus de Die Natali, xviii.

¹ Aristoph. Plut. 583.

method rendered too long, they struck out the intercalary month every eighth year ².

[The year of twelve lunar months contained but 354 days. A month added every second year, made a mean year of 369 days, or $3\frac{3}{4}$ days too much. This excess amounted in eight years to thirty days, and, consequently, was then exactly compensated by omitting the usually added month or *ἐμβόλιμος*. Or the matter may be stated thus: the lunar year of 354 days falls short of the true solar year by $11\frac{1}{4}$ days, which deficiency amounts in eight years to ninety days or three months. Consequently three intercalations were sufficient for eight years.]

7. Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ἐπάγουσι ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος πέντε ἡμέρας πᾶρεξ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ. *But the Egyptians add (to their twelve months of thirty days each) five days beyond the number, every year.* Diodorus Siculus asserts³, that the inhabitants of Thebes in Egypt intercalated, at the end of each year, five days and a quarter. Herodotus makes no mention of this quarter, and in this he agrees perfectly with Geminus⁴, who asserts positively, that the Egyptians added five days to the twelve-month, but that they did not add the quarter. I am aware that Wesseling, in his remarks on this passage of Diodorus, suggests, that this intercalation was tacitly understood, and that they did not add the epagomenon day every four years. He is perhaps right as to the fact, but the text of Diodorus does not convey that meaning.

If the text of Geminus says that they did not add this quarter, it does not follow that it was not tacitly reckoned, and that it was not, every fourth year, added to the five epagomena days. I know that the reason he assigns goes to prove that it was never added at all. But was this author thoroughly informed on the point? Eudoxus and Plato, who lived at least three centuries⁵ before Geminus, affirm, that they learned from the Egyptian priests the parts of the day and night which exceeded the 365 days, and were necessary to complete the year⁶. It is possible that two kinds of year might be known in Egypt; the civil year of 365 days only, and the astronomical year, known to the priests only, which enabled them to regulate the festivals, and by this means ingratiate themselves with the people. If we admit this hypothesis, Geminus no longer contradicts Plato, and we may readily conceive that the priests were unwilling to impart to Herodotus this portion of their knowledge: for Herodotus saw these priests but cursorily, whereas Eudoxus and Plato lived thirteen years among them⁷, and even

² Censorinus de Die Natali, ut supra.

³ Diod. Sic. I. 1. p. 59.

⁴ Geminus Elem. Astron. vi. p. 19.

⁵ Eudoxus was contemporary with Plato. The latter was born the third year of the 87th Olympiad, 430 years before our era. Geminus flourished, according to Petavius, (de Doctrinâ Temp.) the fourth year of the 175th

Olympiad, that is to say, 77 years B. C. But if we are to credit Father Bonjour, (in Dissertat. de nomine Josephi a Pharaone imposito, Romæ, 1696,) he was born in the fourth year of the 160th Olympiad, that is to say, 137 years before our era.

⁶ Strabo, XVII. p. 1160, A.

⁷ Id. ibid. p. 1159, D.

then had much difficulty in learning from them this matter, of which they made a great mystery. It might be supposed, that in the time of Herodotus the priests were not in possession of this discovery; but this is the less probable, as from the birth of our historian to that of Plato was a space of only fifty-five years.

It is certain that at Alexandria, if in no other part of Egypt, this quarter of a day was reckoned and intercalated every fourth year. Theon⁸ is positive on the point; but it is very possible that the Alexandrians did not adopt this mode of computation, till after the reform of the calendar by Julius Cæsar.

[The Alexandrians, it may be presumed, rather followed the Greek or Roman calendar than the Egyptian. The correctness of the statement made by Geminus, is proved incontestably by Ptolemy, who, in marking the dates of his own observations and those of his predecessors, in Egyptian months, evidently uses a year consisting of only 365 days⁹. But Censorinus, explaining what was meant by the great or Canicular year, speaks clearly on the subject. He says¹, 'Their civil year has only 365 days, without any intercalary day. Consequently their period of four years is less by a day than the natural period of four years; so that they come round to the same starting-point in the course of 1461 years' (since 1460 Julian years are equal to 1461 Egyptian). Thus we see not only that the civil year of the Egyptians was imperfect, but also that it remained in use long after the reform of the calendar by Julius Cæsar. It deserves to be remarked, that Herodotus does not seem to be aware that the Egyptian year was imperfect; he only notes its superiority to that of the Greeks in his day.]

Osiris² was born on the first of these epagomena days; on the second Arueris, by some called Apollo, and by others Orus Priscus, on the third Typhon, on the fourth Isis, and on the fifth Nephthys, or Venus. Plutarch relates an Egyptian fable on this subject. The Sun³ having discovered the secret intercourse between Saturn and Rhea, wished her to be delivered in no month and in no year. Mercury, who was in love with the same goddess, undertook to amuse the Moon, and gained from her every seventieth part of the time during which she illuminates the horizon. He joined these parts, and formed from them five days, which he added to the year, formerly comprising only 360 days. These five days are called by the Egyptians epagomena, and are celebrated as festivals and as the birth-days of their gods.

[The terms of the Greek calendar were carried, with the rites of the Christian Church, into Nubia and Abyssinia; and in the latter country the intercalated days are still called Paguemen from ἐπαγόμενος⁴.]

⁸ Theon Mathem. sub initium commentarii in Ptolemæi πρόχειρον κανόνα.

⁹ Ideler. Handbuch der Math. Chronol. I. p. 96.

¹ De Die Natali, xviii.

² Diod. Sic. I. xiii. p. 17. Plutarch.

de Iside et Osiride, p. 355, E.

³ Plutarch. de Iside et Osiride, p. 355, D.

⁴ Rüppell's Reise in Abyssinien, II. p. 35.

8. Βασιλεῦσαι δὲ πρῶτον ἔλεγον Μῆνα. *They said that the first who ruled over them was Menes.* Diodorus Siculus⁵ agrees with Herodotus, in placing the reign of Menes in Egypt immediately after the gods and the heroes; and it is for this reason that our historian calls him the first of men. See also Perizonius⁶. But as to the precise time in which he reigned, nothing certain is known⁷; he is not the same with Misraim, the son of Ham⁸. If the Egyptian chronology is admitted, the epoch at which he ascended the throne is much further back than the creation of the world, according to the Hebrew account; for Mœris died in the year 1356 before our era; and from Menes to Mœris, including the former, the Egyptians count 330 generations; which, according to the calculation of Herodotus, amounts to 11,000 years, that is to say, 12,356 years before our era.

We read, a few lines further on, that under the reign of this prince all Egypt, with the exception of the district of Thebes, was but a marsh; and that there was no appearance of any part of the land which we find now below Lake Mœris. But if that had been the case, how could Menes have built Memphis? Herodotus meets this objection in xcix. [Mention is made of Menes in the catalogue of Eratosthenes⁹.]

V. 9. Αἴγυπτός ἐστι ἐπίκτητός τε γῆ καὶ δῶρον τοῦ ποταμοῦ. *Egypt is a land of new acquisition, and the gift of the river.* This opinion has been adopted by all the ancients and the greater part of the moderns. If we give them credit, all the country¹ from Memphis to the sea was formerly a gulf of the Mediterranean, parallel to the Arabian gulf. This ground has gradually accumulated by deposition of the mud which the Nile carries along with its waters. It had risen the height of eight cubits from the reign of Mœris to the time of the visit of Herodotus to Egypt², that is to say, in 800 years; a cubit every 100 years. But as from the time of this historian to our day about 2200 years have elapsed, the soil of Egypt should in that time, by the same process, have risen twenty-two cubits higher. Under the reign of king Mœris, when the Nile rose to the height of eight cubits, it covered all the land below Memphis. In the time of Herodotus, it was necessary for it to rise sixteen or at least fifteen cubits, to fertilize the soil of Egypt. If this country has gained twenty-two cubits in elevation, as according to the calculations of Herodotus it ought to have done, it follows that the Nile also should rise in proportion; and thus adding twenty-two cubits to the sixteen which it used to rise in the time of Herodotus, it will give thirty-eight cubits for the height which it must rise at present to occasion an abundant harvest.

The greater part of the travellers to that country inform us, that the

⁵ Diod. Sic. I. xlv. p. 54.

⁶ Perizonius, Orig. Ægypt. v. p. 74.

⁷ Id. ibid. v. p. 77.

⁸ Id. ibid. p. 70.

⁹ Syncellus, p. 91, c.

¹ Aristot. Meteorol. I. xiv. p. 547.

² Herod. II. xiii.

water usually rises to the height of twenty-two cubits. In 1702 it rose twenty-three cubits four inches; the preceding year it had risen twenty-two cubits eighteen inches. According to these travellers, therefore, the favourable height is from twenty-two to twenty-three cubits; and according to Herodotus, from fifteen to sixteen; a difference of only seven.

This observation of travellers would go to prove that the soil of Egypt has gained a considerable elevation since the time of Herodotus, though not in the proportion of his calculations; but are these observations accurate? It is certain, that in the time of Pliny, that is to say, 500 years after Herodotus, no change whatever had taken place. At that time, the favourable height of the increase was considered to be from fifteen to sixteen cubits. 'Justum (Nili) incrementum,' says the naturalist³, 'est cubitorum sexdecim: minores aquæ non omnia rigant; ampliores detinent, tardiùs recedendo.'

Ammianus Marcellinus, who lived under Julian, observes, in his Description of Egypt, that the land-owners never wished the Nile to rise higher than sixteen cubits: 'Eumque nemo aliquandò extolli cubitis altius sexdecim possessor optavit⁴.'

Al-Masudi⁵, the author of the Survey of Egypt, affirms, that when the Nile rises fifteen cubits, or something more, the harvest is sufficient for the support of the inhabitants; that only a part, however, of the tribute is then paid to the caliph; but when it attains sixteen cubits, the whole is paid. Al-Masudi died, according to D'Herbelot, in the 346th year of the Hegira, which answers to the year 957 of our era.

About the year 1153, Al-Edrisi⁶ follows the same rule. When the Nile rises sixteen cubits, says he, all the productive lands of Egypt are watered; but when it rises only twelve cubits or less, or eighteen cubits and above, a famine ensues. It should seem, therefore, that from the time of Herodotus to that of Al-Edrisi, that is to say, in sixteen centuries, no change whatever had taken place in the elevation of the soil of Egypt.

The Count de Caylus, indeed, affirms⁷, that the Egyptian cubit increased under the Ptolemies, under the Romans, and under the Arabians; a circumstance which destroys, says he, all our modern speculations as to the accumulation of the soil of Egypt, and the increase in the risings of the Nile, the sixteen cubits of one time not answering to the sixteen cubits of another.

I admit that from time to time the cubit varied; but I think I may venture to affirm, that that by which the risings of the Nile were measured was always the same. In proof of this, I may observe, that Herodotus, Pliny the Naturalist, Ammianus Marcellinus, Al-Masudi, and

³ Plin. Hist. Nat. V. ix. vol. I. p. 256. lin. 16.

⁴ Amm. Marcell. XXII. xv. p. 259.

⁵ Shaw's Travels, vol. II. p. 59.

⁶ Geographia Nubiensis, p. 98.

⁷ Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. tom. XXXI. Hist. p. 25.

Al-Edrisi, a series of authors which comprises about sixteen centuries, all assign sixteen cubits as that rise which produces fertility. Had the cubit changed, the number of cubits which occasions fertility must in some part of this interval necessarily have varied also: but since this one number has been the standard from the time of Herodotus down to the year 1153, it follows that the cubit used to measure the risings of the Nile has always been the same. The influence of religion may perhaps have contributed to preserve the unity of this cubit. The Egyptians believed that Serapis was the author of the increase of the river; and the measure was, therefore, carefully preserved in his temple. Constantine had it removed, and placed in the church at Alexandria⁸. But Julian replaced it (τὸν πῆχυν τοῦ Νείλου) in the temple of Serapis, where it appears to have remained until the destruction of that temple⁹ under the empire of Theodosius, in the year 391¹.

But independently of this moveable measure, there was a fixed one at Memphis, at Syene, and other places. That at Syene was similar to that at Memphis, and there is little doubt that all the fixed Nilometers seen in different parts of Egypt had been constructed after that of Memphis. Heliodorus has given us a description of it in his *Æthiopica*².

The solidity of these Nilometers, and a feeling of reverence for the god to whom they were consecrated, would have combined to keep them invariable, notwithstanding the different scales of measure brought into Egypt by the different people who became its masters. I will not disguise, however, that Al-Kodhai informs us³ that the ancient Nilometers of Al-Said, or Upper Egypt, contained only twenty-four fingers in each cubit, whereas the cubit of the present day has twenty-eight. But though this might produce some difference, it would not be very great; for Kalkasenda⁴ observes, that until the Nile has attained the height of twelve cubits, it is measured by the cubit of twenty-eight fingers, but that the excess above these twelve cubits is measured with the cubit of twenty-four fingers. Our next step towards accuracy would be to ascertain whether the cubit of twenty-eight fingers, which is that of Constantinople, is really four fingers more than the cubit of the ancient Nilometers, or if this apparent difference in the cubits does not arise from the method of dividing them.

Pococke has suggested an idea, which appears to me to reconcile, in a very simple manner, the ancient systems with the modern. He observes, in his *Description of Egypt*⁵, that when the priests told Herodotus that the Nile rose only eight cubits in the time of King Mœris, that should be understood only of the actual rise of the river;

⁸ Socrat. Hist. Eccles. I. xviii. p. 47.

⁹ Sozomen. Hist. Eccles. V. iii. p. 183.

¹ Jac. Gothofredus ad Cod. Theodos. vol. VI. fol. 273.

² Heliodori *Æthiop.* IX. p. 443.

³ Kalkasenda, at the end of the second

volume of Shaw's Travels, among the illustrations, p. 59. col. 2.

⁴ Ibid. p. 59. col. 1.

⁵ Description of the East, by Richard Pococke, vol. I. p. 251.

but that when they spoke of sixteen, we should reckon from the bed of the river. This ingenious solution, of which he should have availed himself to clear up the perplexity occasioned by the mention of twenty-two cubits in the accounts of travellers, has led me to suspect that these twenty-two cubits were the measure of the entire depth of the Nile, from the bed to the surface, at the time of its highest elevation; and the sixteen cubits, mentioned by the Greek, Latin, and Arabic writers, are the measure of the height which the Nile rose above its ordinary level. These suspicions became converted into certainty, by comparing the increase of the Nile in 1738 with its entire depth. It was five cubits deep⁶ when it began to rise; it rose to the height of twenty cubits fifteen inches; but the actual increase was only fifteen cubits and thirteen inches. If this simple and natural method of reconciling ancient authors with modern travellers be admitted, we must at the same time conclude, that both Herodotus and these same moderns are mistaken in imagining that Lower Egypt has been formed only by the deposition of mud from the Nile.

Strabo⁷ and Pliny⁸ adduce a proof of this theory which may be thought triumphant. It is founded on a passage of Homer, in which he asserts⁹ that the Isle of Pharos was one day's sail from Egypt; whereas, in their time, it was connected with the continent by a bank of seven stadia in length. But in Homer's time the Nile was not known by that name¹; it was called *Ægyptus*, and by this appellation only does he mention it. We should then translate the words *Αἰγύπτου προπάραιθε*, by, 'opposite to the Nile;' but from the Isle of Pharos to the Canopic mouth is a distance, according to Strabo², of 150 stadia, which at the rate of eight stadia per mile would make six leagues one mile and a fraction; now as Homer speaks of a day's sail which was calculated at eighteen or twenty leagues, it therefore follows that he has stated the distance of Pharos to be twelve or fourteen leagues greater than it really was. [What an unpoetic attempt to reduce the ancient bard, by dint of interpretation, to rule and reckoning! And yet it is manifest from the passage referred to, taken altogether, that Homer meant to describe an island desolate and distant from any shore. There is good reason for doubting whether *Αἴγυπτος* not followed by *ποταμὸς* should rather be understood of the country than of the river.]

From what I have said, it follows, that the soil of Egypt is not elevated one inch above what it was in the time of Herodotus, and that this historian was mistaken in supposing that Lower Egypt was a gift of the Nile, and owed its existence only to the mud which that river had gradually deposited.

⁶ Description of the East, by Richard Pococke, vol. I. pp. 251. 258.

⁷ Strabo, VI. p. 63, B. et p. 810, C.

⁸ Plin. Hist. Nat. V. xxxi. vol. I. p. 283. lin. 21.

⁹ Homeri Odyss. IV. 355.

¹ Strabo, I. p. 52, B; and Hesychius, under the word *Αἴγυπτος*.

² Strabo, XVII. p. 1140, B.

But without admitting the opinion of Herodotus, we may, nevertheless, believe that the country in question was formerly covered by the ocean. Of this, the volcanoes of Upper Egypt are a proof. The reader perhaps may be surprised to hear of such phenomena in that country, since until the present time we have had no knowledge of their existence, nor does the father of historians, who has faithfully transmitted all that he could collect from the archives of that country, make any mention of them. The silence of the ancients, however, on this point is no ground for surprise. They were in all probability extinguished before the Egyptians had any archives. The basalt, which Pliny took for a species of marble, and which is found in abundance in the district of Thebes, is identical with lava, as has been satisfactorily established by modern naturalists much better able to judge than the ancient ones. The existence of this lava proves that there have been volcanoes there in ages anterior to any history; and we have as little right to contest this point, as we should have to deny the existence of similar phenomena in Auvergne and Provence, because no history mentions them.

All the known volcanoes are either in islands, or adjacent to the sea; which has given rise to the opinion that the water of the sea is necessary to ignite the sulphurous and ferruginous pyrites which seems to form the principal material of all these known volcanoes³. The Mediterranean, then, covered not only Lower but Upper Egypt; and if these volcanoes are now extinguished, it is probably from want of contact with water, the sea in retiring having lost all communication with the pyrites which produced them.

The opinion of Herodotus, therefore, is sufficiently philosophical. It was adopted in a more enlightened age, in an age in which physics had made great progress, and in which a knowledge of the earth and of the great rivers had reached almost its highest pitch: it was the opinion of Polybius⁴.

[Of the general invariableness of the Egyptian cubit there seems to be sufficient proof. Several standard cubits of ancient Egypt, some of basalt or other stone, some of wood, are now preserved in European museums⁵. One of those standards (the Drovetti cubit, in the museum of the Louvre) made of hard wood, is supposed, from the hieroglyphic characters which it bears, to be as old as the 16th century B. C.⁶ The average length of these cubits is $20\frac{3}{5}$ English inches⁷. The cubit of the Nilometer at Elephantine, though of the Ptolemaic or perhaps the imperial age, agrees with the ancient standard. The cubit used by the Arabs in Egypt containing but six palms instead of the seven, into which the old Egyptian cubit was divided, would appear on that account

³ Recherches Philosophiques sur les Américains, tom. II. p. 337.

⁴ Polyb. Hist. IV. xl, xli, xlii.

⁵ Böckh's Metrol. Untersuch, p. 223.

⁶ Champollion Figeac, in Ferussac's Bull. des Scien. Hist. tom. I. p. 288.

⁷ Böckh, p. 227.

to be less than the latter; but actual measurement proves it to be equal to the old cubit, or to exceed it apparently by the twenty-fifth part of an inch ⁸.

The Nilometer now existing at the Isle of Raúdah, opposite to old Cairo, is a marble column divided into sixteen cubits, three of which are always under water; and the Nile at its greatest height rises twenty-four or thirty fingers above the column; consequently its actual increase is fourteen or fourteen and a quarter cubits ⁹. It may be fairly conjectured that when this Nilometer was first constructed, the flood did not cover it, and consequently that it affords a proof of the general rise of the river's bed.

The attempt to prove the recent formation of the Delta of Egypt by referring to Homer, who is supposed to make the Isle of Pharos a day's sail distant from the shore, is at once repelled by the fact that Alexandria opposite to Pharos stands not on the soil of the Delta, but on the rock of the Lybian desert ¹. With respect to the arguments to be drawn from the presence of volcanic rocks in Egypt, they can have reference only to the state of things before historical time, and before the earth wore its present appearance. If the lavas of Egypt prove that that country was once under water, then also the highlands of Abyssinia and the Andes must have been at one time beneath the ocean.

Larcher, in refuting the erroneous theory of Herodotus, arrives himself at wrong conclusions founded on false calculations. He did not perceive that a river depositing soil raises its own bed as well as the circumjacent country, and that it constantly tends towards the establishment of an equilibrium at a rate diminishing as that equilibrium is approached. It is certain that the soil of Egypt is raised within the period of history, though much less in the Delta than in those parts of the valley where the flood of the Nile is first retarded. The ruins of ancient cities, as Pelusium and Canopus, show that the coast-line of the Delta has undergone little change for thousands of years. But at Elephantine, near the southern limits of Egypt, the ancient Nilometer mentioned by Strabo ², still exists, and has marked on it twenty-four cubits: the water, however, now rises nearly eight feet above it, while it appears from an inscription made in the third century of our era that the flood at that time used to rise one foot above it. From this it follows that the bed of the river at Elephantine rises about five inches in a century ³. Calculations of a similar kind make the increase at Cairo four inches in a century, which perhaps rather exceeds the truth. Sir J. G. Wilkinson observes ⁴, that soil has accumulated at Thebes to the depth of at least seven feet since the time of Amunoph III (1420 B. C.),

⁸ *L'Egypte* par A. B. Clot-Bey, 1840. tom. I. p. 42.

⁹ *Id. ibid.*

¹ Sir J. G. Wilkinson, *Manners, &c. of the Ancient Egyptians*, vol. I. p. 7.

² Strabo, XVII. 1.

³ Girard, *Mém. sur l'Eg.* III. p. 202.

⁴ Sir J. G. Wilkinson on the Nile, &c.

in the *Journ. R. G. Soc.* vol. IX. p. 436.

so as to add 1900 feet to the valley on one side within a period of 3260 years. This fact proves that the deposition of soil at Thebes amounts on the skirts of the inundation to nearly three inches in a century ; it is, of course, greater near the stream. The inundation of the Nile extends at present over a much wider area than it did in ancient times. The statue of Memnon at Luxor, now embedded in the soil, stands on an artificial terrace, raised, as excavations have proved, nineteen feet and a half above the contemporaneous level of the land⁵. If we allow then for a secular increase of five inches, the construction of that terrace could not have been much later than the year 3000 B. C.

It was suspected by Niebuhr⁶, and ascertained by the French, that the number of cubits stated in the daily proclamations as observed at the Mikyah or Nilometer at Cairo, are not to be depended on. The truth is perverted for political purposes. In 1801, when the public crier announced that the water had attained twenty-three cubits, it stood in reality at eighteen cubits⁷. Hence it is obvious how erroneous must be the conclusions founded on those proclamations, which certainly deceived Pococke, on whose testimony Larcher chiefly relies.

Thus it appears that Herodotus erred only in over-calculating the effects of the deposition of soil by the floods of the Nile ; while Larcher, on the other hand, confuting the Greek historian without regard to natural laws, arrives at a conclusion directly opposed to fact.]

10. Ἐπεὶ ἡμέρης δρόμον ἀπέχων ἀπὸ γῆς, κατεῖς καταπειρητήρην, πηλὸν τε ἀνοίσεις, καὶ ἐν ἑνδεκα ὀργυιῇσι ἔσσαι. *While still a day's sail from land, if you heave the lead, you will bring up mud and will find five fathoms and a half of water.* The observation of Herodotus is, that if a plumb-line be thrown into the sea, at the distance of a day's sail from the coast of Egypt, you will draw up mud. Bruce⁸ relates, "that masters of vessels know when they come near to the coast, by a black mud which they find upon the plummet at the end of their sounding-line, at the distance of about seven leagues from the land." He also controverts our historian's observation, by asserting, that at the distance of seventeen leagues from the land the plumb-line exhibited mud. But he does not recollect that Herodotus speaks neither of seven nor of seventeen leagues, but of one day's sail.

VI. 11. Αὐτῆς δὲ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐστὶ μῆκος τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν, ἑξήκοντα σχοῖνοι. *But the length of Egypt, along the sea-shore, is sixty schœni.* Herodotus estimates the schœnus at sixty stadia. He makes the length of Egypt, from the gulf Plinthinetes to the lake Serbonis, to be 3600 stadia, or sixty schœni. This estimate does not accord with what we find in Strabo and in other authors. From Taposiris to Alexandria⁹ it is twenty-five miles, which, at eight stadia the mile, gives

⁵ Girard, Mém. p. 217.

⁶ Reise, I. p. 126.

⁷ Girard, p. 257.

⁸ Travels to discover the source of the Nile, book I. p. 6.

⁹ See Peutinger's table, VI.

200 stadia. From the Isle of Pharos to the Canopic mouth of the Nile is reckoned¹ 150 stadia, and from this mouth to Pelusium 1300; from Pelusium to the temple of Jupiter Casius², which is near lake Serbonis, is reckoned forty miles, or 320 stadia. The whole thus amounting to 1970 stadia, which differs greatly from the estimate of Herodotus.

This difference arises from Strabo having made use of the Olympic stadium of ninety-four toises and a half, and Herodotus of a smaller one, containing little more than fifty-one toises. Thus the 1970 stadia above mentioned amount to 186,165 toises, and the 3600 stadia of Herodotus to 183,600 toises; a difference of no great amount. We can scarcely doubt the real existence of this little stadium. Aristotle makes use of it in his *Treatise on the Heavens*³. We know that the circumference of the earth is divided into 360 degrees: now, the mathematicians in his time calculated this circumference at 400,000 stadia, which gives 11,100 stadia for each degree; and as the degree is estimated at 5700 toises, in round numbers, the stadium will be fifty-one toises, a little more or less. [The reality of the little stadium here assumed shall be fully disproved lower down, where the metrology of Herodotus is the immediate subject of annotation.]

Those who wish for more particular information as to the schoenus, will do well to refer to the excellent Dissertation of M. D'Anville⁴.

Diodorus Siculus maintains, that the maritime coast of Egypt is of the extent of 2000 stadia⁵. Either he did not, as Herodotus does, comprehend the whole coast from the gulf Plinthinetes to the lake Serbonis, or this historian used the Olympic stadium of ninety-four toises and a half, in which case these 2000 stadia would amount to 188,000 toises, producing a difference of only 4400 toises between his calculation and that of Herodotus, which, considering the times when these calculations were made, is not great.

12. Σεβωνίδος λίμνης. *The lake Serbonis*. This lake is now called Sebakeh Bardúil, or lake of Baudouin; and the Mount Casius, Mount El-Kas. [The name Serbonis is said to have signified in the language of ancient Egypt, 'diffusing bad odours'⁶.]

VII. 13. Ἐοῦσα πᾶσα ὑπτίη τε καὶ ἄνυδρος, καὶ ἰλύς. *Being all flat and destitute of water, and slimy*. [This description of the Delta did not please Larcher, who proposes reading εὔνυδρος, 'well-watered,' and translates accordingly: but the expression seems applicable enough to a country having none but brackish water, except on the banks of the river. Larcher supposes the words Ἐοῦσα πᾶσα ὑπτίη to mean, 'sloping a little the whole way,' and he quotes in confirmation of his opinion the

¹ Strabo, XVII. p. 1140, B.

² Antonini Itinerar. p. 152.

³ Aristot. II. xiv. p. 472, B.

⁴ Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. vol. XXVI. p. 82.

⁵ Diod. Sic. I. xxxi. p. 36.

⁶ Jablonski, Opusc. I. p. 303; Champollion, L'Égypte sous les Pharaons, II. p. 304.

'Supinum Tibur' of Horace. But his views are only illustrated, not established, by the Latin poet; for it cannot be inferred merely from the general equivalence of two words of different languages, that they both have the same idiomatic applications also.]

14. Ἔστι δὲ ὁδὸς εἰς τὴν Ἡλιούπολιν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης. *The road from the sea to Heliopolis.* It might be imagined, at the first glance, that this should be understood of Pelusium, because Sesostris, according to Diodorus Siculus⁷, constructed on the east of Egypt, from Pelusium to Heliopolis, a wall to defend the country from the incursions of the Syrians and the Arabians. This wall crossed a desert country, and was 1500 stadia in length. But the city of Heliopolis, mentioned by this author, is not the same as that mentioned by Herodotus; and the place from which the Nile is ascended, can be no other than the Sebennytic mouth. [Larcher maintains that there were two Egyptian cities named Heliopolis: one within the Delta, near its southern point, between the Sebennytic and Canopic branches of the river; the other, east of the Delta; and that Herodotus speaks of the former. But the better opinion seems to be that there was but one city so named, the site of which was near the modern village of Matariah, where there still is the Ain Shams, or fountain of the Sun¹. Heliopolis was called by the Hebrews On, which, in Egyptian, meant the Sun². After adorning imperial Rome with its spoils, it still remained an object of admiration till the thirteenth century³. A solitary obelisk now recalls the memory of its former greatness⁴.]

15. Ἀπὸ τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν τοῦ βωμοῦ. *From the altar of the twelve gods.* This altar was in the public square of Athens [and was the centre from which the roads of Attica were measured]. Pisistratus⁵, the son of that Hippias who had been tyrant, dedicated it, in his archonship, to the twelve gods.

The precise time of the archontate of this Pisistratus is not known. There was an archon of that name⁶ in the fourth year of the 27th Olympiad; but the Pisistratus in question either was not born at that time, or was much too young to have held the magistracy. Neither can it be placed after the expulsion of Hippias his father. The Athenians held the family of that tyrant in too great horror ever to elevate his son to the supreme dignity. It must necessarily be placed between the years 4190 and 4205 of the Julian period; but in this space of fourteen years we do not find that there was any archon. The year 4191 was the fifth of the tyranny of Hipparchus, and the year 4204 was that in which Hippias was expelled. Now we learn from Thucydides⁷, that the Pisistratidæ took great care to fill all the import-

⁷ Diod. Sic. I. lvii. p. 67.

¹ Mannert's Africa, I. p. 480; Champollion, L'Eg. sous les Phar. II. p. 36.

² Genes. xci. 45. 50; Exod. i. 11. Champ. l'Eg. &c. II. p. 40.

³ Abd-Allatif, par Sylv. de Sacy, p. 180.

⁴ Clarke's Trav. III. p. 103.

⁵ Thucyd. VI. liv. p. 412.

⁶ Pausan. II. xxiv. p. 167.

⁷ Thucyd. loco laudato.

ant posts of the magistracy, and especially that of archon, yearly, either by some of their own family or of their partisans; for the expressions he employs are susceptible of this interpretation. He afterwards adds, that Pisistratus, the son of Hippias, of the same name as his grandfather, was one of these annual archons.

16. "Ες τε Πίσαν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν νηὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου. *To Pisa and the temple of Jupiter Olympius.* [Pisa was destroyed by the Elians nearly a century before the birth of Herodotus, who speaks of its site, nevertheless, because it was a well-known and hallowed spot.

Herodotus says that the distance from the sea to Heliopolis was nearly equal to that between Athens and Pisa; the former being 1500 stadia, the latter 1435. We shall hereafter return to this statement when we come to consider his metrological system.]

VIII. 17. Τὸ δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν αὖτις εὐρέα Αἴγυπτός ἐστι. *Beyond that place Egypt becomes wide again.* Aristides asserts⁸ that Egypt, so far from increasing in breadth at the distance of four days' journey up the Nile from Heliopolis, contracts so much, that the two mountains (that of Arabia and that of Libya) join, and that the Nile is obliged to force its way over them, which occasions cataracts. Herodotus was perfectly aware that the two mountains joined at the cataracts; but he thought that the point below them, where the country grew wider, was at the distance of four days' journey from Heliopolis. His account is confirmed by Norden's map. M. Savary⁹ affirms, that this plain is not more than nine leagues wide at its widest part; and this agrees with the statement of Herodotus, that it is 200 stadia.

But here arises a difficulty, which I shall content myself with noticing. Herodotus¹ reckons from Heliopolis to Thebes nine days' navigation, which amounts, he says, to 4860 stadia; and lest any doubt should arise as to the measure of these stadia, he adds that they amount to eighty-one schoëni. Hence it follows that he computes the day's navigation at 540 stadia. The four days' navigation then, of which Herodotus speaks in the passage under consideration, are equal to 2160 stadia, or thirty-six schoëni, that is, a little more than forty-four French leagues [seventy-two nautical leagues according to our calculation of the stadium]. The difficulty of reconciling these distances with the map of Egypt may be ascribed with probability to our author having used, either negligently or unconsciously, a variety of schoëni.

We can scarcely doubt that schoëni, of various lengths, were known in different parts of Egypt. Strabo positively asserts it²; let us hear what he says:

"The circuit from Alexandria to the point of the Delta is, according to Artemidorus, twenty-eight schoëni, ascending the river, which makes

⁸ Aristid. Orat. Ægypt. fol. 92. in aversâ parte, lin. 38.

⁹ Lettres sur l'Égypte, Lettre i. p. 5.

¹ Herod. II. ix.

² Strabo, XVII. p. 1156, A, B.

840 stadia, reckoning thirty stadia to the schoenus. In the course of our navigation, the Egyptians expressed the distances by another sort of schoenus which they used; so that they agreed that they had some of forty stadia, and even longer than that, in different places. Artemidorus himself shows in the sequel, that amongst the Egyptians the schoenus is not a fixed measure. For, says he, from Memphis to the district of Thebes, the schoenus is of 120 stadia, from Thebes to Syene it is sixty; but in ascending from Pelusium towards the highest point (of the Delta), he says, the distance is twenty-five schoeni, that is to say, 750 stadia; which shows that he used the same measure, viz. that of thirty stadia to the schoenus."

There were then schoeni of thirty, of forty, of sixty, and even of 120 stadia, and perhaps others.

IX. 18. Σταδίοι γάρ εἰσι εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑξακισχίλιοι. *The distance* (from the sea to Thebes) *is six thousand one hundred and twenty stadia.* Herodotus says, that from Heliopolis to Thebes the distance is 4860 stadia, that is to say, eighty-one schoeni. As the number of schoeni answers exactly to the 4860 stadia, it is clear that the error is not in that number. From the sea to Heliopolis was 1500 stadia. These two numbers make 6360. There is, therefore, an error in the text of 240 stadia, which we must necessarily impute to the copyists.

[The distances in stadia given by Herodotus, viz. 1500 from the sea to Heliopolis; 4860 from the latter place to Thebes, and 1800 from thence to Elephantina, all exceed the truth by about one-half. These numbers may, of course, be reconciled with truth by supposing the historian to have used a short stadium; but it is a more natural and less arbitrary hypothesis that the distance was over-estimated, than that it was measured by an ever-varying scale. It has been urged that these measures will be found to be correct if we suppose that the stadium used by Herodotus equalled 100 mètres (328 feet), and that he measured his distances in a straight line on a good map³. But his perfect accuracy, not very probable in itself, is made still more so by the conditions on which it is thus made to depend. It may be remarked, that the estimate of nine days' navigation up the river from Heliopolis is not incorrect, and since the number 4860 expressing the same distance estimated in stadia is divisible by nine, whereas the difference between it and 240 is not so divisible, the probability is, that the number 4860 is not that on which the correction referred to by Larcher must fall.]

X. 19. "Ὡσπερ γε τὰ περὶ Ἴλιον καὶ Τευθρανίην, καὶ Ἐφεσὸν τε καὶ Μαιάνδρου πεδίων. *As the ground about Ilium and Teuthrania, and Ephesus and the plain of Mæander.* Grelot, an author worthy of credit, asserts,

³ Descr. de l'Égypte, I. p. 508.

in the description of his voyage to Constantinople, that the Scamander is but a diminutive rivulet running into the sea at a very short distance from its source. It was a considerable river in the time of Homer, who tells us⁴ that it had two sources, one hot and the other cold. The warm spring did not subsist till the time of Demetrius of Scepsis⁵. The same Demetrius observes, that Artemia, one of the Echinadian islands, was united to the continent when he wrote; and that Hesiod, to whom that country could not be unknown, had asserted that the arm of the sea which separated those islands from the terra firma was gradually contracting, and that in their neighbourhood there had been a little island, called Asteris, which, after having had good ports, as mentioned by Homer⁶ in the *Odyssey*, had become a promontory of Italy, where it was impossible even to cast anchor. This appears to me sufficient to convince any reasonable man, that Herodotus made no statements on insufficient evidence. [Modern travellers confirm the views of Herodotus respecting the changes which are taking place on the coast of Asia Minor⁷.]

20. Ἐνὶ τῶν στομάτων τοῦ Νείλου ἑόντος πενταστόμου. *To a single one of the five mouths of the Nile.* Herodotus attributes to the Nile (xvii.) only five mouths; because the Bolbitine and the Bucolic were not natural, but the work of the Egyptians. He is thus explained by Eustathius⁸ in his commentary on Dionysius Periegetes.

21. Τῶν Ἐχινάδων νήσων τὰς ἡμίσεις ἤδη ἡπειρον πεποίηκε. *Has joined half of the Echinadian isles to the continent.* "The⁹ greater part of the Echinadian islands are situate opposite to the city of Cēniadæ, not far from the mouth of the Achelous. This river, which is considerable, accumulates much mud; some of these islands are already joined to the continent, and it is expected that the same will happen to the others ere long."

This prediction of Thucydides was not accomplished in the time of Pausanias¹, and things remain much in the same state to this day. But Pausanias assigns a good reason for this. The Ætolians, says he, having been driven from their country, their lands remained uncultivated; the river, therefore, carried away with it less soil, and the continent ceased to increase. Mr. Wood, nevertheless, remarks², in his excellent work on the Original Genius and Writings of Homer, that he has had occasion to observe, that the Achelous continues to join these islands to the continent by the soil which it deposits near its mouth.

[These islands sent troops to the siege of Troy³. It is probable that the largest have been joined to the mainland by the deposits of the Achelous. On some of them, now hills in the plain, are to be seen

⁴ *Iliad* XXII. 149.

⁵ Strabo, I.

⁶ *Odyss.* IV. 846.

⁷ Chandler's Trav. XXI. p. liii.

⁸ Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. 236. p. 40. col. 2.

⁹ Thucyd. II. cii. p. 166.

¹ Pausan. VIII. xxiv. p. 647.

² An Essay on the Original Genius and Writings of Homer, p. 9.

³ *Iliad* II. 625.

ruins⁴. The remaining islands belong to the people of Ithaca, who find some pasture on them for sheep and goats⁵.]

XI. 22. Κόλπος μακρὸς καὶ στενός. *A long and narrow gulf.* The length of the Arabian gulf is estimated by Herodotus at forty days' navigation. M. Niebuhr⁶ reckons thirty-four days to go from Suez to Loheia; and it is at least six days from Loheia to Ocelis or Ghela.

As to the width of the gulf, if Herodotus speaks of that part of it which borders on Egypt, as he most probably does, he is right in estimating it at half a day's sail. But further on it widens, and again becomes narrow, so that at Ocelis or Ghela and at Direa it is only sixty stadia in width, according to Strabo⁷, or 7500 paces, according to Pliny⁸.

23. [Κοῦ γε δὴ, ἐν τῷ προαναισιμωμένῳ χρόνῳ πρότερον ἢ ἐμὲ γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἂν χωσθείη κόλπος καὶ πολλῶν μέζων ἔτι τούτου, ὑπὸ τοσούτου τε ποταμοῦ καὶ οὕτως ἐργατικοῦ; *And why might not, in the time which has passed away before me, a much greater gulf than this (the Arabian gulf) be filled up, by a river so great and so operative?* Herodotus reasons thus. If the Nile, by changing its course, carried its waters into the Arabian gulf, it would fill it up in 20,000 years, or even in less than 10,000, by the soil which it carries with it. Why then might it not have filled up a gulf like that of Egypt, in all the space of time antecedent to his birth? a space which Herodotus supposed immense.]

XII. 24. [Κογχύλιά τε φαινόμενα ἐπὶ τοῖσι οὐρεσι καὶ ἄλμην ἐπανθείουσιν. *Shells also to be seen on the mountains, and efflorescent salt.* These appearances do not necessarily lead to the conclusion which Herodotus would draw from them, namely, that Egypt was originally a gulf of the sea, which the mud deposited by the Nile filled up in a long course of years. Such, indeed, would be the just inference, if shells of existing marine species were found beneath or imbedded in the alluvial soil; but this, we believe, is not the case in Egypt. The fossil shells (chiefly *ostrea diluviana*⁹), which enter into the composition of the limestone mountains on the eastern bank of the Nile in Upper Egypt, manifestly owe their present situation, not to the Nile nor to the routine of nature, but to causes of an extraordinary kind, or revolutions anterior perhaps to the existence of the Nile. The shells found at great heights on the Andes, Pyrennees, and other high mountains, considered in all their circumstances, offer incontrovertible proofs of such revolutions. Fresh-water shells, of species multiplying in the inundated plains on the northern frontier of Abyssinia¹, and carried

⁴ Gell's Itin. of Greece, p. 298.

⁵ Dodwell's Classical Tour, I. p. 109.

⁶ Voyage en Arabie, tom. I. p. 207—235.

⁷ Strabo, XVI. p. 1114, A.

⁸ Plin. Hist. Nat. VI. xxix. p. 342.

lin. 6.

⁹ Rozière, Descr. de la Vallée de Kosseyr, Mém. sur l'Eg. III. p. 227.

¹ Bruce's Travels, vol. VI. p. 267.

down into Egypt with the floods, might also mislead incautious observers.

Salt efflorescing in the process of evaporation and incrusting the ground, is a common phenomenon in every naked desert under a dry atmosphere, and furnishes no proof of the former presence of the ocean.

Shells, indeed, of recent kinds, and not petrified, are strewed over the Wad al-Tieh, or Valley of the Wandering, between Cairo and Suez². But though these may be thought at first sight to favour the opinion of Herodotus and the other ancient authors³ who adopted his views, yet, how can a phenomenon arguing the former presence of the ocean in the Wad al-Tieh, be turned to the account of a theory which supposes the sea to have been expelled from Egypt by the mud of the Nile? The Wad al-Tieh is open to the Red Sea, and is not filled with any deposit from the Nile. The retirement of the sea from Egypt must be assigned to a period antecedent to that in which the deposition of soil by the Nile commenced.]

25. [Μελάγγαιόν τε καὶ κατεῤῥηγνυμένην. *Black and friable.* Such was the the soil in the valley of Egypt, while on the west or towards Libya, as Herodotus remarks, the soil was red and sandy; on the east, it was stony and argillaceous. The alluvial soil of Egypt has a depth near the river at Thebes of about thirty-six feet, and rests on sand and gravel, which are also carried down by the stream. In a compact state it is nearly black, but gives to water a reddish-brown tinge. It separates into thin flakes, which represent the annual deposits, the lowest being also the thinnest, and which are not thicker on an average than strong card or pasteboard⁴. Plutarch observes⁵, τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα μελάγγειον οὖσαν ὥσπερ τὸ μέλαν τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ Χημίαν καλοῦσιν, 'they call Egypt which has a remarkably black soil, Chemia, as well as the black part of the eye (the iris and pupil).' It was remarked by Jablonski⁶, that Chem or Chemi was the native or Coptic name for Egypt; and numerous hieroglyphic inscriptions now bear witness to his discernment. It is supposed that the *Chemi* of the Egyptians, which signified *black*, was the Ham of the Hebrews; and hence the name Ham was given to the father of the Blacks. It is whimsical enough that the word Alchemy, which merely meant the *Egyptian* art, should, by an accidental return to the original sense of its root, have been called the *Black* art.]

XIII. 26. Ἐπὶ Μοίριος βασιλέος, ὅπως ἔλθοι ὁ ποταμὸς ἐπὶ ὀκτὼ πήχεας τὸ ἐλάχιστον. *In the time of King Mæris, if the river rose at least eight cubits.* Dr. Richard Pococke⁷ thinks that Herodotus is mis-

² Girard, Mém. sur l'Eg. III. p. 367.

³ Plutarch, de Is. et Osir. p. 367. Strabo, I. p. 49.

⁴ Girard, Mém. sur l'Eg. III. p. 216.

⁵ Plut. de Is. atq. Osir. p. 364.

⁶ Opusc. I. p. 404; Champollion, l'Eg. sous les Phar. I. p. 101.

⁷ A Description of the East, by Richard Pococke, vol. I. p. 251.

taken; that these eight cubits must be understood of the elevation of the waters above the ordinary level, and not of their depth from the bed of the river; whereas the sixteen cubits which he mentions further on must be understood of the entire depth of the waters from their highest elevation to the bottom. This explanation, by giving uniformity to the risings of the river from the time of Mœris to ours, entirely destroys the system of our historian, who imagined that the soil of Egypt had risen greatly since the reign of that prince.

[Herodotus manifestly intended to show that the soil of Egypt must have risen seven or eight cubits within the period of not quite 900 (896) years, which elapsed between the reign of Mœris (1356 B. C. according to Larcher) and his own visit to Egypt (460 B. C.). This would make an increase at the rate of ten inches in a century, or nearly triple of the ascertained rate of increase during the last 2000 years. It is not to be expected that so remarkable a phenomenon as a general rise in the level of the country should have been observed, at first starting, with rigorous precision, or should have been related by the Egyptian priests without exaggeration. Yet we must beware lest we carry back too far the strict application of the laws of still-existing agencies, which laws are not themselves exempt from variation in the course of ages.]

27. Ἡν οὕτω ἡ χώρα αὕτη κατὰ λόγον ἐπιδιδόει ἐς ὕψος, καὶ τὸ ὁμοῖον ἀποδιδόει ἐς αὐξήσιν. *If in this manner the same region should continue gaining at the same rate in height, and giving equally to extension.* There is no tautology in this sentence, as some persons have supposed. The second member of it applies to the land which Egypt, according to the system of Herodotus, was in process of gaining from the sea.

28. Κακῶς πεινήσειν. *They will perish by hunger.* It should seem that the Egyptians in thus menacing others with evils from which they deemed themselves exempt, had no knowledge of the seven years of famine which afflicted their country under the administration of Joseph⁸, and which were the more remarkable, as they produced an entire change in the constitution of the state; by obliging the people to give first their gold and silver to the prince in exchange for corn, afterwards their cattle, their lands, and, finally, to surrender themselves as slaves. This proves either that the annals of this people were not so ancient as Herodotus pretends, or that they were very far from correct.

29. Εἰ μὴ ἐθέλῃσει σφί ὕειν ὁ θεός. *If the Deity will not give them any rain.* A little lower down it is observed that the Greeks 'have no other resource than the water which comes from Jupiter.' When the ancients asked what weather it was, they said, τί γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς ποιεῖ, as we find in Aristophanes⁹: Χὼ Ζεὺς ἄλλοκα μὲν πέλει αἶθριος, ἄλλοκα δ' ὕει¹: 'sometimes it is fine, and then again it rains.' Εἰ ποιήσειεν ὁ Ζεὺς ὕδωρ², 'if it should happen to rain.'

⁸ Genesis xli. xlvii. 14, &c.

⁹ Aristoph. in Avib. 1501.

¹ Theocrit. Idyll. IV. 43.

² Theophrasti Charact. de Garrulitate, III. p. 16.

[Homer ascribes rain to Jove: *ῥε δ' ἄρα Ζεὺς Συνεχές*³. So also rain-water is called by Plato *τὰ ἐκ Διὸς ὕδατα*, 'water from Jove'⁴. The same mode of expression was adopted by the Latin authors, who likewise identified Jupiter with the atmosphere: thus Virgil says⁵,

Jupiter et læto descendet plurimus imbri.]

XIV. 30. *Εἰ μήτε γε ὕσεται σφί ἡ χώρα. If the country is neither watered by rain.* Herodotus no doubt meant to speak of the summer, during which season rain is very rare in Egypt. Philo the Jew, who was born in Egypt, and who had passed almost all his life there, says⁶, that in summer, at the time when all rivers decrease, the Nile overflows and covers all the country, and that though Egypt has little or no rain, it is nevertheless abundant in all sorts of produce, unless the impiety of the inhabitants induces God in his anger to deny it them. "A little rain," says Pococke⁷, "sometimes falls in Upper Egypt, but I was told that in the course of eight years it had rained heavily but twice, for the space of about half an hour; though it rained a good deal on the side of Akmim⁸, whilst I was there." Norden also remarks, that it seldom rains in Egypt⁹. He says, however, that from Alexandria¹ to Feshn² the sky is often overcast, the air charged with fogs, and that it often rains; and that at Feshn and beyond it the sky is always clear, though at Menshieh he witnessed a violent rain accompanied by thunder, which lasted for an hour. "On the one side towards the sea³, there sometimes falls a good deal of water, from November to March; but higher up, in the environs of Cairo, there seldom falls any, except in December, January, and February, and then but very slight rains, which last only for a quarter or half an hour."

According to the meteorologic observations of Greaves in the year 1639, quoted by Dr. Shaw⁴, it rained sixteen times in January, and snowed once, and in February it rained eight times. Vansleb relates, that on the 25th February, 1673, the rain began to fall very early in the morning, on the side of the Nile opposite to ancient Cairo, and continued till noon: and he adds, that it was so violent as almost to sink his boat. [In the Delta there is much rain from October till March. At Cairo there are but twelve rainy days in the year on an average of five years (1835-9), but between Cairo and the Mediterranean sea the showers are much more frequent as well as copious⁵.]

³ Iliad XII. 25.

⁴ Plato, vol. II. p. 761.

⁵ Eclog. VII. 60; Georg. II. 325.

⁶ Philo Jud. in *Vitâ Mosis*, vol. II. p. 81. lin. 25.

⁷ A Description of the East, &c. by Richard Pococke, vol. I. p. 195.

⁸ The ancient Chemmis.

⁹ Travels in Egypt and Nubia, vol. I. p. 53.

¹ Id. *ibid.* vol. I. p. 89, 90.

² The ancient Fenchî. *Tabula Theodos.* § ix.

³ A Description of the East, &c. vol. I. p. 195.

⁴ Shaw's Travels, vol. II. Appendix, p. 142.

⁵ Clot-Bey, *Aperçu Gén. de l'Eg.* I. p. 21.

The small quantity of rain which falls in Egypt has little effect in fertilizing the earth; which has induced the inspired author of Deuteronomy to observe⁶: "For the land whither thou goest in to possess it, is not as the land of Egypt, from whence ye came out, where thou sowedst thy seed, and wateredst it with thy foot, as a garden of herbs." [The expression 'thou wateredst with thy foot,' alludes to the mode in which the dams in the channels through the cultivated grounds are trodden or pressed down with the foot in order to distribute the waters.]

According to the reasoning of Herodotus, the inundation is and always will be as abundant in Egypt as it formerly has been. Yet, since the soil rises, the waters will cover a smaller extent of country; and as it does not rain, the inhabitants of that part of the country which is not visited by the waters must perish with hunger. Our historian supposes that the inundation will be always the same; but that is impossible. Let us hear what M. de Dolomieu, one of our best-informed naturalists, says on this point: "A thousand⁷ observations prove, that the height of the mountains, by retaining and condensing the clouds, contributes greatly to the quantity of water which falls. The lowering of the summits of mountains has often sufficed to dry up the sources of the rivers which had their rise in them. The mountains become lowered the more easily, as they pass suddenly from an extreme moisture to an excessive dryness, and again abundant rains penetrate into the clefts which the dryness has occasioned. The hardest granite can scarcely resist this operation, but in small shales yields to the impulse of torrents, which carry them down to the plains. Thus we often see crumbled to their basis enormous masses, whose solidity seemed calculated to bid defiance to time But there are no mountains where this process will be so rapid as in those of Ethiopia. The torrents which rush down them during three months of incessant and heavy rain, the burning heat which immediately succeeds, must perpetually affect the stone of which they are composed. Their summits must be lowered, and with their height they will lose the capacity of retaining the same quantity of clouds pressed against their sides by the north winds. By this means the sources of the fertility of Egypt must daily diminish; by this means the risings of the Nile must abate, and the extent of its inundations become contracted I can scarcely doubt that the quantity of water which reaches Egypt is actually diminished: the diminished time which the river takes to rise and to fall proves it." Thus this country, which even to the present time is so fertile, will one day be exposed to all the horrors of famine, and its wretched inhabitants will be compelled to quit their country by a cause very different from that suspected by Herodotus.

[We have seen that the area watered by the Nile in the valley of

⁶ Deuteronom. xi. 10.

⁷ *Mémoire sur la Constitution Physique de l'Égypte*, part ii. p. 58.

Egypt, is actually increased⁸. The consequences of the levelling of the mountains by natural decay are too remote for legitimate speculation. We may excuse the mistakes of Herodotus respecting the physical revolutions of the globe, when we find modern philosophers reasoning with equal rashness and with as many false assumptions.]

31. Οἱ οὐτε ἀρότρῳ ἀναρρήγνυντες αὐλακὰς ἔχουσι πόνους. *Who neither have the trouble of breaking up furrows with the plough.* This mode of culture, which Herodotus considers peculiar to Egypt, is not so confined to that country as to be practised no where else. To my own knowledge, at Armenvilliers, near Tournans, in the Brie Françoise, a pond of 180 acres, after being drained off, is fished; and when all the fish are taken out, oats are sown and grow there without any labour.

32. Σπείρας ἕκαστος τὴν ἐωυτοῦ ἄρουραν, ἐσβάλλει ἐς αὐτὴν ὕς. *Each man sowing his field turns swine into it.* “The Latins gave the name of ‘porca’ to a ridge of earth raised between two furrows. Hence their diminutive ‘porcellæ,’ which Pliny⁹ uses. These ridges were necessary in Egypt to throw off the water. Thus to throw up ridges of this kind is what Pliny calls ‘sues immittere,’ and Herodotus, ἐσβάλλειν ὕς. The act of treading the grain into the earth is called by Herodotus καταπατέειν τῇσι ὑσὶ, and by Pliny, ‘vestigii semina deprimere.’”—
BELLANGER.

This remark of M. Bellanger's, which I retain rather from its singularity than its correctness, proves that the use of pigs to tread corn into the ground embarrassed him as much as other commentators. It appears, from the account of Herodotus, that pigs and nothing but pigs was his meaning. The terms ἐσβάλλειν, ‘immittere,’ and καταπατέειν, ‘to tread under foot,’ were repugnant to M. Bellanger's ideas. The sequel puts the matter beyond doubt: “they make use of pigs also to tread the grain from the ear.” Now, I would ask, how a ridge thrown up in the ground could tread the corn from the ear.

Plutarch¹, Eudoxus², and Pliny³, relate the same thing: very intelligent men have nevertheless discredited the circumstance. Valckenaer does not hesitate to pronounce it a fable invented by Herodotus, and Wesseling inclines to the same opinion, though he is not so harsh. Thomas Gale, who did not think pigs proper to tread in corn, substitutes oxen, on the ground that the word ὕς appears to signify an ox, both in Hesychius and in Phavorinus. But Wesseling long ago corrected this article in Hesychius, in his notes on Diodorus Siculus; and the learned Alberti has readily admitted his correction. If our historian's account be not a fable, how could a voracious animal, more likely to devour the grain than to tread it into the earth, be used for the latter

⁸ Add. to note 9 of this book.

⁹ Hist. Nat. XVIII. xviii.

¹ Plutarch. in Sympos. IV. Quæst. V. p. 670, B.

² Apud Ælian. de Nat. Animal. X. xvi. vol. I. p. 563.

³ Plin. Hist. Nat. XVIII. xviii. vol. II. p. 123. lin. 6.

purpose? In some of our provinces these animals are used to find out truffles, and they put a species of muzzle on them to prevent them from eating the plant. The Egyptians no doubt had recourse to a similar expedient. Diodorus Siculus⁴ gets over the difficulty by using a general expression. For my own part, I think that Herodotus is mistaken only as to the time when the pigs are turned into the fields. It was most probably not after the corn was sown, but before, that they might eat up those aquatic plants which might damage the corn. Borheck approves of my conjecture.

33. Ἀποδινήσας δὲ τῇσι ὑστὶ τὸν σῖτον. *Treading out the grain with swine.* This operation is what the Latins call 'tritura.' Throughout the East, oxen were used for this purpose. Other methods were employed in different places. The instrument we use is the flail.

The Egyptians even now use a machine⁵ drawn by two oxen, in which the conductor is on his knees, whilst another man draws back the straw, and separates the grain which remains beneath it. I must admit, however, that Norden speaks only of rice. "When the harvest is completed⁶," says the learned Bishop of Ossory, "the heads of corn are spread out on the ground, and an ox draws a machine over it, which, as well as himself, helps to beat out the grain and separate it from the straw. This machine resembles the axle-tree of a carriage furnished all round with pieces of sharpened iron of about six inches long."

The text has, 'they use pigs.' But as this animal is very voracious, and moreover not at all adapted for trituration, I have substituted the word oxen [βοῦσι for ὑστὶ]. This is also the conjecture of Borheck.

XV. 34. Ταριχηϊῶν τῶν Πηλουσιακῶν. *The Taricheæ of Pelusium.* This name probably arose from the circumstance, that in this place the bodies of men and animals were preserved embalmed after the manner of the country, which were called ταριχεία. For the same reason this name was common⁷ to many places in Egypt: and therefore Herodotus, to distinguish that of which he speaks from all others, adds the name Pelusium, which correctly indicates it. [Ταριχεία means properly, pickle. The place so called near Pelusium may have been a salt or brine pit. It is supposed by D'Anville to have been situate at the place now called Al Faramah. The watch-tower of Perseus stood near Aboukir. The distance between these two points is overrated by Herodotus.]

35. Αἰεὶ τε εἶναι. *That they have always existed.* Diodorus Siculus⁸ affirms, that the Ethiopians look on the Egyptians as one of their colonies, which was headed by Osiris. But in another place⁹ he says, that

⁴ Diod. Sic. I. xxxvi. p. 43.

⁵ Travels in Egypt and Nubia, by Norden, vol. I. pp. 50, 51.

⁶ A Description of the East, by Richard Pococke, vol. I. p. 208.

⁷ Steph. Byz. in voce, et Herod. II.

exiii.

⁸ Diod. Sic. III. iii. vol. i. p. 175.

⁹ Id. I. l. vol. i. p. 59.

the inhabitants of Thebes considered themselves the most ancient people of the earth. No doubt, the historian merely gives the traditions of both people, without expressing his own opinion. [In deriving the Egyptians from the Ethiopians, Diodorus only repeats the speculations of Greek writers, as he himself plainly intimates.]

XVI. 36. Τρία μέρη εἶναι γῆν πᾶσαν. *That the whole earth is divided into three parts.* Many of the ancients divided the world into two parts only, Europe and Asia.

They considered Africa as a part of Europe ;

Tertia pars rerum Libye, si credere famæ
Cuncta velis ; at, si ventos cœlumque sequaris,
Pars erit Europæ¹.

“The whole earth,” says Isocrates², “is divided into two parts, Asia and Europe. There are, however, authors who join Africa to Asia, for instance Silius Italicus³ ;

Æoliis candens austris, et lampade Phœbi
Æstifero Libye torretur subdita Cancro,
Aut ingens Asiæ latus, aut pars tertia terris.

37. Οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὁ Νεῖλός γε ἐστὶ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον, ὁ τὴν Ἀσίην οὐρίζων τῆς Λιβύης. *It is not the Nile, according to this reasoning, which separates Asia from Libya.* According to Herodotus, the Nile does not separate Asia from Africa : yet his opinion was not that of the Ionians, which he here cites ; for, according to them, Asia and Africa were severally bounded by the Nile, as far as the point of the Delta ; but at that point it was the Delta itself which formed the boundary line of these two parts of the world. This country, therefore, Herodotus remarks, was, according to them, between the two. According to this opinion, it was still the Nile that separated Asia and Africa ; but Asia was bounded by the Pelusian branch, and Africa by the Canopic branch or river Agathodæmon, which left the Delta between them : whereas, according to Herodotus, Egypt is a separate country, which belongs neither to Asia nor to Africa, and which comprises all the territory occupied by the Egyptians⁴.

This opinion of Herodotus had always appeared to me very extraordinary ; and it has not seemed less so to Major Rennell⁵, who thinks that no reason can be assigned for it, unless this, that our historian, departing from the usual method of dividing the globe into continents, chose to distribute it into regions, and that Egypt of itself might be considered a region.

¹ Lucan. Pharsal. IX. 411.

² Isocrat. in Panegyrico, vol. I. p. 216.

³ Silius Italicus, I. 193.

⁴ Herod. III. xvii.

⁵ The Geographical System of Herodotus examined, &c. p. 3.

[The sophistical reasoning with which Herodotus seeks to confute the Ionians, may be thus briefly stated. If the Delta be Egypt, then Egypt is enclosed by the waters of the Nile. But the Nile divides Asia from Africa; and since Egypt is within the boundary on either side, it belongs neither to Asia nor to Africa. It is, therefore, a fourth division of the earth. The eagerness with which Herodotus criticizes the errors of the Ionians, may be ascribed to his jealousy of the historian Hecataeus, who preceded him by sixty or seventy years.]

38. *Κανωβικὸν στόμα. The Canopic mouth.* The Greeks, who entertained much too high an opinion of themselves, referred every important event to their own country; a ridiculous excess of vanity, which led them into the most puerile errors. They imagined that the Canopic mouth of the Nile derived its name⁶ from Canobus, a pilot of Menelaus, who died from the bite of a serpent, during the stay of that prince in Egypt. Menelaus, having rendered him the last offices, built a city and named it after him, in which he left all the useless part of his army. But the Egyptians themselves are a better authority for the etymology of the word. The rhetorician Aristides⁷ "having interrogated as to this point a priest of distinguished rank, the latter answered, that the place was so called long before Menelaus ever came there. It is not easy to write the word in Greek characters, though it approaches nearly to the Greek: the difficulty arises from its being an Egyptian word. It signifies in our language 'the land of gold,' χρυσοῦν ἔδαφος." [The priest spoke the truth: in Coptic, Kah means land or country, and Nob is gold.] It also received the name⁸ of the Heracleotic mouth, if we may credit the author of the Paraphrase of Dionysius Periegetes, because Hercules, on his return from Libya, whither he had been to fetch the golden apples, went into the temple of Jupiter Ammon, sacrificed to the god, and thence repaired to that part of Egypt.

But without bestowing further consideration on mere etymology, let us pass to the seven branches of the Nile. It is the more important to examine carefully all that relates to them, because the ancient writers are far from agreeing on the point. This river, the source of which still remains unknown, notwithstanding the pretended discoveries of Bruce, flows in a single channel from Ethiopia to the point of the Delta. From this point it breaks into three principal branches, one of which takes a direction towards the east, and is called the Pelusian branch; another towards the north, which is called the Sebennytic branch; and the third, which flows towards the west, is named the Canopic. From the Sebennytic branch proceed two others, the Saïtic

⁶ Ἀνωνύμου Παράφρασις εἰς τὴν Διονυσίου Περιήγησιν, ad vers. 10; Pompon. Mela, II. vii. p. 221; Tacit. Annal. II. ix.; Amm. Marcell. XXII. xvi. p. 266.

⁷ Aristid. in Αἰγυπτίῳ, p. 96. lin. 9 et s.

⁸ Ἀνωνύμου Παράφρασις, &c. ad vers. 19.

and the Mendesian. The Saïtic is between the Bolbitine channel, which has been dug by human labour, and the Sebennytic. The Bucolic is likewise the work of man, and runs between the Sebennytic and Mendesian channels, from the latter of which it proceeds: then come the Mendesian and Pelusian channels. The seven mouths of the Nile then, from east to west, are the Pelusian, the Mendesian, the Bucolic, the Sebennytic, the Saïtic, the Bolbitine, and the Canopic. Such is the account of Herodotus.

All the geographers⁹ agree with Herodotus as to the Pelusian and Canopic branches. Strabo¹, Diodorus Siculus, and Ptolemæus, as well as our historian, place the Bolbitine after the Canopic, but without noticing that it was dug by the inhabitants. Strabo, in naming the Saïtic branch only², confounds it with the Tanitic; for he holds that this branch is connected with the Pelusian, whereas, according to Herodotus, it flows from the Sebennytic, and is between that branch and the Bolbitine. Diodorus Siculus and Ptolemy have omitted it. Wesseling³ justly observes that this channel derived its name from the Saïtic nome which it bounded. But when he adds, by way of proof, a passage from Plato's *Timæus*, in which it is said that the Saïtic nome is at the top of the Delta, his assertion loses its influence. A nome situated at the southern point of the Delta could scarcely give its name to a canal which began only at the opposite extremity. The fact is, that the city of Saïs, and the nome of which it was the capital, were much lower down, and near a channel derived from the Sebennytic branch, and that this city and this nome gave to that channel the name which it bears. Plato meant to speak of Heliopolis.

As to the Sebennytic branch, Strabo⁴ affirms, that it is the third in point of size, and that it commences near the summit of the Delta. Herodotus also says, that "the third (branch) goes in a straight line from the uppermost part of Egypt to the point of the Delta, which, in its progress towards the sea, it divides in two. It is called the Sebennytic channel."

Herodotus, in terming this branch the third, does not mean the third from the Canopic, reckoning from west to east, but the third in size, as an attentive perusal of his text cannot fail to convince the reader. I am therefore at a loss to conceive what should have induced M. D'Anville⁵ to maintain that the Sebennytic channel of Herodotus is the same as the Phatnitic of all the other writers of antiquity.

The Bucolic channel is the work of men's hands. It is between the Sebennytic and Mendesian branches. This appears to be the same with the Phatnitic of other authors. Diodorus Siculus⁶ having said

⁹ Strabo, XVII. p. 1136, D; Diod. Sic. I. xxxiii. p. 39; Ptolem. Geogr. IV. v. p. 116.

¹ Strabo, p. 1153, B.

² Id. p. 1154, c.

³ Wessel. in notis ad Herod. p. 112, note 91.

⁴ Strabo, XVII. p. 1153, D.

⁵ Mémoires sur l'Égypte, &c. p. 48.

⁶ Diod. Sic. XX. lxxv, lxxvi.

that Antigonus made sail towards the Phatnitic mouth, adds, that the neighbouring coast abounds with marshes; and Heliodorus⁷ observes, that these marshes, infested by banditti, and fit only for pasture, were called by the Egyptians 'Bucolia.' We perceive then, in these authors, the reason for giving to this mouth the name of Bucolic. It appears to me that this is the Mendesian mouth of all authors, ancient and modern, except Herodotus.

Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, and Ptolemæus, having forgotten the Saitic mouth, were obliged to give to the Sebennytic the name of Phatnitic, to the Bucolic or Phatnitic the name of Mendesian, and to the Mendesian the name of Tanitic, to complete the number of the seven mouths of the Nile. And what favoured the error of these writers is, that the Bucolic branch passed near the Mendesian nome, and hence perhaps, shortly after the time of Herodotus, took the name of Mendesian; and the Mendesian branch, which passed near Tanis, took, at the same time, the name of Tanitic. But, in any case, Strabo is inexcusable, since the description which he gives of the Sebennytic branch can accord with no other than that to which Herodotus gives the same name. The Mendesian branch of Herodotus is, therefore, the Tanitic of the other writers.

As to the Pelusian, there is not the smallest difficulty. It comes from the point of the Delta, forms the eastern line of the triangle, and falls into the sea near Al-Faramah. M. Savary, in his map of Egypt, informs us that it is now filled up.

As to that channel, of which the mouth is immediately before the Phatnitic mouth, in proceeding from the Mendesian to the Phatnitic, and which, according to Savary⁸, has not been pointed out by any geographer, I venture to affirm that Strabo and many others have pointed it out. "Between these mouths⁹," says this learned geographer, "there are others of less note, called Pseudostomata, or false mouths." And in another place he says, "Between¹ the Pelusian and Canopic mouths, there are five other remarkable ones, besides several others that are smaller." Diodorus Siculus, after having spoken of the seven mouths of the Nile, adds, "There are others² formed by the hands of men, respecting which I consider it unnecessary to write." The discovery of M. Savary is, therefore, any thing but new.

XVIII. 39. [Οἱ γὰρ δὴ ἐκ Μαρίας τε πόλιος καὶ Ἀπιδος, οἰκούντες Αἰγύπτου τὰ πρόσουρα Λιβύῃ. *The people of the city of Marea and of Apis, who inhabit the part of Egypt which borders on Libya.* Marea gave its name to lake Mareotis, on the western side of which it stood, not far from the sea. The Egyptian name Ma-rê signifies the 'gift of the Sun.' Apis was also on the western side of the same lake. The

⁷ Heliodori Æthiop. I. p. 10.

⁸ Lettres sur l'Égypte, p. 339.

⁹ Strabo, XVII. p. 1153, B.

¹ Id. ibid. p. 1137, A.

² Diod. Sic. I. xxxiii. p. 39.

deserted tract embracing lake Mareotis is now called Mariuth; in the Coptic language it is named Phaiat, which is equivalent to Libya³.]

40. Βουλόμενοι θηλέων βοῶν μὴ ἔργεσθαι. *Wishing not to be precluded from the flesh of heifers.* It appears by this passage, and by others further on, that the Egyptians did not eat the flesh of cows. This superstitious people⁴ abstained also from oxen, if they were twins, if they were spotted, or if they had ever been employed in labour.

XIX. 41. Ὅτι κατέρχεται μὲν ὁ Νεῖλος πληθύων, ἀπὸ τροπέων τῶν θερινέων ἀρξάμενος. *Why the Nile descends swelling, beginning at the summer solstice.* The inundation⁵ regularly commences in the month of July, three weeks after the rains have begun in Ethiopia. In 1714⁶ it began on the 13th of June, in 1715 on the 1st of July, and in 1738 on the 20th of June.

42. Πελάσας δ' ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τουτέων τῶν ἡμερέων ὀπίσω ἀπέρχεται. *Having advanced during this number of days, it again departs.* Πελάζειν signifies 'accedere.' 'Accessus maris' signifies the tide⁷. We find also in Seneca 'accessio Nili,' for the rising of the Nile. 'Nilus⁸ autem per menses quatuor liquitur, et illi æqualis accessio est.'

[The rains in Abyssinia begin in April, three months (not weeks) before the swelling of the Nile at Cairo⁹. By the middle of May the increase of the river is perceptible at Dongola¹, and six weeks later, it shows itself at Cairo. As the rise which has taken place in the bed of the Nile, in common with the soil of the valley, must have had the effect of equalizing the current between the cataract of Elephantina and the sea, the flood, in the time of Herodotus, must have descended more rapidly to Memphis, and have flowed off more slowly through the Delta, than at the present day.]

43. Ἀπολείπων τὸ ῥέεθρον. *Deserting the channel.* First, the stream retires, ὀπίσω ἀπέρχεται, it then shrinks within its bed so much that during the winter there remains but a mere thread of water, ἀπολείπων τὸ ῥέεθρον, ὥστε βραχὺς, &c. In another place Herodotus uses the same terms to signify that the Scamander was dried up by the army of Xerxes. Ἀπικομένου² δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Σκάμανδρον, ὃς πρῶτος ποταμῶν, ἐπεὶ τε ἐκ Σαρδίῳ ὁρμηθέντες ἐπεχείρησαν τῇ ὁδῷ, ἀπέλιπε τὸ ῥέεθρον. "The army arrived on the Scamander; this was the first river that was dried up by them since they had commenced their march

³ Champollion, L'Eg. s. l. Phar. II. p. 266.

⁴ Porphyry, de Abstin. ab Esu Animal. IV. vii. p. 314.

⁵ Shaw's Travels, vol. II. p. 173, note.

⁶ Pococke's Description of the East, vol. I. pp. 256, 257.

⁷ Cicer. de Divinat. II. xiv.

⁸ Senec. Nat. Quæst. IV. ii. p. 752. vol. II.

⁹ Bruce's Travels, vol. V. p. 333.

¹ Ruppell, Reise in Nubien, 1829, p. 74.

² Herod. VII. xlii.

from Sardes." Some editions, it is true, have ἐπέλιπε, but that amounts to the same thing. 'Ρέεθρον is said of the bed of a river³.

44. Ἱστορέων αὐτοὺς ἦντινα δύναμιν ἔχει ὁ Νεῖλος τὰ ἔμπαλιν πεφυκέναι τῶν ἄλλων ποταμῶν. *Inquiring of them how it comes to pass that the Nile differs in its nature from other rivers.* The Nile is not the only river which rises in summer. The same thing is observable in regard to several rivers of Africa and India.

"In the kingdom of Siam⁴, there are certain seasons of the year when the waters which fall from the mountains swell the rivers to such a degree, that the water, not being able to flow in so narrow a channel, spreads over the country, which it covers during six months of the year. The inundation commences at the end of July; and the water, rising two inches every day, sometimes reaches the height of thirteen or fourteen feet. This constant and regular inundation spreads fertility over the country, and it may be said that the river Menan is to this kingdom what the Nile is to Egypt. The inhabitants, favoured by this gift of nature, have no need to toil in watering their fields, in order to obtain an abundant crop of rice: all that is requisite is lightly to break the surface of the soil and to throw in the seed, which the inundation causes to spring up, and the heat of the climate brings to a speedy maturity."

[In all tropical countries the rainy season is when the sun is in the zenith: this takes place on the northern side of the equator in our summer; at which time, consequently, the rivers swell.]

45. Ὅτι αὐρας ἀποπνεούσας μούνος ποταμῶν πάντων οὐ παρέχεται. *Why it alone of all rivers produces no refreshing breezes.* "The Nile," says Diodorus Siculus⁵, "is the only river over which clouds never gather, in the neighbourhood of which no cool breeze blows, and where the atmosphere is never loaded with fog."

Αὔρα differs from ἄνεμος. Αὔρα is a wind formed by the exhalations of some watery place, such as a river, and which is, consequently, cool. Ἄνεμος is merely a slight agitation or motion of the air. Διαφέρουσι⁶ δὲ ἀλλήλων, τῷ μὲν τὴν αὐραν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξ ὑγροῦ ἐκπνοῶν τάττεσθαι· τὸν δὲ ἄνεμον, ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν ἀέρι πνευμάτων. Above every river there is a current of fresh air; but on the Nile this current is hot.

Bruce criticises Herodotus upon this point⁷; but the manner in which he expresses himself, proves that he did not understand him. "Next day, the 17th, was very hazy in the morning," says he, "though it cleared up about ten o'clock. It was, however, sufficient to show the falsity of the observation of the author, who says that the Nile emits no fogs. And in the course of our voyage we often saw other examples of the fallacy of this assertion."

[Thick fogs are not unfrequent in Lower Egypt during the winter.

³ Apollonii Lexicon, p. 700, note 1.

⁴ Hist. Civile et Nat. du Royaume de Siam, publiée par M. Turpin, pp. 15, 16.

⁵ Diod. Sic. I. xxxviii. p. 46.

⁶ Parva Schol. ad Sophoclis Ajacem, p. 41. col. 1. lin. ult. edit. Brunckii.

⁷ Travels to discover the source of the Nile, book I. iv. p. 76.

The prevalent wind in the valley of the Nile is from the north ; it cools the air ; but the river coming from the opposite quarter cannot claim the merit of producing it.]

XX. 46. Τοὺς ἐτησίας ἀνέμους εἶναι. *They are the Etesian winds.* This was the opinion of Thales. 'Si Thaleti⁸ credis, Etesiae discedenti Nilo resistunt, et cursus ejus acto contrà ostia mari sustinent: ita reverberatus in se recurrit: nec crescit, sed exitu prohibitus resistit, et quacumque mox potuit, inconcessus erumpit.' Diodorus Siculus⁹ employs the same reasons in refutation of this opinion as those adduced by Herodotus. Nevertheless, these winds materially contribute to the rising of the Nile¹. M. Maillet has made the remark in his description of Egypt², and Philo-Judæus³ had done so before him. But these winds are not the only cause of the rise. [The Etesian winds, so called from ἔτος, summer, blew from the north or some northerly point. If these winds caused the increase of the Nile, the flood would seem to ascend instead of descending the river.]

47. Εἰσὶ δὲ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐν τῇ Συρίῃ ποταμοί. *There are many rivers in Syria.* This is true of the rivers of Syria⁴. But as these rivers, when discharging themselves into the Mediterranean, have their mouths towards the west, and as the Etesian winds are said to blow only from the north, Herodotus or his copyists are accused of being in error. But the critics themselves are in error; the Etesian winds blow equally from the west as from the north⁵, and are the same as the monsoons.

XXI. 48. Ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ ῥέοντα. *That it flows from the Ocean.* This was the opinion of Euthymenes of Marseilles. This philosopher thought that the ocean or exterior sea, which is naturally fresh water, caused the risings of the Nile. Εὐθυμενῆς⁶ ὁ Μασσαλιώτης ἐκ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ, καὶ τῆς ἔξω θαλάσσης, γλυκείας κατ' αὐτὴν οὕσης, νομίζει πληροῦσθαι τὸν ποταμόν. 'Euthymenes⁷ Massiliensis testimonium dicit: navigavi, inquit, Atlanticum mare. Indè Nilus fluit major, quandiù Etesiae tempus observant: tunc enim ejicitur mare instantibus ventis. Cum resederint et pelagus conquiescit: minorque discedenti indè vis Nilo est. Cæterum dulcis maris sapor est, et similes Niloticis belluæ.'

This opinion, which Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus held to be absurd, was that entertained by the Egyptian priests, if we may believe the latter historian⁸.

⁸ Senec. Nat. Quæst. IV. ii. vol. II. p. 752.

⁹ Diod. Sic. I. xxxviii. init. p. 46.

¹ Pococke's Description of the East, vol. I. p. 199.

² Description de l'Egypte, p. 55.

³ Phil. Vit. Mosis, I. vol. II. p. 95.

⁴ Aristot. Meteorol. II. vi. p. 563, A.

⁵ Diod. Sic. I. xxxix. p. 47.

⁶ Plutarch. de Plac. Philos. IV. p. 897,

⁷ Senec. Nat. Quæst. IV. ii. vol. II. p. 752.

⁸ Diod. Sic. I. xxxvii. p. 45.

XXII. 49. Τὸν Νεῖλον ῥέειν ἀπὸ τηκομένης χιόνης. *That the Nile flows from the melting of the snows.* "The philosopher Anaxagoras⁹ attributes the risings of the Nile to the melting of the snows in Ethiopia. The poet Euripides, who was his scholar, agrees with him, as appears by the words, 'Danaus¹⁰ abandoning the excellent water of the Nile, which, flowing from black Ethiopia, swells as the snow begins to melt.'

"This opinion does not require an elaborate refutation, as it is obvious that the excessive heat of Ethiopia must prevent any snow whatever from falling there: for in that country there is neither ice, nor cold, nor any indication of winter, at any time, and still less at the time of the risings of the Nile. But were it even granted that a considerable quantity of snow falls in the countries above Ethiopia, this opinion would be no less erroneous. For every river produced by the melting of snows, occasions, as is universally allowed, a cool wind, and clouds the atmosphere; whereas it is an ascertained fact, that the Nile is the only river on which no vapours are ever seen, which produces no cool wind, and above which the atmosphere is never clouded."

That is not exactly true. On the high mountains of Ethiopia, not only is the air cold, but snow and even hail sometimes fall, though not frequently¹¹. The monument of Adulis, which Cosmas has preserved¹, mentions people beyond the Nile, in Abyssinia, whose craggy rocks are so deeply covered with snow, that you may walk up to the knees in it. [The mountains of Simen, in Abyssinia, probably attain the limits of perpetual snow².]

50. Ἀνομβρος ἡ χώρα καὶ ἀκρύσταλλος διατελέει ἐοῦσα. *The region is always free from rain and ice.* We learn³ from the Portuguese missionaries, that from June to September there did not pass a day in Abyssinia without rain; that the Nile receives all the rivers, streams, and torrents that fall from the mountains.

The rains, therefore, are the real cause of the risings of the Nile. It appears that Homer was aware of this; since he gives to the Nile the epithet of διῡπετῆς, which is 'swelled by the rains,' as the lexicon of Apollonius very clearly explains⁴. It is very remarkable, as M. Villoison observes, that Homer should have had knowledge of a fact totally unknown to so many later writers.

[The rivers of Abyssinia are, in general, swollen in the beginning of May or even in April. But in Enarya, which is further south, the rains are still earlier, as well as more constant. The expression διῡπετῆς, 'falling from Jove,' used by Homer, certainly does not justify our ascribing to that poet an intimate acquaintance with the Nile. He

⁹ Diod. Sic. I. xxxviii. p. 46.

¹⁰ Frag. ex Achelai tragœdiâ. The same opinion is repeated in the Hellenus of this poet.

¹¹ Ludolf's Hist. of Ethiopia, I. v.

¹ Cosmas Indicopl. in Montfaucon,

Nova Coll. Patr. lib. II. p. 140.

² Rüppell, Reise in Abyss. II. p. 14.

³ Shaw's Travels, vol. II. p. 173, note.

⁴ Apollonii Lexicon Homeri, p. 280, voc. διῡπετός.

merely says of that river in the loftiest language, that it is nourished by rain, which is true of all rivers.]

51. Ἐν πέντε ἡμέρησι. *In the course of five days.* Perhaps Herodotus, remarks M. Wesseling, had observed at Halicarnassus or at Thurium, where he lived, that it never failed to rain a few days after it had snowed.

XXIII. 52. Ὁ δὲ περὶ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ λέξας. *He who speaks of the Ocean, &c.* The author of this opinion, against which our historian with so much reason protests, is Hecataeus of Miletus, whose knowledge of the geography of countries distant from Greece does not appear to have been very extensive. He thought that the Phasis discharged itself into the Ocean, though its mouth is in the Euxine sea, and that the Nile flowed partly into the Ocean, and partly into the Mediterranean. The scholiast of Apollonius Rhodius has preserved the passage of Hecataeus, which throws considerable light on this observation of Herodotus. Hecataeus of Miletus⁵ affirms that the Argonauts passed from the Phasis into the Ocean, that thence they entered the Nile, and from the Nile proceeded into our sea.

53. Ὅμηρον δὲ δοκέω τοῦνομα εὐρόντα. *I think that Homer invented the name.* It is astonishing that after what Homer had said, Herodotus could doubt of the existence of the Ocean. According to that poet, the sun rises from the Ocean, and sets in the Ocean. The Ocean then surrounds the earth. It should seem that Homer's knowledge of geography surpassed that of Herodotus; or perhaps our historian has thus expressed himself, only because the Egyptian priests gave the name of Ocean to the Nile⁶.

[Herodotus does not deny the existence of the Ocean, but of a river that is also the Ocean, or called ocean. Perhaps he alludes to the expression Ὠκεανοῖο ῥοάων⁷, imitated by Virgil when he wrote Oceani Amnes⁸.]

XXV. 54. Ὑπολείπεσθαι περὶ ἑωυτόν. *But retains a portion for itself.* This was the opinion of the Stoics⁹. Cleanthes, a celebrated philosopher of that sect, thus expresses himself: 'Ergo¹ cum sol igneus sit, Oceanique alatur humoribus, quia nullus ignis sine pastu aliquo possit permanere; necesse est,' &c. Aristotle, better informed than the Stoics, says: "The ancient philosophers², who have maintained that water was the aliment of the sun, appear to me to have fallen into a most ridiculous error."

55. Τὸν δὲ χειμῶνα, μούνος πιέζεται. *In winter, the Nile alone feels*

⁵ Scholiast. Apollonii Rhodii ad Argonaut. IV. p. 259.

⁶ Diodor. Sic. I. xcvi. vol. I. p. 108.

⁷ Iliad III. 5.

⁸ Georg. IV. 233.

⁹ Plutarch. Sympos. VIII. Quæst. VIII. p. 729, A, B.

¹ Cicero de Nat. Deor. II. xv.

² Aristot. Meteorol. II. ii. p. 551, E.

the influence of the sun. “It may be opposed to Herodotus, that if the sun attracts to his own body a part of the moisture of the Nile, it will follow that he must also attract to himself a part of the moisture of the other rivers of Libya. But as no such effect is observed in Libya, this historian is convicted of having made a hasty statement. If the rivers swell during the winter in Greece, it is not on account of their distance from the sun, but on account of the abundant rains³.” Aristides⁴ also refutes the reasoning of Herodotus.

XXVII. 56. Αὔρη δὲ ἀπὸ ψυχροῦ τινος φιλέει πνέειν. *Breezes usually blow from a cold quarter.* Diodorus Siculus⁵, Pliny the Naturalist⁶, and Aristides⁷ are of this opinion. The reader will not perhaps be displeased to see the reasons which Theophrastus, who was tolerably skilled in physics, considering the time in which he lived, adduces in support of it. “It appears that the Nile⁸ is the only river on which little or no cool breeze blows. The reason is this, that the country from which it comes and that through which it flows being exceedingly hot, and cool breezes arising only from condensed moisture, there is none felt on any river of Libya, for they are all hot. It is clear that the same must be the case with rivers which run from Babylon and from Susa. It is said, indeed, that towards the east the air is wonderfully cool; but we may remark, that if it becomes quickly cool, it cannot advance and form a cool breeze, when suddenly received into a hot region.”

XXVIII. 57. Τοῦ δὲ Νείλου τὰς πηγὰς οὐδεὶς ὑπέσχετο εἰδέναι. *No one pretended to know any thing of the sources of the Nile.* Notwithstanding the researches made after the time of Herodotus, there existed no further information as to those sources, when certain Portuguese Jesuits, a little more than a century ago, imagined they had discovered them. It appears that they had mistaken for the Nile one of the two rivers which empty themselves into it; and hence we come to the conclusion, that the real source of that river is as little known at the present period as it ever was: and this M. D’Anville endeavours to prove in an excellent Memoir⁹.

I was very much surprised, on reading Bruce’s Travels, to find that writer agree, if we except some trifling differences of position, with the account of Father Lobo, a learned Portuguese Jesuit, though the modern traveller takes every opportunity to decry the Jesuit, that he may assume to himself the glory of having first discovered the source of the Nile. In vain has Mr. Bruce trumpeted his own praises in a thousand passages of his work: in vain has he modestly presented his

³ Diod. Sic. I. xxxviii. p. 47.

⁴ Aristid. fol. 92, in aversâ parte, lin.

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⁵ Diod. Sic. I. xxxviii. vol. I. p. 46.

⁶ Plin. Hist. Nat. V. ix. vol. I. p. 256.

n. 24.

⁷ Aristid. fol. 96. lin. 38.

⁸ Theophrast. Περὶ Ἀνέμων, p. 249.

⁹ Mém. de l’Acad. d. Bell. Lettr.

vol. XXVI. p. 46.

readers, at the head of it, with a medallion representing himself, and having on the reverse Apollo, with his quiver on his shoulders, raising with his right hand the veil that concealed the source of the Nile, with this motto from Claudian¹, 'nec contigit ulli hoc vidisse caput.' If the discovery of the source of the Nile had been real, undoubtedly the glory of it belonged to the Portuguese Jesuits, and Bruce had still the less right to assume it, as this pretended discovery is indicated in the 'Orbis Vetus' of the learned M. Delisle. If Bruce supposed that the works of Father Lobo and the other Jesuits were unknown in England, could he fancy that the maps of M. Delisle had never reached that country? This is doing a sad injustice to his countrymen, who, distinguished as they are by their advancement in the arts and sciences, are still more so for their knowledge in astronomy and geography. The Portuguese Jesuits were mistaken, and so was M. Delisle: and in refuting them, M. D'Anville has beforehand refuted the discoveries of Mr. Bruce. What then is the extent of Bruce's geographical knowledge? This is a question I will leave to others to discuss; but I cannot persuade myself to place much reliance on it, when I find him attributing to Pausanias² the statement that there are white bears in Prussia, though that author speaks only of Thrace³.

[That the Bahr-el-Azrek, Blue river or Nile of Abyssinia, is not the true Nile, is a geographical dogma which still maintains its influence, though it never rested on any better foundation than theory, and is now disproved by evidence of a positive nature. The preference given to the Bahr-el-Abiad was wholly due to the mystery involving the sources of that stream, and to the facility of magnifying whatever is obscure. It may, nevertheless, be easily demonstrated that the Nile of Ptolemy was the Bahr-el-Azrek, and that the Alexandrian geographer knew much less of the Bahr-el-Abiad than is known at the present day. The white river (Bahr-el-Abiad) has, near its mouth, a deceitful magnitude, taking, in some measure, the character of a standing water⁴. The circumstance, also, that some of the best modern accounts of Sennar, and the two great rivers which there unite, refer to a year⁵ when the White river swelled much earlier than usual, has led to the erroneous inference, that this river always possesses a superiority which does not, in reality, ordinarily belong to it. It is now ascertained that the Blue river (Bahr-el-Azrek) is a great river at all seasons. The natives of those countries all regard the Blue river as the chief branch of the Nile: it has been navigated to Fazogle, 300 geographical miles above Khar-tùm, or its junction with the White river⁶, and is an impetuous stream some hundred miles higher up; whereas the White river is fordable at

¹ Claudian, Idyll. iv. 12.

² Travels to discover the source of the Nile, vol. III. book VI. xv. p. 661.

³ Pausan. VIII. xvii. p. 634.

⁴ Linant, Journ. Geogr. Soc. vol. II.

p. 171.

⁵ English's Narrative of the Expedition to Dongola; Cailliaud, Voy., &c.

⁶ Cailliaud, tom. II. p. 387.

el Ais, 160 miles from Khartùm; and nearer to its sources, it apparently ceases altogether to flow in the dry season⁷. Thus, the decrees of D'Anville disallowing the claims of the river called in Abyssinia the Abay, and lower down, the Bahr el Azrek to be called the true Nile, have been annulled with the theories on which they were founded, by the increase of our positive knowledge.

It is true that Bruce boasted too exultingly of having made a discovery which others had, in fact, made before him, and that his remarks on the Jesuit missionaries unite a general want of candour with many gross blunders. On the other hand, it is incorrect to ascribe to Jerome Lobo the first exploration of the sources of the Nile. Pedro Paez had visited, and Almeida had described, those sources before him. Still earlier, some of the companions of Alvarez (1520) had penetrated to the same spot; and even in the map of Fra Mauro (1450) are many details unquestionably derived from authentic information respecting the head waters of the Abyssinian Nile.]

58. Ὁ γραμματιστὴς τῶν ἱρῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίων. *The treasurer of the sacred funds of Minerva.* The coffer in which the public treasure was kept⁸, was called by the Athenians γραμματεῖον⁹, as may be seen in Harpocration. This and the occurrence of the words τῶν ἱρῶν χρημάτων had induced me to translate ὁ γραμματιστὴς, 'the guardian of the sacred treasures.' But having since read the dissertation of Professor Michaelis¹ on the worship of Jehovah in Egypt, I found that this term must be understood to mean men skilled in hieroglyphics, and in the lying art of divination. I have, therefore, translated the phrase, 'interpreter of the hieroglyphics.' These men held a distinguished rank in the priesthood. Well skilled in all the formulæ of their religion, they were analogous to the Scribes of the Jews; indeed, it is not improbable that the latter may have been derived from them².

[Schweighäuser justly prefers the simple and obvious sense of the words at the head of this note. The officer in question, therefore, was what we should call the Bursar of the college. The Minerva of the Egyptians was called Neith. The ruins of the ancient Saïs or Saï may still be traced at a place called Ssa el Hajar, in the lower Delta.]

59. [Εἶναι δύο οὐρεα ἐς ὅξυ τὰς κορυφὰς ἀπιγμένα, μεταξύ Συήνης τε πόλιος κείμενα τῆς Θηβαΐδος, καὶ Ἐλεφαντίνης· οὐνόματα δὲ εἶναι τοῖσι οὐρεσι, τῷ μὲν, Κρῶφι, τῷ δὲ, Μῶφι. *That there are two mountains terminating in peaks, situate between Syene, a city of the Thebaid, and Elephantina; and that those mountains are called, the one, Krophî, the other, Mophî.* In those two mountains the treasurer or bursar of the temple at Saïs places the fountains, of unfathomable depth, from which flows the Nile; half of the water running northward through

⁷ Rüppell, Reise in Nubien, p. 172; Prokesch, Das Nil, &c. (the Nile between the Cataracts); Appendix.

⁸ Jul. Pollux, IV. ii. § xix. p. 359.

⁹ Under the word ἀργυροθήκη.

¹ Mem. Univ. Gott. vol. I. p. 271.

² Dodwell, Dissert. Cypr. VI. v. p. 35.

Egypt, the other half southward through Ethiopia. Well might Herodotus take it for granted that the retailer of such stories was only joking, *ἐμοί γε παίζειν ἔδόκεε*. Yet this statement has much of the character of a theory framed by grave ignorance. The mountains of Mophi and Krophî, that is, of good and evil³, were at the southern end of Egypt, which, to an ignorant native of Saïs, would seem to be the end of the world. The theory of two Niles flowing from the same sources, the one northwards, the other southwards, re-appeared with the Arab writers, who placed those sources, however, further south, beyond the bounds of their practical knowledge.

There is some difficulty in the terms in which Herodotus describes the situation of the two mountains; he says, that Krophî and Mophî were between Syene and Elephantina: now these two places are nearly opposite to each other on the banks of the Nile, the former on the eastern side, the latter on the western. How then could the mountains be between them? This difficulty would be removed at once, if we could suppose that by Elephantina our author meant Philæ: the mountains would, in that case, be adjacent to the first cataract, which is a little way above Syene and below Philæ. Bochart's explanation of the name Philæ, which he derives 'from *fil*,' an elephant (in Arabic), favours this view of the case, for Elephantina is then but a translation of Philæ. It is true, that better informed etymologists find the root of the name Philæ in the Coptic '*pilakh*,' or '*philakh*,' a limit or boundary⁴. Yet, as the derivation of that name from the Semitic root '*fil*' is at least plausible, and was probably known to the Greeks, it is not unlikely that Herodotus gave the name Elephantina to the frontier town Philæ, which was the emporium of the ivory brought from the south. The valley of Egypt properly begins below the first cataract at Suan or Swan (in Coptic '*the opening*'), of which name the Greeks have made Syene and the Arabs Aswân.]

60. *Εἰ ἄρα ταῦτα γενόμενα. If that be fact.* Aristides has perfectly given the sense of those words: *εἰ ἄρα ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ, δοκεῖν αὐτῷ δῖνας ἐνταῦθα εἶναι*, "if it were true, it appeared to him that there were whirlpools at this spot⁵."

['If it be fact,' says Herodotus, 'that Psammitichus could not find bottom in the fountains of the Nile, then, in my opinion, the attempt to sound them must have been defeated by eddies.' Our author had previously intimated his disbelief of this whole account.]

[XXIX. 61. *Ταχομψὼ οὖνομα αὐτῇ ἐστὶ. The name of that island is Tachompso.* The situation of Tachompso, a little more than

³ Champollion, l'Eg. s. l. Pharaons, I. p. 115.

⁴ Geogr. Sacra, p. 305, B.

⁵ Quatremère, Mém. sur la Nubie, tom. I. p. 387. The Egyptain name of

Elephantina (opposite to Syene) was Ebou, which signified 'Elephant.' Champoll. Gramm. Egypt. p. 154.

⁶ Aristid. p. 93. lin. 30.

twelve schoeni, or 72 geographical miles, above Elephantina, cannot be recognized with confidence. Some place it near the modern Kelabshy⁷; others, with more reason, at Derar, between Dakka and Mehar-raka, where the hills on the western side of the river recede a little⁸. The name Tachompso signifies⁹ the resort of 'many crocodiles' (from Msoh, a crocodile, in Coptic, whence the Arabic 'temsah'). Crocodiles prefer basking on low sandy islands at a distance from noise and disturbance.]

62. [Χοιράδες πολλαί εἰσι, δι' ὧν οὐκ οἶά τε ἐστὶ πλέειν. *There are many rocky ridges which prevent the navigation of the stream.* All the cataracts of the Nile, without exception, may be passed in boats and against the stream, as far up as Fazogle in lat. 12°, when the river is tolerably full. This has been proved by Mohammed Aly, whose expedition to Sennár, in 1820, was accompanied by boats laden with provisions and military stores. Many of these, it is true, were broken to pieces at the second cataract (Wady Halfah), although some of the rocks at that place had been removed¹.]

63. Καὶ ἔπειτα ἀπίξαι. *You will then reach.* Longinus² admires the elegance and the vividness of Herodotus in this paragraph: "Do you observe, my dear Terentianus, how he carries one's mind along with him, leading our imagination into different regions, and causing us rather to see than hear?"

Lucian has imitated Herodotus³ in his *Vera Historia*: "When you shall have passed these islands, you will reach a large continent opposite to that which is inhabited by you human creatures. After much suffering, after having traversed many countries and uncivilized nations, you will at length reach the other continent (the earth)."

64. Ἐπειτα ἵξαι ἐς πόλιν μεγάλην τῇ οὐνομά ἐστι Μερὸν. *You will afterwards come to a great city, the name of which is Meroë.* The city of Meroë is in an island of the same name, formed by the Nile or Bahr-el-Abiad, the Astapus or Abawi, and the Astaboras or Tacazzé. The city is in the neighbourhood of these three rivers, as we learn from Strabo⁴ and Josephus⁵. Bruce, relying on certain Abyssinian traditions⁶, affirms that the children of Cush built the city of Axum some time before the birth of Abraham. And then abandoning the traditions, he adds from himself, "Shortly after this they pushed their colony down to Atbara (Meroë), where we know from Herodotus they early and successfully pursued their studies." It is clear enough that Mr. Bruce fathers his own ideas on our historian.

[The ruins of Meroë, the ancient capital of Ethiopia, lie a few miles south of the modern Shendy⁷. Not far from them on the west, flows

⁷ Heeren, *Ideen*, vol. II. i. p. 359.

⁸ Mannert's *Afr.* I. p. 231.

⁹ Champollion, *l'Egypte*, &c. I. p. 152.

¹ Cailliaud, tom. I. p. 329.

² Longinus de *Sublim.* xxvi. p. 86.

³ Lucian, *Vera Historia*, II. xxvii.

vol. II. p. 125.

⁴ Strabo, XVII. p. 1177, B.

⁵ Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* II. x. p. 103.

⁶ *Travels*, &c. vol. I. p. 378.

⁷ Cailliaud, II. p. 120; Hoskins's *Travels in Ethiopia*.

the Bahr-el-Azrek or Blue river, which receives higher up, on its right bank, the Rahad, coming from Abyssinia. The Atbara having some of its sources near those of the Rahad, shapes its course further to the east, and joins the Nile below Shendy. Thus the tract in which Meroë stood was nearly insulated by those three rivers. The Bahr-el-Abiad has no connexion with the isle of Meroë.]

65. Δία θεῶν καὶ Διόνυσον μόνον σέβονται. *Jupiter and Bacchus are the only gods there worshipped.* Strabo⁸, in describing the customs of the Ethiopians, says, "They acknowledged two gods; the one immortal, who is the author of all; the other, mortal, who has no name, and is not known. They reckon their benefactors amongst their gods, as well private individuals as those of royal rank. The nation at large regards the latter as saviours and tutelary divinities; as to the former, those who have received benefits from them, render them private honours. Amongst the inhabitants of this torrid country, there are some who pass for atheists. These detest the sun, and curse him when they see him rise, on account of the inconvenience they sustain from his excessive heat; they then retire to the marshes. The people of Meroë honour Hercules, Pan, and Isis, besides some other barbarous god."

This geographer makes no mention either of Jupiter or Bacchus. Whence we must infer that an entire change had taken place between the ages of Herodotus and of Strabo; or else these authors had obtained very different accounts of the same country. The immense labour and care bestowed by our historian to procure the most correct information, may vouch for the authenticity of what he ventures to give to the world.

66. Στρατεύονται δ' ἐπεὰν σφέας ὁ θεὸς οὗτος κελεύῃ διὰ θεσπισμάτων. *They march to war when this god shall have so commanded them by his oracles.* It will be judged, without my suggestion, that these oracles were dictated by the priests themselves, who must have acquired an astonishing ascendancy over the whole nation. Indeed, it was so great, that at their command princes descended from the throne, and were sacrificed to their caprices. "What happens on the death of their kings," says Diodorus Siculus⁹, "is very extraordinary, as evincing the inordinate power of the priests, and those engaged in rendering honours to the gods. When the fancy takes them, they send word to the king to kill himself; that the gods have so commanded by their oracles; and that it does not become mortals to resist their pleasure. They add other reasonings, calculated to impose on a simple mind, brought up under the yoke of ancient prejudices which it is difficult to shake off, and destitute of proofs to oppose to such institutions, as to which natural reason is silent. In former ages, the kings obeyed without being constrained by arms or suffering violence, but by the mere force of a

⁸ Strabo, XVII. p. 1177.

⁹ Diod. Sic. III. vi. vol. I. pp. 177, 178; Strabo, XVII. p. 1178, B.

superstition which blinded their understanding. But during the reign of Ptolemy the second, Ergamenes king of Ethiopia, who had been instructed in Greek sciences, and had applied himself to philosophy, was the first who dared to oppose the orders of the priests. This prince, who possessed a greatness of soul worthy of his rank, entered, attended by soldiers, the consecrated precinct, where was the golden chapel of the Ethiopians, and having massacred all the priests, he abolished this custom, and governed his subjects according to his own independent views."

XXX. 67. Τοῖσι δὲ Αὐτομόλοισι τούτοισι οὐνομά ἐστι Ἀσμάχ. *The name of these emigrants is Asmach.* In the Medici MS. we read Ascham, which Reiske approves, because in Arabic that word signifies 'the left side.' But is he sure, that the ancient Ethiopian was a dialect of the Arabic? I think this is liable to some doubt.

[According to Jablonski, the word 'Asasmach' might signify standing on the left (as Herodotus explains Asmach), and would, therefore, be the Egyptian appellation of those whom the Greeks called ἐὼννυμῖται.]

68. Δύναται. *Signifies.* The Athenians used the word in this sense. Strabo, or rather Strattis, introduces in his 'Phœnician,' or, according to some, his 'Phœnicians,' a cook who affects to speak in the terms of Homer, whilst addressing his master, a citizen of Athens. The latter, to whom this language was not familiar, says, "I must get the books of Philetas, to examine the signification, the value of each of these words ¹."

Τῶν τοῦ Φιλήτα λαμβάνοντα βιβλίων
Σκοπεῖν ἕκαστα τί δύναται τῶν ῥημάτων.

It would appear from this, that dictionaries were known in Athens in the time of Strattis, an ancient comic poet.

69. Τοὺς ὧν δὴ Αἰγυπτίους τρία ἔτεα φρουρήσαντας. *The Egyptians who had remained three years in garrison.* "The Sebrites ²," says Strabo, "were expelled by Psammitichus. The name signifies foreigners. They occupy the country called Tenesis, and are governed by a woman, under whose authority also is Meroë, an island of the Nile adjacent to their country, and above which is another island formed by the same river, and inhabited also by these foreigners." At the first view, the Sebrites of Strabo appear very different from the Automoli of Herodotus. 1. The Sebrites of Strabo were driven out by Psammitichus, whilst the Automoli of Herodotus went of their own accord into Ethiopia. 2. The Sebrites are near to the island of Meroë, whereas the Automoli are fifty-six days' journey, at the least, distant from it. But, nevertheless, I have always thought that the Sebrites of Strabo and the Automoli of Herodotus were the same, and I am still of that

¹ Athen. Deipnos. IX. vii. p. 383, B.

² Strabo, XVI. p. 1115, D.

opinion. If M. Hennicke condemns me, it is³ because I have not sufficiently explained my opinion. It does not appear that two considerable portions of the Egyptian people retired at two different times into Ethiopia, under the reign of the same prince. If Strabo says that the Sebrites were driven forth, and Herodotus that the Automoli voluntarily retired, that scarcely constitutes a reason for believing that they were two distinct bodies of people; it is merely a different manner of relating the same fact,—a kind of difference which is found in all historical writings, even those of modern date. As to the spot fifty-six days' journey distant from Meroë, where the Automoli were found, we may suppose that that was the place to which they repaired on their first emigration, and where they remained till the time of Herodotus. But what reason can we have for supposing it impossible that in the time of Strabo they should have approached nearer to the city of Meroë? or that Strabo, who on numerous occasions is mistaken, should not be so on this?

Diodorus Siculus assigns a different reason for the migration of the Egyptians to Ethiopia. Psammitichus, according to this historian, having undertaken⁴ an expedition into Syria, assigned to strangers and foreigners the post of honour, placing them in the right wing of his army, and treating the natives with very little consideration, by placing them in the left wing. The Egyptians, who amounted to more than 200,000, abandoned him, and advanced towards Ethiopia in the design of finding a new country. The king first sent some of his generals, to justify him against the charge of giving them the least honourable place; but as they refused to listen to these, the king himself with all his friends pursued them by water. They were near the Nile, and had already passed the frontiers of Egypt, when this prince besought them to change their design, recalling to their memory the temples of their gods, their country, their wives, and their children. They replied unanimously, striking their spears upon their bucklers, that with their arms they could soon obtain a new country; then raising their clothes, and exposing the parts which decency requires to be concealed, they exclaimed, that whilst they possessed these, they should never be in want of either wives or children. It was by this greatness of soul, and this contempt of what the rest of men most highly prize, that they obtained possession of the finest country of Ethiopia, which they divided amongst them by lot.

The foreigners, whom Diodorus Siculus mentions, were those Ionians and Carians who assisted Psammitichus in obtaining the victory over and dethroning his eleven colleagues⁵. The gratitude of Psammitichus induced him to give his entire confidence to these strangers. All honours were reserved for them, and in the field the prince considered

³ Hennicke, Geogr. Afr. Herod. p. 92.

⁵ Herod. II. clii. cliv.

⁴ Diod. Sic. I. lxvii. vol. I. p. 77.

his safety best secured by confiding to them the protection of his person. This conduct would naturally excite the jealousy of the national troops, and promote disaffection. Aristotle⁶, in his Rhetoric, alludes to this historical trait.

XXXI. 70. Τοσοῦτοι μῆνες εὐρίσκονται ἀναισιμούμενοι ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης πορευομένῳ εἰς τοὺς Αὐτομόλους τούτους. *Such is the number of months required to travel from Elephantina to the country of the Emigrants.* Aristides⁷ does not agree with Herodotus as to the number of months it takes to travel from Elephantina to Meroë or to the country of the Automoli.

[The course of the Nile was known, according to Herodotus, to a distance of four months' journey above Egypt; for it required fifty-six days to go from Elephantina to Meroë, and from this place to the country of the Egyptian emigrants was an equal distance; so that from Egypt to the Egyptian colony was, in round numbers, a four months' journey. If travelling on foot be here understood, (as may be reasonably assumed,) then the Meroë of Herodotus must have been Merawe near Jebel Barkal, a few days above Dongola. It took the Turkish cavalry under Ismael Beg, thirty days to reach Dongola, and about fifty-four to arrive at Shendy, following the river⁸. They marched, then, at the rate of fifteen geographical miles a day, which far exceeds what can be performed by a pedestrian under an African sun. Burckhardt, who travelled up the Nile to the frontiers of Dongola, praises his dromedaries⁹ because they were able to travel nearly ten hours a day in a journey of thirty-five days going and returning; yet their daily march, measured in the same manner on the map, does not exceed seventeen miles.

Let us suppose a pedestrian to perform eight geographical miles a day in a straight line, and to start from the isle of Derar (the Tachompso of our author); he will then arrive in forty days exactly, at the head of the third cataract and commencement of the plains of Dongola; there embarking, he will arrive in twelve days more (the north wind making it easy to navigate fifteen miles a day) at Merawe, which we suppose to be the site of the ancient Meroë. It is true that the city so named appears, at a later period, to have been situate further south; but there can be no doubt that the capital of Ethiopia was, in early ages, situate near Jebel-el-Barkal¹, and it seems most probable that it still continued so in the time of Herodotus.

The supposition that the Meroë of our author was identical with the capital of Tirhaka, king of Ethiopia, who ruled Egypt 280 years before

⁶ Aristot. III. xvi. p. 603, B, and of the Oxford Greek edition 1759, 8vo, III. ii. xi. p. 190.

⁷ Aristid. Orat. Ægyptiac. fol. 93. lin. 7 à fine.

⁸ Prokesch, Das Land zwischen den Kataracten, Vien. 1831. p. 173.

⁹ Travels in Nubia, p. 1.

¹ Hoskins's Ethiopia, p. 134.

our author's time², while, at a later period (the Roman age), the name and sway of Meroë retired further southward, will at once reconcile some apparent contradictions of ancient writers. Thus we can easily understand why Eratosthenes estimated the distance from Syene to Meroë at 625 miles, Artemidorus at 600³; the site of the more ancient Meroë being, in fact, rather more than 560 geographical miles from the Egyptian frontier; whereas the envoys of Nero found the distance from Syene to the Meroë of their time to be 873 miles, which corresponds exactly with the position of the modern Shendy. Hence, too, we perceive why Herodotus represents the Egyptian emigrants as being at a distance of two months' journey (about 500 miles) from Meroë, while Pliny makes them only seventeen days distant from the capital of that name. Their chief town was named, according to Bion, Sape⁴; nor can it be well doubted, that this was the place which gave to the river the name Astasobas, Astasabas⁵, or Astusapes⁶: as the Sobah of Christian times, the traces of which are still discernible⁷, it rose to some importance.

Those who imagine that the Meroë of Herodotus stood in the country of Atbara, near Shendy, or in Sennâr, will experience some difficulty in finding a place for the Automoli or emigrants conformable to his description. With respect to these, although there is no room for doubting the emigration of a body of Egyptians, yet it is evident that our author's statement presents the truth much altered and exaggerated by popular tradition. The conspiracy of three garrisons at the three points of Egypt most remote from each other, is manifestly a fiction. The march of 240,000 men through Nubia is utterly impossible. To the intrinsic absurdity of that statement, Heeren had, with unusual earnestness, added all of which it is capable⁸, in maintaining that the Egyptians settled in Gojam at the sources of the Nile in Abyssinia.]

[XXXII. 71. Τὴν ὁδὸν ποιευμένους πρὸς ζέφυρον ἄνεμον. *Keeping their course to the west.* If the Nasamones, starting from the south-eastern angle of the Syrtis, had travelled continually westward, it is plain that they could never have reached Negroland; nor would that be the natural course for persons whose object it was to explore the desert. Herodotus evidently made their narrative conform to his own system. He had just before stated, that the Nile in Ethiopia flows from the west and the setting sun; ῥέει δὲ ἀπὸ ἐσπέρης τε καὶ ἡλίου δυσμέων. He also imagined that above the country of the Automoli, the river flowed

² Hoskins's Ethiopia, pp. 145. 362.

³ Plin. Hist. Nat. VI. xxix.

⁴ Id. ibid.

⁵ Strabo, XVII.

⁶ Plin. Hist. Nat. V. ix.

⁷ This is the Saba of the Ethiopic inscriptions, brought from Axum by Rüppell (Reise in Abyss. II. p. 280); and

the Soper of Vansleb (Quatremère, Mém. sur la Nubie, II. p. 36). Cailliaud (tom. II. p. 203.) thought he found the ruins of Sobah on the right bank of the Blue River, but we believe them to lie on the banks of the Rahad.

⁸ Heeren's Ideen, II. i. p. 434.

through a region uninhabitable from heat. He now, therefore, says, that the Nasamones going more or less westward (the expression *πρὸς ζέφυρον* seems rather to indicate a quarter, than a point of the compass) arrived at length at a river which he is willing to suppose to be the Nile.

If we confine our attention to the main facts of the narrative, and, in endeavouring to explain it, allow ourselves to be guided by the estimate of probabilities, then we must conclude that the Nasamones first went south-westward to Fezzan, and thence proceeded nearly southwards to the frontiers of Bornú; the river which they met being the Yeou, which runs into lake Chad. This supposition is rendered more likely by the circumstance that the track here marked out for the Nasamones became, at a later period, a frequented road; the Berber tribes on the frontiers of Bornú being all from Augila⁹, in the neighbourhood of the Nasamones.

Modern geographers, however, yielding more to the vague impressions of the grand and mysterious than to calculations of probability, have generally decided that the first explorers of the great desert went from the Syrtis direct to Tomboktú. But this city was not founded for seventeen centuries after the journey in question: and, besides, the great river which flows in a northerly course towards Tomboktú runs eastward from this point only six or seven days, having the desert on its northern bank, when it turns towards the south through a dry and hilly country¹⁰. The distance between Fezzan and Tomboktú being considered, as well as the short space during which the river in that locality holds an easterly course, it is in the highest degree improbable that the river seen by the Nasamones was the river of Tomboktú.]

72. *Ἀπτεσθαι καρποῦ. Eat fruits.* *Ἀπτεσθαι καρποῦ* is not to gather fruits, but to eat them¹. *Τὰ γὰρ ὄρνεα καὶ τετράποδα ὅσα ἀνθρώπων ἄπτεται.* "For the birds and the quadrupeds which are accustomed to feed on human bodies, &c." Longus also uses this expression in speaking of the dogs who, taking Dorcon for a wolf, tore him to pieces with their teeth²: *τοῦ σώματος ἤπτοντο αὐτοῦ.* Cicero, the constant imitator of the Greek writers, says, in like manner³: 'noluerunt feris corpus objicere, ne bestiis quoque, quæ tantum scelus attigissent, immenioribus uteremur.'

73. *Ἀνδρας μικρούς. Little men.* These little men have long since been consigned to the regions of fable. Yet Nonnosus relates⁴, in the history of his embassy, that on the confines of Ethiopia he saw certain black men of very diminutive stature and shaggy all over their bodies. He adds, that they were not at all bold, and that they trembled at the sight of his train. If these be the same people of whom Herodotus speaks,

⁹ Denham's Travels, vol. II. Append. p. 447.

¹⁰ See Cooley's Negroland, p. 30.

¹ Thucyd. II. 50. p. 130. lin. 32.

² Longi Pastoral. I. p. 18. See also Xenoph. Memor. I. iii. § xii.

³ Cicero, pro Sexto Roscio, xxvi.

⁴ Photii Biblioth. Cod. iii. col. 8.

they assumed this degree of boldness only perhaps from seeing the Nasamones in very small numbers.

The account of Nonnosus is confirmed by modern travellers⁵. "Opposite to the throne of the king (of Loango) sat certain dwarfs, with their backs towards him The negroes of the country assert that there is, in the interior, a spacious country inhabited wholly by people of this size, whose only occupation is the killing of elephants."

[The words of Nonnosus may have had reference to the large apes inhabiting the forests between Abyssinia and the Red Sea. The dwarfs seen in Loango by Battel belonged to the diminutive nation of the Matimbos⁶. It was formerly believed that a pygmy nation called Quimos existed in Madagascar⁷; but no trace of them is found at the present day. The Bushmen in the colony of the Cape of Good Hope are, however, a specimen of a dwarfish race now nearly extinct. The Bushmen are a foot lower than the European standard, and of extremely slender form. It is not unlikely that the great deserts of Northern Africa were anciently possessed by a diminutive race, who have become extinct since the barren waste has been opened by the increase of the camel to a more vigorous race of men, possessing larger resources.]

XXXIII. 74. Ἐτέαρχος συνεβάλλετο εἶναι τὸν Νεῖλον. *Etearchus conjectured that it was the Nile.* [Larcher, with all the geographical speculators of his day, was disposed to think that the opinion of Herodotus or Etearchus was confirmed by king Juba, who stated⁸, that a river rising in Mauritania, and afterwards lost in the sands of the desert, emerged again in the country of the Ethiopians, under the name of Nigris, and flowing through Ethiopia, under the name Astapus, became the Nile of Egypt. The Mauritanian river here meant was unquestionably the river of Tafielt. The discoveries of Denham and Clapperton have put an end to the theories which connected the waters of western Africa with the Nile of Egypt. Yet geographical speculation is still influenced by the extinct theory, the language of which, obtained by the misinterpretation of ancient authorities, still survives. Owing to the supposed connexion of the Gætulian river with the Nile, the names Niger and Nigritia have been carried into the heart of Africa. Let it not be supposed that the name Nigir or Nigris, and Nigritæ (the name of the people), are derived from the Latin word *niger*, 'black.' The barbarous name Nigritia has no etymological connexion with Negroland. The Gætulian name Niger, Νιγεῖρ or Νιγίρ, was probably related to the modern name 'nakor.']

75. Καὶ ὁ λόγος οὕτω αἰρέει. *And reason so decides.* This passage may be also rendered, 'and I am of this opinion;' λόγος signifying

⁵ Histoire des Voyages, tom. IV. Astley's Coll. vol. III. p. 215.
p. 601; Astley's Coll. vol. III. p. 228.

⁷ Rochon. Voy. à Madagascar, p. 136.

⁶ Purchas' Pilgrims, vol. II. p. 980;

⁸ Plin. Hist. Nat. V. xxix.

sometimes in Herodotus, 'animus,' 'voluntas.' 'Αποφέρεται ὁ θύσας τὰ κρέα καὶ χρᾶται ὅ,τι μιν ὁ λόγος αἰρέει⁹: "He who offers the sacrifice, carries away the flesh of the victim, and disposes of it according to his pleasure." [Αἰρεῖν was used in a judicial sense, as αἰρεῖν τὴν δίκην, αἰρεῖν τὴν γραφὴν¹⁰, 'to gain a suit, take an information,' &c. Hence it also signifies to convict, prove, or decide¹¹.]

76. "Ἰστρος τε γὰρ ποταμὸς ἀρξάμενος ἐκ Κελτῶν καὶ Πυρήνης πόλιος. *For the Danube commencing from the Celts and the city of Pyrene.* The author of the 'Origin of the earliest Societies'¹ says, that Herodotus derives the Danube from the Pyrenees; and he justifies Herodotus, on the ground that the Alps formerly bore that name. It is very doubtful, however, whether the Alps were ever called Pyrenees. The authors who have given that name to the Rhætian Alps, in the vicinity of Trent, are all very modern compared with Herodotus. It is certain that there were near the Rhine certain mountains which were then called Pyrenees, and which we must take care not to confound with those which we now know by that name. In confirmation of this, I may cite Crinagoras, who thus expresses himself, in an epigram on Germanicus, of which the following are the first two verses:

Οὔρεα Πυρηναῖα, καὶ αἱ βαθυάγκεες Ἀλπεῖς,
Αἱ Ῥήνου προχοὰς ἐγγὺς ἀποβλέπετε².

77. Ῥέει μέσῃν σχίζων τὴν Εὐρώπην. *It flows so as to cut Europe through the middle.* This is not exactly true; and the same may be observed of what he has asserted a little before, that the Nile divides Libya in the middle. But this furnishes no reason for accusing Herodotus, as the President Bouhier has done, of confounding the Nile with the Niger³.

78. Κελτοὶ εἰσι ἔξω Ἑρακλητῶν στηλέων. *The Celtæ are beyond the pillars of Hercules.* These are the Celtæ of Lusitania. The pillars of Hercules were at Calpe. All that was beyond the straits towards the ocean was considered as beyond the pillars of Hercules; and the Mediterranean isles⁴, near Spain, as on this side of them. Cadiz was considered beyond, as may be seen in Strabo⁵. That extremity of Lusitania, which projects considerably⁶, was also beyond the pillars. There were Celtæ upon the river Anas (the Guadiana), and at the promontories Sacer and Nerium.

79. Ὀμουρέουσι δὲ Κυνησίοισι οἱ ἔσχατοι πρὸς δυσμέων οἰκέουσι. *They border upon the Cynesians, who dwell the furthest towards the west.*

⁹ Herod. I. cxxxii. VII. xli.

¹⁰ Demosth. contra Midiam; Id. pro Coroná.

¹¹ Æschines in Ctesiph. lxii. lxxv. Aristoph. Nubes, 591.

¹ Page 90, note.

² Analecta Vet. Poet. Græc. vol. II.

p. 148. See also Aristotle, Meteor. I. 13.

³ Rech. et Diss. sur Hérodote, p. 190.

⁴ Strabo, III. p. 256, B, C.

⁵ Id. ibid. p. 256, C.

⁶ Id. ibid. I. p. 112, B.

According to all rules of syntax, οἱ ἔσχατοι must relate to Κυνησίοισι which immediately precedes it. Stephanus of Byzantium⁷ says distinctly, that the Cynetes (who are the same as the Cynesians) are the last people towards the west, which is also expressed in the clearest manner by Avienus⁸.

. Indè Cempsis adjacent
Populi Cynetum propè Cyneticum jugum.
Qua sideralis lucis inclinatio est,
Alte tumescens ditis Europæ extimum
In belluosi vergit oceani salum.
Ana amnis illic per Cynetas effluit,
Sulcatque glebam.

XXXIV. 80. Ἡ δὲ Αἴγυπτος τῆς ὀρεινῆς Κιλικίης μάλιστά κη ἀντίη κέεται. *Egypt is nearly opposite to the mountainous country of Cilicia.* This situation has given occasion to the following comparison of Oppian⁹. "The Ister and the Nile, opposed in their course, do not descend towards the sea with equal rapidity: on the one hand, the Ister, traversing the snowy regions of the north, dashes with roaring violence over the rocks of Scythia; on the other, we have the Nile, coming from Libya, whose sacred waves rush foaming into the ocean, and cause its surges to shake with fear."

[Observe the distinction here in the use of the genitive and dative cases: ἡ Αἴγυπτος τῆς ὀρεινῆς Κιλικίης ἀντίη κέεται, 'Egypt lies extended in front of Cilicia.' But in speaking of a definite point, the dative is used, ἡ δὲ Σινώπη τῷ Ἰστρῷ ἀντίον κέεται, 'Sinope lies opposite to the Danube.']

81. Οὕτω τὸν Νεῖλον δοκέω ἐξισοῦσθαι τῷ Ἰστρῷ. *Thus it seems to me that the Nile may be matched with the Danube.* Herodotus compares the course of the Nile with that of the Ister; he says that the Nile divides Libya in the middle, in the same manner that the Ister divides Europe. The Nile flows from the western part of Libya, the Ister from the western side of Europe. The Ister empties itself into the Euxine sea; the Nile passes through Egypt, and, changing its course, discharges itself into the sea. The only point here was to show, that the mouth of the Ister is opposite to Egypt. Mountainous Cilicia, he says, is opposite to Egypt; thence, in five days, we arrive at Sinope on the Euxine sea; Sinope is opposite to the Ister. I think, therefore, he adds in conclusion, that a parallel may be drawn between the Ister and the Nile.

⁷ In a fragment preserved to us by the Emperor Constantine, Administ. Imper. C. 23. It should be placed under the word Ἰβηρία. Berkel has in-

serted it in his edition. But it does not occur at all in Pinedo's.

⁸ Avieni Ora maritima, 200.

⁹ Oppiani Cyneg. II. 138.

XXXV. 82. Ἔργα λόγου μέζω. *Works great beyond expression.* Euripides says the same thing¹:

Εἶδον γὰρ αὐτῶν κρείσσον', ἢ λέξαι λόγῳ,
Τολμήμαθ', οἷς ἤλπιζον αἰρήσειν πόλιν.

"I know that their high warlike achievements, by which they hoped to take the city, are beyond all expression." See Mr. Markland's note on this verse.

And Thucydides², speaking of the ravages which the plague had made at Athens, says, γενόμενον γὰρ κρεῖσσον λόγου τὸ εἶδος τῆς νόσου.

83. Αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες ἀγοράζουσι. *The women frequent the public place.* This was quite contrary to the manners of the Greeks. The women in their country did not go out. The men repaired to the public places, and all commercial transactions were effected by them. Ἀγοράζειν signifies to be in the public place, to walk in the public square. Herodotus always uses it in this sense³. The ancient Athenians seldom used this word in the sense of buying; and it is because it was so seldom used in that sense, that Harpocration has explained it in his Lexicon.

The employments of the two sexes shows that in Egypt the wives enjoyed more authority than their husbands, though Herodotus says nothing about it. Diodorus Siculus grants this, and thinks that the object was by that custom to perpetuate their gratitude for the beneficent government of Isis. For this reason, says he⁴, the queens are more honoured in Egypt than the kings, and the authority of the women is predominant in private families. It is stipulated in the marriage-contract, that the wife shall be the mistress of her husband, and that he shall in all things obey her.

This assertion of Diodorus by no means contradicts what he says of the opinion of the Egyptians⁵ as to children born out of wedlock, viz. that they never consider them as bastards, even if they have them by a purchased slave, because they think, adds he, that the father is the sole author of their existence, and that the mother supplies the embryo with no more than a place and nourishment. But this is far from saying that they had no regard for their maternal descent, as M. De Pauw asserts, for the purpose of building his own system on that foundation⁶.

Nymphodorus relates⁷, in the thirteenth book of the Customs of Barbarous Nations, that Sesostris, finding Egypt over-populous, and fearing that its inhabitants might unite against him, obliged them to

¹ Euripid. Supplic. Mulier. 844.

² Thucyd. II. 50. p. 129. lin. 28.

³ Herod. III. cxxxvii. cxxxix. IV. cxliv; Xenoph. Hellen. II. iv. § x. p. 110.

⁴ Diod. Sic. I. xxvii. p. 31.

⁵ Id. ibid. viii. p. 91.

⁶ Recherches Philosophiques sur les Egyptiens et les Chinois, I. ii.

⁷ Schol. Sophocl. ad Œdip. Col. Romæ, 1518, sig. S. 11.

adopt the employments of women, in the hope of enervating and rendering them effeminate. He then gives the same details as Herodotus.

84. Καπηλεύουσι. *They are the traders.* This fact is attested by other writers. "In Egypt," says Sophocles⁶, "the men, seated in the interior of the houses, occupy themselves in making linen, whilst their wives go out to market for the necessaries of life." The ancient Scholiast upon this verse cites the passage from the historian Nymphodorus, which I have given in the preceding note. Pomponius Mela⁹ relates the same circumstance, or rather has contented himself with translating from Herodotus. [The arts which in Greece formed branches of domestic economy, within the province of the women, had risen in Egypt to the rank of ingenious manufactures, which were carried on by the men.]

85. Ἄνω τὴν κρόκην ὠθέοντες. *Pushing the woof upwards.* Those who wish for more particular information on this point, may consult Salmasius upon the Aurelian of Vopiscus amongst the writers of the Augustan History¹. [The mode of weaving here described is represented in Egyptian paintings².]

86. Ἰρᾶται γυνὴ μὲν οὐδεμίη. *No woman holds the sacred office.* Herodotus seems to contradict himself on this point, a little further on (liv). But Valckenaer perceived that the text had been altered, and that we should there read γυναικας ἱρας, as also in lvi. The assertion of Herodotus is positive; and yet in the Isiac Table we find mention of two priestesses. Count Caylus³ endeavours to reconcile our historian with that ancient monument, by supposing that married women only were excluded from the priesthood, but that maidens were admitted into it. But this is rather eluding than clearing up the difficulty. Is it certain that they were actually priestesses who are recorded on the Isiac Table? Might they not be women attached to the temple, having certain offices, but not being strictly priestesses? Or they might be slaves, such as there were in the temple of Venus, on Mount Eryx, whom Strabo calls⁴ ἱεροδούλους and ἱερὰ σώματα. The monuments cited to prove the admission of females into the priesthood, are all greatly posterior to our historian. Persius, Juvenal, Apuleius, reported only what existed in their own day. They are much too modern for us to rely on with regard to things which happened in the age of Herodotus.

XXXVI. 87. Οἱ ἱεεὲς ξυρεῦνται. *The priests shave their heads.* This custom was by no means peculiar to the priests, as all the nation shaved their heads and their chins, except in time of mourning, as our author notices a little further on. But the priests alone shaved their eyebrows

⁶ Sophocl. Œdip. Col. 352. ex edit. Brunck. 339.

⁹ Pompon. Mela, I. ix. p. 62, 63.

¹ Hist. Aug. vol. II. p. 564.

² Wilkinson, Anc. Eg. II. p. 60.

³ Recueil d'Antiquités Egyptiennes, Etrusq. vol. VII. p. 58.

⁴ Strabo, Geogr. VI. p. 418, B.

and all the rest of their bodies. Sotion⁵ relates that Eudoxus, during the fourteen months that he dwelt with the Egyptian priests, shaved his beard and his eyebrows, and Herodotus says (xxxvii.) that the priests shaved their whole body every three days. [Or rather every second day. See Note 6 of this, and Note 64 of the preceding book.]

88. Τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις. *Amongst other nations.* Herodotus of course does not mean to include the Greeks, who in this respect followed the practice of the Egyptians. "When any misfortune," says Plutarch⁶, "happens to the Greeks, the women shave their hair, and the men let it grow, because the latter are usually in the habit of cutting the hair, and the women of wearing it."

89. Κήδεϊ . . . τοὺς μάλιστα ἰκνέεται. *Especially the nearest relatives.* The text of Herodotus implies, 'those whom the mourning most nearly concerns.' Demosthenes, in his pleading against Macartatus⁷, calls them οἱ προσήκοντες. The expression of Sophocles, in a like case, approaches still more nearly to that of our historian⁸, ἥκέ μοι γένει τὰ τοῦδε πενθεῖν πῆματα: "The duty of lamenting his misfortunes nearly concerns me, on account of my relationship."

90. Τὰς ζειάς. *Spelt.* The Greek has, 'but they derive all their nourishment from the Olyra, which some call Zea.' The Zea is a description of grain, the same as spelt.

91. Περιτάμνονται. *Are circumcised.* The priests only were obliged to do this; the rest of the Egyptians were dispensed from it, unless they wished to be initiated into the mysteries, or obtain a knowledge of the sacred sciences. See the celebrated Bishop of Avranches (Huet) on Origen⁹.

92. Διφασίοις δὲ γράμμασι χρέωνται. *They have two kinds of writing.* Diodorus Siculus¹ agrees in this with our historian. But St. Clement of Alexandria and Porphyry reckon three sorts of letters². "Those," says the first, "who are instructed in Egypt, first learn the different sorts of letters: the first of these is called the epistolary; the second, the sacerdotal, used by the sacred writers; and the third, the hieroglyphic." "During the stay of Pythagoras in Egypt," says Porphyry³, "he learned the wisdom and the language of that country, and the three different sorts of letters, the epistolary, the hieroglyphic, and the symbolic."

Although I am not aware at what precise period the Egyptians began to have an alphabet, it appears certain that it was long anterior to the invasion of Cambyses. This may be proved. It appears to me equally certain that they were not indebted for it to their neighbours; their

⁵ Diog. Laërt. VIII. lxxxvii. p. 545.

⁶ Plutarch. Quæst. Rom. p. 367, B.

⁷ Demosth. adv. Macart. p. 609. 104.

⁸ Sophocles. Œd. Col. 771.

⁹ In Origenem, ad Genes. p. 16; and Homil. V. in Jerem. p. 159.

¹ Diod. Sic. I. lxxxii. vol. I. p. 91;

III. iii. vol. I. p. 176, where he says that the Ethiopians employed indiscriminately the two sorts of letters in use among the Egyptians.

² Clem. Alex. Strom. V. vol. II. p. 657.

³ Porphyry. in vitâ Pythag. p. 15.

extreme reserve excluding them from all information which they might have acquired from a freer intercourse.

[The Egyptians had two kinds of writing; viz. the Hieratic or sacerdotal, and the Demotic or vulgar. But the former was also distinguishable into the hieroglyphic or monumental writing, and the linear which is properly called Hieratic. The original characters were those of the hieroglyphic reduced to mere lines; they formed the Hieratic character, properly so called; and modified still further for convenience, they gave rise to the demotic, cursive, or epistolary writing. The Rosetta stone⁴ vindicates the correctness of our historian's statement, as it presents the same inscription in only two kinds of Egyptian writing, viz. hieroglyphic and demotic.

The writing of the ancient Egyptians was not wholly alphabetical. They had many phonetic characters or figures representing sounds, but with these they mingled many which were merely symbolical; nor were the symbols wholly dispensed with in the popular or cursive writing. Most of the characters of the Greek alphabet, from which the alphabets of modern Europe are derived, may be traced back to the hieratic writing of Egypt, and thence to the hieroglyphic figures⁵.]

XXXVII. 93. Χαλκέων ποτηρίων. *Cups of brass.* Hellanicus of Lesbos, anterior to Herodotus by twelve years, says⁶, in his history of Egypt, that the Egyptians have, in their eating-rooms⁷, vessels for drinking and strainers made of brass⁸.

94. Καθαριότητος εἵνεκε. *From a principle of cleanliness.* That the body may contract no impurity. Voltaire⁹ assigns other reasons for this custom; but I should imagine that the Egyptian priests were aware of the motives from which they acted.

Philo¹ says, that circumcision was instituted for the prevention of a disorder very dangerous and very difficult to cure, which was called 'the carbuncle,' and to which all those who remain uncircumcised are peculiarly liable.

The inhabitants of Otaheite, or King George's Island, practise circumcision from the same motive².

Bruce, who is, of course, better informed than Philo, pretends to a better knowledge of the reasons which determined the Egyptians to adopt circumcision³, than the learned Jew who lived in Egypt. He arrogantly decides, that the reasons assigned by Philo, and deduced

⁴ In the British Museum.

⁵ See the Athenæum, No. 504. p. 451.

⁶ Athen. Deipnos. II. vi. p. 470, D.

⁷ I thus translate ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις. See Vitruvius, VI. v. vi.

⁸ It is usually called a strainer in speaking of liquors. Ἡθάννιον is a diminutive of ἡθμός. See Chishull's Asiatic. p. 36.

⁹ Philos. de l'Histoire, p. 138.

¹ Philo de Circumcisione, vol. II. p. 211.

² See the London Chronicle, vol. XXX. p. 321. for Captain Carteret's Voyage.

³ Travels to discover the source of the Nile, vol. III. book v. xii. p. 345.

from cleanliness and the heat of the climate, are absurd. How can he explain then the statement of the English physician, who was resident at Aleppo at the time of Niebuhr's voyage⁴, and what was mentioned by the friend of that traveller?

95. Ἴνα μήτε φθεῖρ μήτε ἄλλο μυσαρόν. *Neither vermin nor any other filth.* Philo⁵ asserts the same thing: the Egyptian priests shave their bodies, lest any kind of dirt should accumulate on the surface of the skin, which would be contrary to the purity of their ministry. The same custom prevailed amongst the Jews: if any dust or dead vermin were found between the garment of the priest and his skin, he was incapacitated for the functions of the priesthood. 'Si pulvis aut pediculus⁶ mortuus esset intrà carnem aut vestem, discrimen habebatur, et ministerium ejus sacerdotis hoc modo fiebat illegitimum.'

96. Ἐσθῆτα δὲ . . . λινέην. *A garment of linen.* Plutarch observes, that the priests of Isis wore garments of linen, and he adds that they did so in accordance with the maxim of Plato, that none but the pure should approach the pure⁷. Now, it would be an inconsistency for those who took so much care to remove the hairs from their own bodies, to wear clothes formed from the hair of other animals. Linen is produced from the immortal earth, which furnishes not only fruits to be eaten, but cleanly and delicate clothing, not burdensome to the wearer, and adapted to all the different seasons of the year.

Pliny appears of a different opinion, and says, that cotton clothing was very acceptable to the priests⁸. But this does not exclude linen. He is more likely to be right, however, since Plutarch, Herodotus, and all the other authors who have referred to the clothing of the Egyptian priests, have mistaken the byssus, which is certainly cotton, for a species of linen⁹. The initiated, we know, wore a robe of cotton, and we may presume that the priests did so likewise¹.

This robe of the initiated was of white cotton cloth. 'Tunc² influunt turbæ sacris divinis initiatæ, viri fœminæque omnis dignitatis et omnis ætatis, linteæ vestis candore puro luminosi.'

This passage seems to contradict what I have said above; but it only proves that cotton (byssus) being scarce, linen was used as a substitute.

In the funereal ceremonies, such as the celebration of the death of Osiris, the priests wore garments of black, and were then called Melanophori³.

⁴ Description de l'Arabie, p. 68.

⁵ Philo de Circumcisione, vol. II. p. 211.

⁶ Maimonides, de suppellectile templi, ix. Confer Schmidt, de Sacerd. et Sacrif. Ægypt. p. 15, note.

⁷ Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 352, D, E.

⁸ Plin. Hist. Nat. XIX. i. tom. II. p. 156.

⁹ Pollucis Onomast. VII. xvii. § 75.

vol. II. p. 741.

¹ Apul. Metamorph. XI. p. 388.

² Id. ibid. p. 371.

³ See an inscription quoted by Schmidt de Sacerdot., &c. p. 208. Recueil d'Antiq. Egypt., &c. tom. II. pl. viii; tom. III. pl. ii. iii., &c. Steph. Le Moine Epistola de Melanophoris, p. 262.

The young priests of inferior rank wore only a short garment, which reached no lower than the knees; those whose dress descended to the feet, appear to have been of superior rank⁴. The girdle of the dress was decorated with hieroglyphic characters. They wore likewise another girdle fastened very tight immediately under the breast. A higher order of priests had a garment tied a little above the loins, which descended to their feet. Those of still higher rank wore a dress that fitted tight to the body from head to foot; but their arms were bare. The dress of the high-priests and the prophets was more ample, and covered their persons entirely, except the extremity of the hands.

The priests, like the gods whom they worshipped, wore different collars, indicative of their respective rank. They, also, as well as the kings⁵, bore a sceptre in the form of an Egyptian plough, representations of which may be seen in Norden's Travels, pl. lvi. and in Niebuhr's Description of Arabia, pl. xv. fig. c. They borrowed this custom from the Ethiopians.

97. Λοῦνται δὲ δίδς. *They wash themselves twice.* There is here a slight difference from what we read in Porphyry. "They washed themselves⁶," says that author, "three times a day in cold water; on getting out of bed, before eating, and immediately before retiring to rest. If a nocturnal pollution occurred to them, they immediately purified themselves by bathing."

"Those of the priests⁷ who observe the law more strictly, use, for the purpose of purifying themselves, pure water, of which the ibis has drunk; for this bird, so far from drinking any water that could occasion disease, or might contain poison, will not even approach it."

98. Θρησκίας μυρίας. *Ten thousand religious practices.* "They purified themselves⁸ during the time that they observed continency. This was strictly kept for a certain time previous to some religious acts, sometimes for forty-two days, sometimes for more, sometimes for less, but never for less than seven days. They abstained during that time from the flesh of animals, from vegetables and herbs, and, above all, from intercourse with women. Their bed is formed of branches of the palm-tree, which they call baïs; a semi-cylinder of polished wood serves them for a pillow; they accustom themselves to the endurance of thirst and hunger, and at all times to live sparingly."

99. Πάσχουσι δὲ καὶ ἀγαθὰ οὐκ ὀλίγα. *They enjoy in return not a few advantages.* Amongst these was a prerogative which our historian has omitted to mention, and which appears to me more important than any he has enumerated, and therefore not to be passed over. They were the judges of the nation, as Ælian positively asserts⁹, and as may

⁴ Recueil d'Antiq. Egypt. tom. V. pl. xviii. 1 et 4.

⁵ Diod. Sic. III. iii. vol. I. p. 176.

⁶ Porphy. de Abstin., &c. IV. vii. p. 317.

⁷ Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 381, D.

⁸ Porphyrius, ut supra.

⁹ Ælian. Hist. Var. XIV. xxxiv.

be inferred from Diodorus Siculus¹, who excludes, from all civil functions, soldiers, husbandmen, workmen, and, in short, all but those of the sacerdotal order. And as the priests in this nation were the only depositaries of the sciences, we may conclude that they were the only persons instructed in the laws. Every city had, no doubt, its particular judge; but the supreme tribunal of the nation, in all probability, was held at Thebes. Indeed, on the walls of the sepulchre of Osymandyas, in that city², the thirty judges were engraved. Ten were taken from Heliopolis, ten from Memphis, and ten from Thebes³. These thirty judges chose from amongst themselves the man of the most exalted character⁴, and constituted him their president. The city sent another judge in his place He wore round his neck a chain of gold, to which was suspended an image formed by an arrangement of precious stones, and which was called Truth. This figure⁵ had its eyes closed; from which circumstance we may conjecture that it represented the human form.

Ælian relates the same particulars, and probably copies them from Diodorus Siculus; but, as he adds a very judicious observation, I ought not to withhold it from the reader: "I should deem it better that a judge should have truth engraven on his heart, than the image of it in stone hung round his neck." We may add, that he was enjoined always to have this before him, that he might not lose sight of it in his judgments.

We can scarcely help remarking the strong resemblance of these usages to those of the Jews. 1. Before the establishment of kings, the high-priest administered justice, unless there was a judge especially named. 2. The Urim and Thummim of this high-priest bore a considerable resemblance to the image worn by the first judge of Egypt. Both were suspended from golden chains, and composed of precious stones. We have no exact description of the Thummim of the Jews; and we ought the less to depend on that given by the Rabbis, as they are fond of amusing themselves with fables, and as, at the time when they wrote, the Thummim was no longer in existence. Besides these two features of conformity between the image of the grand judge and the Thummim, I can show another; namely, that the Thummim is rendered by the Septuagint (Exod. xxviii. verse 30) by the word Ἀλήθεια, truth, which is precisely the word employed both by Ælian and Diodorus Siculus. [Perhaps the Egyptian goddess Tme, Truth, is the original of the Themis of the Greeks and of the Thummim of the Hebrews.]

100. Οὐτε τι γὰρ τῶν οἰκητῶν τρίβουσι. *They consume no part of*

¹ Diod. Sic. I. lxxiii. lxxiv. pp. 84, 85. chosen. Hist. Var. XIV. xxxiv. vol. II. p. 977.

² Id. ibid. xlvi. vol. I. p. 58.

³ Id. ibid. lxxv. vol. I. p. 86.

⁴ Ælian says, that the oldest was

⁵ Diod. Sic. I. xlvi. vol. I. p. 58. Ælian, loco laudato.

their own property. The whole of Egypt⁶ was divided into three portions. The first belonged to the sacerdotal order, and was appropriated to the sacrifices and the maintenance of the ministers of the temple. This was exempted from all kinds of impost⁷. It was Isis⁸ who gave to the priests a third of her kingdom, as an inducement to attribute divine honours to her husband Osiris after his death. But Moses, who is more worthy of credit than Diodorus Siculus, informs us, that they obtained these lands from the liberality of their sovereign. When Pharaoh, king of Egypt, gained possession of the money, the cattle, and the lands of his subjects, through the counsels of Joseph, whom he had made his minister, and who had married the daughter of the high-priest of the sun, he did not interfere with the lands of the priesthood⁹, but furnished them with corn in abundance. "And they brought their cattle unto Joseph: and Joseph gave them bread in exchange for horses, and for the flocks, and for the cattle of the herds, and for the asses; and he fed them with bread for all their cattle for that year. When that year was ended, they came unto him the second year, and said unto him, We will not hide it from my lord, now that our money is spent; my lord also hath our herds of cattle, there is not ought left in the sight of my lord, but our bodies and our lands: wherefore shall we die before thine eyes, both we and our land? buy us and our land for bread, and we and our lands will be servants unto Pharaoh; and give us seed, that we may live, and not die, that the land be not desolate. And Joseph bought all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh; for the Egyptians sold every man his field, because the famine prevailed over them: so the land became Pharaoh's. And as for the people, he removed them to cities from one end of the borders of Egypt even to the other end thereof. Only the land of the priests bought he not; for the priests had a portion assigned them of Pharaoh, and did eat their portion which Pharaoh gave them: wherefore they sold not their lands." [Pharaoh was not a proper name, but a general title of the Egyptian kings.]

101. Δίδονται δέ σφι καὶ οἶνος ἀμπέλινος. *They also give them wine.* The Greek adds, 'of the vine,' to distinguish it from beer, which is wine of barley, οἶνον ἐκ κριθέων. "The priests of Heliopolis¹ never carry wine into the temple of the god, deeming it indecorous to drink in the day-time, under the eyes of their lord and king. Other persons drank it in moderation; but they abstained from it at those times when they observed their law of continency, and that was frequently. They then gave themselves up entirely to study, and to the meditation and teaching of those things which concerned the divine nature. As the kings were themselves priests, they took, according to Hecataeus, but a certain portion prescribed in the sacred books: nor was this custom introduced until after the reign of Psammitichus; for

⁶ Diod. Sic. I. lxxiii. vol. I. p. 84.

⁷ Id. ibid. Genesis xlvii. 28.

⁸ Diod. Sic. I. xxi. vol. I. p. 25.

⁹ Gen. xlvii. 17—22.

¹ Plutarch. de Is. et Os. p. 353, A.

before the time of that prince they drank no wine; and if they ever made libations of that liquor to the gods, it was not in the persuasion that it was in itself agreeable to them, but because they considered it to represent the blood of those enemies of the gods who had formerly fought against them."

Wine, we may therefore conclude, was exceedingly scarce before the time of Psammitichus; but became much less so under this prince and under the Ptolemies. That of Mareotis or Alexandria obtained a high reputation. That of Anthyllus, a town at a short distance from Alexandria, was however preferred to it², according to Athenæus, who may be consulted as to the different wines of Egypt³. That of Coptos was so light and so easy of digestion, that sick people took it without any inconvenience.

102. Ἰχθύων δὲ οὐ σφι ἔξεστι πάσασθαι. *It is not lawful for them to eat fish.* "The priests⁴ abstain from all kinds of fish. On the 9th of the first month, when every Egyptian eats before his door a baked or broiled fish, the priests, instead of eating, burn one. And for this they assign two reasons; the one sacred and subtile, which accords with their theology as to Osiris and Typhon; the other, common and manifest, which is, that fish is a superfluous rather than a necessary aliment. But the true reason is⁵ the hatred which they bear towards the sea; that element being foreign to us, having no relation to us, and being, indeed, the enemy of human nature. For they do not imagine that it nourishes the gods, as the Stoics think that it does the stars; but they think that the father and the saviour of their country, as they call the Nilotic Osiris, perished in it. By the expression that he was born in that part of the country which is on the left, and deploring his death as having occurred on the right, they enigmatically intimate, that the Nile ends and is destroyed in the sea."

This passage seems to throw some light on the hatred which the Egyptian priests entertained against the fish of the sea; but it by no means explains their aversion for those of the Nile. For my own part, I think that the flesh of all fish but shell-fish, by thickening the blood and diminishing the transpiration, greatly irritates all kinds of disease that approach to the nature of elephantiasis; and that the priests, who took all possible precautions to secure themselves from that disorder, dared not eat fish for fear of engendering it. But whatever may have been the reason for this aversion, a fish, amongst the Egyptians, was the symbol of hatred⁶. The Pythagoreans, who had derived their dogmas from Egypt, held fish in stronger aversion than any other species of animal food.

103. Κυάμους δὲ οὐτε τρώγουσι, οὐτε ἔψοντες πατέονται. *Beans they*

² Athen. Deipnos. I. xxv. p. 33, F.

p. 729. A, B.

³ Id. ibid. D, E, F.

⁶ Clem. Alex. Strom. V. vii. vol. II.

⁴ Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 353, D.

p. 770. lin. 30.

⁵ Idem, Sympos. VIII. Quæst. VIII.

eat neither raw nor cooked. See also Sextus Empiricus⁷. It was in Egypt that Pythagoras acquired his aversion for beans. We know that he had been instructed by CEnuphis⁸, a priest of Heliopolis. He interdicted the use of this vegetable, because, tending to flatulency, it approaches the nature of an animated substance. [Several other fantastical reasons for the condemnation of beans, as an article of food, are assigned by Cicero⁹ and Pliny¹. The former of these writers makes on this subject the following sensible remark²: ‘Sed nescio quomodo nihil tam absurde dici potest, quod non dicatur ab aliquo philosophorum.’]

104. *Τούτου ὁ παῖς ἀντικατίσται.* *He is replaced by his son.* The priests, amongst the Egyptians, were a distinct race of men, like the Levites among the Jews, and the Brahmins of the Hindoos. Children succeeded their fathers, and none but those of the sacerdotal family could administer the sacred functions. Diodorus Siculus remarks³ that the priests transmitted to their children the same manner of life; and Eusebius⁴, that the son held the priesthood from his father, as an hereditary right.

There were likewise at Athens certain families attached to the functions of the priesthood, such as the Eumolpidæ⁵, the Ceryces, the Eteobutadæ⁶, &c.

XXXVIII. 105. *Τρίχα ἦν καὶ μίαν ἴδεται ἐπεοῦσαν μέλαιναν.* *If he should espy but a single black hair on it.* “The Egyptians⁷, persuaded that Typhon was red, sacrifice none but oxen of that colour: and they are so exact in this observance, that if they find upon the proposed victim a single black or white hair, they refuse to sacrifice it. They do not think that they ought to sacrifice to the gods such things only as are agreeable to them, but, on the contrary, all those animals into whom have passed the souls of wicked and unjust men.” They had another reason; viz. that Apis⁸ was black, with some white marks.

The Jews borrowed from the Egyptians the sacrifice of the red heifer without spot. “This⁹ is the ordinance of the law, which the Lord hath commanded, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel that they bring thee a red heifer without spot, wherein is no blemish, and upon which never came yoke.”

Maimonides expresses it still more precisely¹: ‘Si duos solum pilos

⁷ Sext. Empir. Pyrrhon. Hypoth. III. xxiv. p. 184.

⁸ Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 354. Diogen. Laërt. VIII. xxiv. p. 507.

⁹ Cicero de Divinat. I. xxx.

¹ Plin. Hist. Nat. XVIII. xii. vol. II. p. 114. lin. 28.

² Cic. de Divinat. II. lviii.

³ Diod. Sic. I. lxxiii. vol. I. p. 84.

⁴ Euseb. Præpar. Evang. II. p. 50, A.

⁵ Diod. Sic. I. xxix. vol. I. p. 34.

⁶ Æschin. de falsâ Legat. p. 478, D. Confer Cl. Taylor. Præf. ad Lycurgum.

⁷ Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 363, B.

⁸ Herod. III. xxviii.

⁹ Numb. xix. 2.

¹ In lib. de Vaccâ rufâ apud Judæos immolandâ, I.

albos aut nigros sibi mutuò incumbentes habebant, ad sacrificium ineptæ judicabantur.'

106. Εἰ καθαρὴ τῶν προκειμένων σημητίων. *If free from the marks of which the sacred books make mention.* The Greek implies, 'which are exposed, explained;' doubtless in the sacred books, and therefore I have so expressed it. Εἰ καθαρὴ signifies if he is 'free from stain,' the same as 'purus' in Latin. As 'purus sceleris,' in Horace. An ox possessing any of the marks which characterized Apis would have been thought impure, and consequently unfit for sacrifice.

107. Ἐπιβάλλει τὸν δακτύλιον. *He impresses his seal.* "The impress of this seal represents, according to Castor², a man on his knees, his hands behind his back, with the point of a sword at his throat."

XXXIX. 108. Ἐκβάλλουσι εἰς τὸν ποταμόν. *They throw it into the river.* "As the people of Ombos³ will not eat the heads of the animals which they have sacrificed, they throw them to the crocodiles; and these animals dance around them." [It was originally the custom to throw the heads of the victims into the river; but at a later period they were sold to strangers.]

109. Καταρέονται δὲ, τάδε λέγοντες. *They make imprecations to this effect.* These imprecations have a considerable resemblance to those pronounced by the Jews at the sacrifice of the scape-goat: "And Aaron⁴ shall lay both his hands on the head of the live goat, and confess over him all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their transgressions and all their sins, putting them upon the head of the goat, and shall send him away by the hand of a fit man into the wilderness."

110. Ἡ δὲ δὴ ἐξαίρεσις τῶν ἱρῶν καὶ ἡ καῦσις, ἄλλη περὶ ἄλλο ἱρόν σφι κατέστηκε. *But the process of eviscerating and burning the victim is different for the different kinds of victims.* [The whole course and ceremony of the Egyptian sacrifices, as here described, are found represented in the paintings of the catacombs or on sculptured monuments⁵. It would appear from the sculptures that the heads of animals were sometimes brought into the temples⁶.]

XL. 111. Τύπτονται πάντες. *They all beat themselves.* "Is not the practice of the Egyptians most ridiculous? On the days of great festivals⁷, they beat their breasts in the temples, as if to deplore the death of those to whom they sacrifice as gods." This ingenious thought belongs to Xenophanes, the physician.

XLI. 112. Τὰς δὲ θηλέας οὐ σφι ἔξεστι θύειν. *It is not lawful for*

² Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 363, B, C. p. 73.

³ Ælian. de Nat. Animal. X. xxi. p. 567.

⁴ Leviticus xvi. 21.

⁵ Costaz, Descr. de l'Eg. Mém. tom. I. p. 52.

⁶ Wilkinson, Mann. and Cust. II. p. 377.

⁷ Athenag. Leg. pro Christ. XII.

them to sacrifice heifers. “The utility of this animal⁸ and its extreme scarcity in Egypt was the reason of this regulation. Thus, though they sacrificed and ate oxen, they spared the females for the sake of breeding; and the law looked on him who ate of them as guilty of sacrilege. St. Jerome also says, ‘In Ægypto⁹ et Palæstina propter boum raritatem nemo vaccam comedit.’”

This regulation, in its origin so wise, by degrees degenerated into superstition. The Brahmins, who now never eat cows, abstained from them in the first instance, probably, for the same reason. That which was first practised from a motive of utility, was afterwards adhered to from superstition. “Both the Egyptians and the Phœnicians,” says Porphyry¹, “would rather partake of human flesh than of that of a cow.”

113. [Τὸ γὰρ τῆς Ἰσίου ἀγάλμα ἐὼν γυναικῆιον βούκερὼν ἐστὶ, κατὰ περ Ἕλληνες τὴν Ἰοῦν γράφουσι. *The statue of Isis, though that of a woman, has the horns of an ox, just as the Greeks represent Io.* The head-dress of Isis, on the Egyptian monuments, is the vulture surmounted by the disk and horns. It is not improbable that the Phœnicians introduced the worship of this goddess into Argos, where she was erroneously supposed, on account of her head-dress, to represent the moon (in Egyptian, Ioh). In process of time, the origin of the name and symbol being forgotten, the Greek mythologists invented the story of the nymph Io, changed by Jupiter into a heifer and driven into Egypt. In the dialect of Argos, Io signified the moon².]

114. Οὐδὲ κρέως καθαροῦ βοῦς διατετμημένον Ἑλληνικῇ μαχαίρῃ γεύσεται. *Nor will he (an Egyptian) taste the flesh of a clean ox, if it be cut with the knife of a Greek.* With such customs, this people must have been very unsociable. We know, indeed, from the sacred writings, that the Egyptians would not eat with strangers. This custom was observed as early as in the days of Joseph. “And they set on for him by himself, and for them by themselves, and for the Egyptians which did eat with him by themselves; because the Egyptians might not eat with the Hebrews; for that is an abomination unto the Egyptians³.”

115. Ἀφροδίτης ἱρόν. *A temple consecrated to Venus.* It was this temple which gave name to the city. Atar or Athor, as Orion says⁴ in the Etymologicum Magnum, signifies Venus, and Bek a city, as Balbek, the city of the sun, which the Greeks rendered Heliopolis. Baki signifies the same thing at the present day in Coptic. (This city was the Ἀφροδίτης πόλις of Strabo⁵. The goddess in question was the Hathor of the hieroglyphic inscriptions.)

XLII. 116. Ἀμοῦν γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι τὸν Δία. *Jupiter the*

⁸ Porphyry. de Abst. ab Esu An. II. xi. pp. 120, 121.

⁹ Hieronym. advers. Jovin. II. 7.

¹ De Abst. ab Esu An. II. xi. p. 120.

² Eustathius ad Dion. Perieg. 94.

³ Genesis xliii. 32.

⁴ Etymol. Magn. voc. Ἀθύρ, p. 26.

⁵ Strabo, XVII. p. 1154, c.

Egyptians call Ammon. The Egyptians thus wrote the name, as Plutarch has remarked⁶ in his treatise on Isis and Osiris. Eustathius also cites this passage of Herodotus⁷ in his commentary on Dionysius Periegetes. By this name the Egyptians understood the sovereign of the gods; thus Thebes was called in the language of the country, as we learn from Scripture⁸, Amun or Amon-no, or No-Amon, which the Greeks have rendered by Diospolis⁹. [Amun, in the inscriptions Amn, is said to have signified 'supreme.']

117. Τύπτονται οἱ περὶ τὸν ἱρὸν ἅπαντες τὸν κριόν. *They all strike themselves whilst deploring the sacred ram.* Thus Wesseling in his notes corrects the version of Gronovius:

Καὶ οὐ πάλιν αὐθις ἔβησαν
Πρὶν μέγαν ἢ σέο βωμὸν ὑπὸ πληγῇσιν ἐλίξαι
Ῥησσόμενοι¹⁰.

"And they did not retire without having smitten themselves with whips, while going round your altar."

The learned Abbé Barthélemy¹, following a corrupt edition of Callimachus, makes the altar to be struck with whips by the mariners.

XLIII. 118. Ἡρακλέος δέ. *As to Hercules.* Not only Herodotus, but every other author who writes on the subject, remarks, that the Egyptian Hercules was wholly distinct from the Hercules of the Greeks. Cicero, amongst others², gives to the former the Nile for a father: 'Nilo genitus.' But, in spite of all these authorities, M. De Pauw affirms that this Hercules is one and the same with the Hercules of Thebes in Bœotia³.

The Abbé Bergier⁴ also says, "that the ancients have never clearly decided, whether Hercules and Bacchus were two gods, or two heroes: according to Herodotus, the Egyptians considered them two of their ancient gods." If Hercules and Bacchus were acknowledged as gods by the Egyptians, and Hercules adored as a divinity at Tyre, how can M. Bergier affirm, that the ancients have never decided whether they were gods or heroes? The Egyptians never entertained a doubt about it. Hercules was one of their twelve gods, sprung from the eight more ancient ones⁵, and was in Egyptian called Chon [Chons]. The Tyrian Hercules was called Melcarth; and the worship of him⁶ was as ancient as the foundation of Tyre.

Hercules, amongst the Greeks, was never more than a hero. Thus

⁶ Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 354, c.

p. 237.

⁷ Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. ver. 211. p. 37. col. 2.

² Cicero de Natura Deorum, III. xvi.

⁸ Ezek. xxx. 15.—Nahum iii. 8.

³ Recherches Philosophiques sur les Egyptiens et les Chinois, VII. p. 126.

⁹ Champol. l'Eg. s. l. Phar. I. p. 217.

⁴ Origine des Dieux du Paganisme.

¹⁰ Callimach. Hymn. IV. 320.

⁵ Herod. II. cxlv.

¹ Voyage d'Anacharse, tom. IV.

⁶ Idem, II. xlv.

Herodotus speaks in approbation of those of his countrymen who had raised two temples to Hercules, and offered in one of them sacrifices as to an immortal being, and this was the Egyptian Hercules; and in the other only funereal offerings as to a hero, and that was the Greek Hercules. The Greeks having observed some points of resemblance between the Chons of the Egyptians, the Melcarth of the Tyrians, and their own Hercules, concluded that they were all the same god; but Herodotus with more exactness marks the distinction, and it is on him that we should rely⁷.

The same observation will apply to Bacchus, the Osiris⁸ of the Egyptians, whom that nation ranked as a god of the third order⁹, sprung from the twelve gods, who owed their existence to the eight more ancient gods.

Bacchus, amongst the Greeks, was only a hero, the son of Jupiter and Semele, and became a god only because Orpheus, wishing to pay court to the Cadmæans, transposed the birth of Osiris to a more modern date. The mythologists and the poets contributed not a little to give currency to this notion¹.

119. Ἀμφιτρύων καὶ Ἀλκμήνη γεγονότες τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου. *Amphitryon and Alcmena being originally of Egypt.* In testimony of which may be cited an inscription engraved on a brazen tablet, which Haliartus² found on the tomb of Alcmena in Bœotia. With the body was a little bracelet of brass, and two amphoræ which contained earth, hardened by time to the consistency of stone. Agesilaus had these remains removed to Sparta. The inscription, from the antiquity of its character, had an air of the marvellous: nothing could be deciphered, even after washing the brazen tablet; all that could be decided was, that the letters appertained to some foreign language, and resembled those of the Egyptians. Agesilaus caused copies to be taken, which he sent into Egypt; and Agetoridas delivered them on behalf of that prince to the prophet Chonuphis; the latter, after taking three days to collate in the ancient books the different kinds of characters, gave an explanation of it, and sent it to the king.

120. Ὡς ἔλπομαί τε καὶ ἐμὴ γνώμη αἰρέει. *As I am inclined to think and my judgment decides.* The second member of the sentence expresses more than the first, and signifies an opinion founded on a reason. See Wesseling's note.

XLIV. 121. Ἡ δὲ σμαράγδου λίθου, λάμποντος τὰς νύκτας μέγαθος. *The other (pillar) was of emerald, which shone brightly at night.* "The emerald³," says Theophrastus, "is scarce and small, unless we give credit to the public registers of Egypt, wherein it is recorded that

⁷ See Diod. Sic. I. xxiv.

⁸ Herod. II. xlii. and cxliv.

⁹ Idem, II. cxlv.

¹ Diod. Sic. I. xxii.

² Plutarch. de Socrat. Genio, pp. 577, 578, E, F.

³ Theophrast. in Libro de Lapide, p. 256.

a king of that country received as a present from a king of Babylon an emerald four cubits long and three thick. The same registers also speak of four emeralds of forty cubits long, one of which was four cubits in thickness, and another two: they were set in the obelisk dedicated to Jupiter. Mention is also made of an immense column of emerald, which was in the temple of Hercules at Tyre; or this might be a bastard emerald, a pseudo-smaragdus." Pliny, who as usual translates from Theophrastus, adds, that Apion⁴, surnamed Plistonices, had written, that in the labyrinth of Egypt was seen a colossal Serapis formed from an emerald of nine cubits.

The column of which Herodotus speaks must have been of pseudo-smaragdus, or bastard emerald. But yet these stones give no light in the night. If then our historian was correctly informed, and his ingenuousness not imposed on, I should be inclined to believe, with the authors of the English Universal History, that this column was not of pseudo-smaragdus, but of stained glass, lighted by lamps from within.

But however this may be, there were a great many emeralds in Egypt, in the neighbourhood of Coptos, which were in high estimation. 'Tertium⁵ locum Ægyptii habent, qui eruuntur circa Copton oppidum Thebaidis in collibus et cautibus.' Strabo⁶ observes the same fact, with the addition that other precious stones are also found there.

122. Ἐτεῖα τριηκόσια καὶ δισχίλια. *Two thousand three hundred years.* M. Desvignoles believes, I know not on what grounds, that the text of Herodotus has been altered by the copyists. But if he has not set his face against the remote antiquity of the Egyptians, why should he do so against that of the Tyrians? The origin of the oriental nations was derived from the beginning of the world. This origin, which was traced only by the Hebrews, had become obscured among other nations, who preserved only vague traditions, which varied as they passed from mouth to mouth. Each nation considering itself, and justly, as very ancient, adopted with facility and even with complacency all kinds of fables, which carried back their antiquity to a vast remoteness of date.

123. Ταῦτα καὶ πέντε γενεῇσι ἀνδρῶν πρότερα ἐστὶ ἢ τὸν Ἀμφιτρίωνος Ἡρακλῆα ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι γενέσθαι. *This (the colonization of Thasos) took place no less than five generations before Hercules the son of Amphitryon appeared in Greece.* This passage has greatly plagued the critics. The President Bouhier⁷ thought that we should read 'eight generations,' because in fact we can trace so many in going back from Hercules to Ægyptus, who was contemporary with Cadmus.

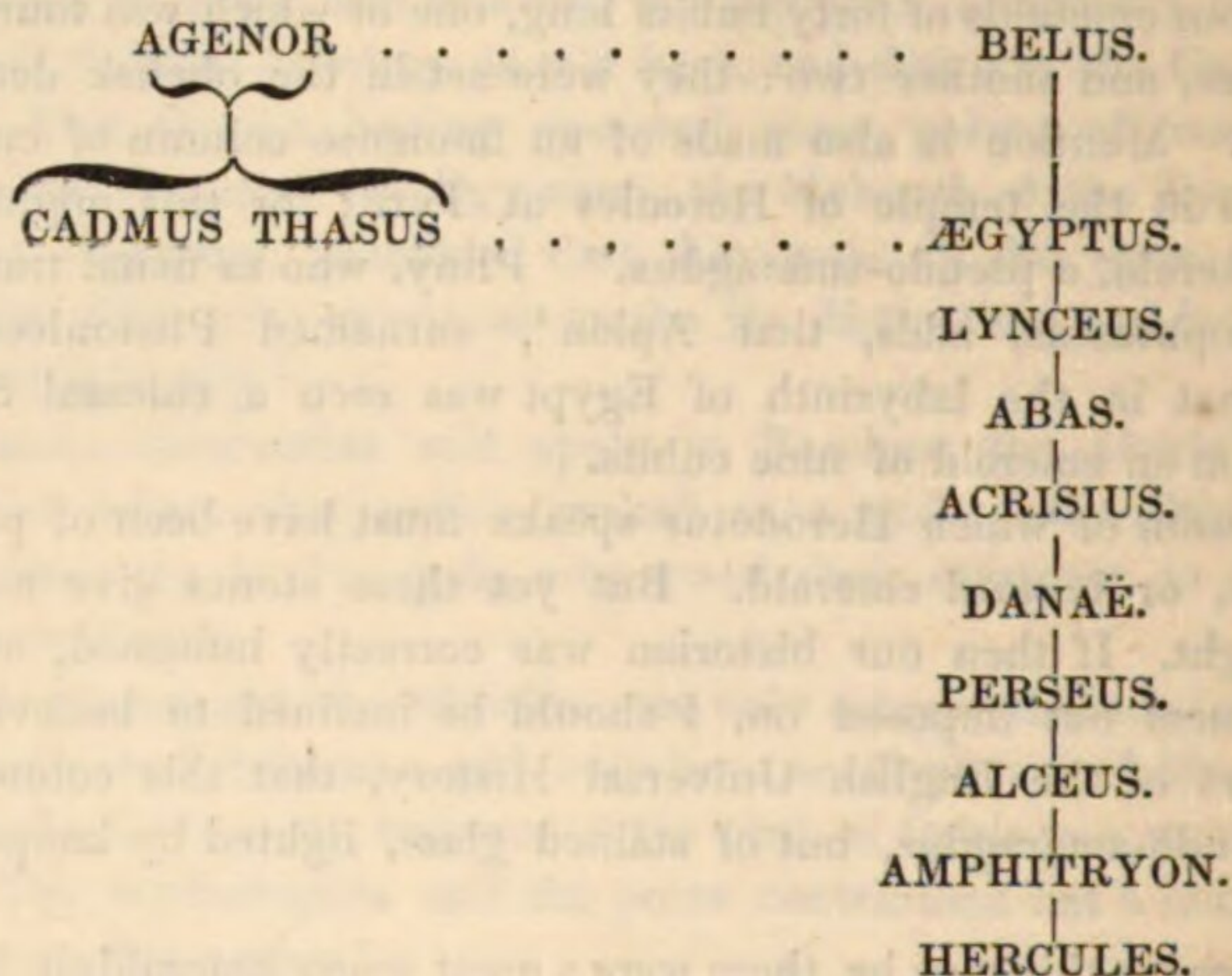
⁴ Plin. Hist. Nat. XXXVII. v. vol. II. p. 776.

⁶ Strabo, XVII. p. 1170, B.

⁷ Recherches et Dissertations sur

⁵ Id. ibid. XXXVII. v. vol. II. p. 774. Hérodote, ch. xi. p. 127.

I had the more readily admitted this correction into my translation, as it was approved by Wesseling. The following are these generations :



My translation being finished, I perceived whilst engaged on my Essay on Chronology, that Hercules could not be directly traced from Ægyptus, and that this hero descended from that prince through Danaë, daughter of Acrisius, and that Acrisius himself was great-grandson of Ægyptus only by the female side, Lynceus having married one of his daughters. This genealogy therefore could determine the calculation by generations, only by counting five generations and one succession, as I have proved in that Essay. It appeared to me more natural to suppose that our historian had in view the genealogy of Cadmus. From Cadmus to Œdipus, who was contemporary with Hercules, there were in fact but five generations. The island of Thasos was colonised in the year 3164 of the Julian period, 1550 years before our era; and Hercules was born in the year 3330 of the Julian, 1384 years before our era. From the foundation of Thasos, therefore, to the birth of Hercules, was a period of 166 years, or five generations. For these reasons, I have thought proper to preserve the text of Herodotus, and the rather, as the MSS. and the editions present no variation.

124. Ὡς ἥρωϊ ἐναγίζουσι. *They make funereal offerings to him, as to a hero.* The Latins called these offerings 'inferiæ.' According to Cicero, it was the third Hercules, one of the Idæan Dactyli, to whom these offerings were made⁸: 'Tertius est ex Idæis Digitis, cui inferias offerunt.'

XLV. 125. Ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ κατάρχοντο. *When they began with him at the altar.* Meaning the cutting off the hair, the libations, and the scattering of the consecrated grain upon the victim.

⁸ Cicero de Nat. Deor. III. xvi.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus⁹ takes the term in that sense, when he says, *θυμάτων καταρχόμενον*, "initiating himself into the sacrifices;" and in another place¹, *ἐπὶ τῶν θυσιῶν κριθαῖς καταρχόμεθα*: "We commence the sacrifices by scattering barley."

126. Ὑῶν. *Hogs*. It is certain that the Egyptians held this animal in abhorrence, and never sacrificed any² but to the Moon and to Bacchus. But as they sacrificed them to these two divinities at the full of the moon, and as they were then permitted to eat them, I do not see why Valckenaer should wish to substitute *οἴων*, 'sheep,' for *ὕῶν*, 'hogs,' which is the reading of all the editions and all the MSS.

127. [Κῶς ἂν οὗτοι ἄνθρώπους θύοιεν; *How is it likely that these* (who are limited to a few kinds of victims) *should sacrifice men?* The story that Hercules was about to be sacrificed by the Egyptians, appeared to Herodotus irreconcilable with the manners of that people, whose customs confined them to the use of certain victims. Yet there is reason for suspecting at least that human sacrifices were not unusual in Egypt in earlier times. The tradition of these rites is preserved by several writers³; they were abolished, according to Manetho, by Amosis the founder of the eighteenth dynasty⁴. The representations on the Egyptian monuments of kings slaying human victims are not, however, to be taken as proofs of the contemporaneous existence of such a custom⁵.]

XLVI. 128. Οὐ μοι ἡδιόν ἐστι λέγειν. *It is not very agreeable to me to speak*. This phrase expresses a sort of scruple or disinclination on the part of our author. Apuleius justly observes in a like case: 'Quæras⁶ forsitan satis anxie, studiose Lector, quid deinde dictum, quid factum? dicerem, si dicere liceret; cognosceres, si liceret audire. Sed parem noxam contraherent aures et linguæ temerariæ curiositatis.' We may here notice the expression *οὐ μοι ἡδιον*. The Attics often use the comparative for the positive. We find further on, (II. xlvii.) *οὐκ εὐπρεπέστερος* for *οὐκ εὐπρεπής*⁷.

129. Καὶ μᾶλλον τοὺς ἔρσενας. *And the males in preference*. "The Egyptians rank the goat⁸ amongst the gods, for the same reason, as it is said, that the Greeks honour Priapus."

130. Ἐκ δὲ τούτων εἷς. *One of these* (the he-goats). I have followed the interpretation of Wesseling, which seems to me very proper. The translators refer this to the keepers of the goats, which deprives the sentence of meaning. It is clear that Herodotus meant to speak of the goat of Thmuis.

⁹ Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. III. xxxv. Athen. IV. xxi.
p. 170. lin. 7.

¹ Id. ibid. II. xxv. p. 92. lin. 35.

² Herod. II. xlvii.

³ Diod. Sic. I. lxxxviii. Plut. Is. et Osir. p. 380.

⁴ Euseb. Præp. Evang. IV. xvi.

⁵ Wilkinson's Manners and Customs, &c. I. p. 398.

⁶ Apul. Metam. XI. p. 387. lin. 14.

⁷ See Eurip. Hippol. 446, and Alc. 981.

⁸ Diod. Sic. I. lxxxviii. vol. I. p. 98.

131. Καλέεται δὲ ὁ τε τράγος καὶ ὁ Πάν Αἰγυπτιστὶ Μένδης. *The he-goat as well as Pan is called in Egyptian Mendes.* M. Jablonski⁹ thinks that Herodotus is in error, and that Mendes never did signify a he-goat in Egyptian; and he founds this opinion on the circumstance, that in the Coptic version of the Old and New Testaments this word is never found: but always 'Bareit' for the he-goat, and 'Baempi' for the she-goat.

But are the Coptic and the ancient Egyptian tongues the same? or may not the Egyptians have had more than one name for the same animal? In this latter case, we can easily conceive that those who translated the sacred books into Coptic or Egyptian would avoid an equivocal expression, which might apply equally to a he-goat and to the god Pan.

[Mendes signified, according to Jablonski, 'prolific;' it was probably therefore an epithet of the god whom the Greeks called Pan. There is no reason for doubting that the ancient Egyptian language was the foundation of the Coptic.

It is remarkable that the figure of the god Mendes, as described by Herodotus, occurs no where on the monuments. Only one figure has been found having a partial resemblance to our author's description¹.]

Nothing is more certain than the infamous custom of enclosing women with the goat of Mendes. The same thing was done at² Thmuis. A thousand authors speak of it; but we will draw a veil over these horrors.

XLVII. 132. Ὑν δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι μιὰρὸν ἡγνῆται θηρίον εἶναι. *The Egyptians deem the pig an unclean animal.* The milk of a sow, as will be observed in a subsequent note, was supposed to give the leprosy to those who drank it. Hence the aversion in which the Egyptians held the pig, and the interdict against its being eaten by the Jews. The Jews at no time either ate of it or sacrificed it, whereas the Egyptians did both once a year, at the festival of the full moon: Θύουσιν αὐτῇ (Σελήνῃ) ἅπαξ τοῦ ἔτους ὕν³, "Once a year they sacrifice a pig to the moon." Some Egyptians assign as a reason for this, that Typhon⁴ pursuing a pig at the time of the full moon, found a wooden coffin containing the body of Osiris, which he tore to pieces.

133. Οὐδὲ σφι ἐκδίδοσθαι θυγατέρα οὐδεὶς ἐθέλει. *No one will give them his daughter in marriage.* The ingenious and judicious author of the *Philosophic History of the Commercial Establishments of the Europeans in the Indies* (the Abbé Raynal) remarks, and with justice⁵, that the institutions of the Egyptians bear a considerable resemblance

⁹ Panth. Ægypt. II. vii. § ii. vol. I. p. 273. dari Fragm. Ed. Heyne, III. p. 122.

¹ Minutoli, Reise, &c. p. 283; and in the Atlas, tab. 21.

² Clem. Alex. Protrept. p. 27. lin. 37. See also Strabo XVII. p. 1154. Pin-

³ Ælian. de Nat. An. X. xvi. p. 562.

⁴ Plut. de Is. et Osir. p. 354, A.

⁵ Histoire Philosophique, &c. des deux Indes, tom. I. p. 63.

to those of the Indians. But when he adds that the laws of Egypt, though they distinguished different ranks and classes, degraded none, this passage of Herodotus convinces me that he is in error.

134. Σελήνῃ δὲ καὶ Διονύσῳ μόννοισι τοὺς ὕς θύσαντας, πατέονται τῶν κρεῶν. *To the moon and Bacchus alone they sacrifice pigs, and (on that occasion only) eat their flesh.* Eudoxus⁶ says, that "The Egyptians sacrifice no pigs, because when the sowing-time was over, they let them loose into their fields. These animals, treading the grain under foot, force it into the earth, so that it springs into life there, and is not devoured by the birds." But Plutarch informs us⁷ that it was because this animal copulates during the wane of the moon, and because its milk gave the leprosy to those who drank it.

135. Οἱ δὲ πένητες αὐτῶν σταιτίνας πλάσαντες ὕς, θύουσι. *The poor among them offer up figures of pigs made of paste.* The poor people in Egypt made victims with paste. This was done also (and by Greeks) in times of scarcity. "The Cyziceni⁸, not being able to procure a black heifer for a sacrifice, made one of paste, and took it to the altar."

XLVIII. 136. Τῷ δὲ Διονύσῳ, τῆς ὀρτῆς τῇ δορπίῃ, χοῖρον πρὸ τῶν θυρέων σφάξας ἕκαστος. *Every one sacrificing before his door a pig to Bacchus on the eve of the festival.* It was this festival, I believe, which was called Pamyliā. We must recollect that the Bacchus of the Egyptians is Osiris. "They say⁹ that Osiris was born on the first of the intercalary days, and that at the moment of his birth, these words¹ were heard; 'The Lord of the universe is born.' Some other persons relate, that Pamylus having gone to seek water in the temple of Jupiter at Thebes, he heard a voice, which commanded him to proclaim that the good, the great king Osiris was then born; and that for this reason Saturn entrusted to him the education of Osiris; and that, in memory of this event, a festival was instituted which greatly resembled the Phallica."

Although at the first glance we might be inclined to suppose that this festival was instituted in honour of Pamylus, as it bears his name, yet it should seem, from the passage of Plutarch, that it was celebrated in honour of Osiris; and we can scarcely doubt this, when we read the following words of the same author: "The Pamyliā², which bear, as has been remarked, a considerable resemblance to the Phallica of the Greeks, prove that Osiris is the grand principle of fecundity. They carry in this pageant, and expose to public view, a statue of this god with a triple phallus, thereby intimating that he is the first principle, and that this principle, by means of the generative power, multiplies all that proceeds from it."

⁶ Ælian. de Nat. An. X. xvi. p. 563.

⁷ Plut. de Is. et Osir. p. 553, F.

⁸ Id. in Lucullo, p. 497, F.

⁹ Id. de Is. et Osir. p. 355, E.

¹ I read τεχθέντι with the edition of Aldus, p. 395. lin. 7. Ταχθέντι of the other edition furnishes no meaning.

² Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 365, B.

137. "Ἔστι λόγος περὶ αὐτοῦ ἱρὸς λεγόμενος. *There is a sacred statement made concerning it.* It is not from modesty, as we may perceive, but from a scrupulousness of revealing the mysteries, that Herodotus omits to state the reason of the filthy practice referred to. St. Clement of Alexandria³, however, supplies this omission, but in terms so indelicate as to be unfit for quotation. Arnobius relates the same thing in terms still less decent⁴.

When engaged on my first edition, I fancied that the zeal of the Fathers against paganism sometimes transported them beyond due bounds, and that they imputed to the Pagans fables which the latter would have disavowed. But Arnobius cites Heraclitus, an ancient author; and moreover, Pausanias⁵, when he informs us that Polymnus (Prosymnus) pointed out to Bacchus the road to the infernal regions, shows himself to be acquainted with the same tradition. If this author be silent as to the rest, it is probably because he did not wish to reveal the turpitude of the gods he worshipped.

It must be admitted, however, that Plutarch gives another reason for the carrying of these phalli in procession; which I have mentioned above. To this may be added the following, from the same author:

"Isis⁶ gathered together the scattered members of Osiris, except the organ of generation, which she could not find. It had been thrown into the river, and the Lepidotus, the Phagrus, and the Oxyrinchus had immediately devoured it; and it is principally for this reason that the Egyptians hold these fish in such abhorrence. She consecrated in its place the phallus, which is an imitation of it; and in memory of this circumstance the Egyptians celebrate a festival."

The phalli had not always an indecent form. They often resembled a cross surmounted by a ring . Several are seen on the Isiac Table; in the collection of Egyptian antiquities by Count Caylus, and elsewhere. These crosses were a rude representation of the phallus, as we learn from M. de la Croze⁷.

[This author was mistaken. The Crux ansata, or cross of the Dominicans, here gratuitously supposed to represent a phallus, was probably the figure of a key, and had, in the Egyptian phonetic alphabet, the power of the vowel *ō*⁸. It often stands in hieroglyphic inscriptions for 'onkh,' or 'the life to come'.⁹ It may be here remarked that the Isiac table or Tabula Bembina (an engraved disk of copper representing the mysteries of Isis, now preserved, we believe, in the Museum of Turin) was a production of a late age (not earlier than Hadrian), and may have been made in Italy. Among its spurious

³ Clem. Alex. Protrept. p. 13. lin. 9. The same explanation is also found in the Scholiast of Lucian, de Syriâ Deâ, § xvi. vol. III. p. 643. with some slight variation.

⁴ Arnob. adv. Gentes, V. pp. 176, 177. Textes Eg. pp. 54, 205.

⁵ Pausanias, II. xxxvii. p. 200.

⁶ Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 358, B.

⁷ Hist. de la Chrétienté, &c. p. 431.

⁸ Champollion, Gramm. Eg. p. 36.

⁹ Salvolini, Analyse Gramm. des Anc.

characters, one of the most prominent is the variety of the 'crux ansata,' which Larcher, following Jablonski¹⁰, called a triple phallus, but which is not, in fact, a genuine Egyptian hieroglyph.]

XLIX. 138. Μελάμπους ὁ Ἀμυθέωνος. *Melampus, son of Amythaon.* Melampus having¹¹ come into the world, Rhodope his mother exposed him on an elevated spot. His whole body was covered, except the feet; these were burned by the sun, and became black. Hence he was called Melampus, which name signifies black-footed. Salmoneus¹ and Cretheus were sons of Æolus, grandson of Hellen, and great-grandson of Deucalion. Salmoneus had a daughter named Tyro, who had whilst a girl, by Neptune, Pelias and Neleus. Cretheus built the city of Iolcos²; he married Tyro the daughter of Salmoneus, and had by her, amongst other sons, Amythaon. This Amythaon established himself at Pylos in Messenia, where Neleus reigned. He had two sons, Bias and Melampus, by Idomeneia, daughter of Pheres, who was also a son of Salmoneus, according to Apollodorus, or of Aglaïa, according to Diodorus Siculus³, who gives the whole of this genealogy⁴.

139. Πυθόμενον ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου. *Deriving his knowledge from Egypt.* As Egypt was then renowned for arts and sciences, the Greeks, who were beginning to emerge from barbarism, travelled thither to acquire knowledge, and to communicate it to their countrymen. With this view many great men repaired thither, such as "Orpheus, Musæus, Melampus, Dædalus, Homer, Lycurgus of Sparta, Solon of Athens, the philosopher Plato, Pythagoras of Samos, Eudoxus, Democritus of Abdera, Cænopis of Chios, whose travels were recorded in the public registers." To these may be added, on the authority of Theodorus of Melitene⁵, Pherecydes of Syros, Thales of Miletus, Anaxagoras of Clazomenæ. Eudoxus had been a disciple of Chonuphis at Memphis⁶, Solon of Sonchis at Saïs, Pythagoras of Cænuphis at Heliopolis. But superstition, which was the characteristic feature of the Greeks, prevented them from deriving that advantage which might have been expected from their labours. They left their country superstitious simpletons, and returned to it superstitious systematics. Josephus and St. Clement of Alexandria, who entertained a very justifiable prejudice in favour of the Jewish laws, gave the Jews credit for such traces of them as were perceptible in the philosophy of the Greeks. They would not comprehend that these philosophers had acquired their knowledge from the Egyptians.

140. Ὀμότροπα γὰρ ἂν ἦν τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι. *They (the Bacchic rites)*

¹⁰ Jablonski, *Panth. Eg.* V. vii. § iv. vol. III. p. 205.

¹¹ Schol. Theocr. ad Idyll. III. 43.

¹ Apollod. I. ii. § ii. p. 24. and ix. § viii. pp. 43. 41.

² Id. I. ix. § xi. p. 42.

³ Diod. Sic. IV. xlviii. pp. 312, 313.

⁴ Diod. Sic. I. xevi. vol. I. p. 107.

See also, as to Melampus, Herod. IX. xxxiii.; Homer. Odyss. XI. 286, &c. XV. 226, &c.; Apoll. Rhod. I. 5 et s.

⁵ Theodori Meliten. *Procem. in Astron.* xii.; *Biblioth. Græc.* vol. ix. p. 211.

⁶ Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 354, E.

would, in that case, have been conformable to the manners of the Greeks. I will not stop to notice the changes which M. de la Barre proposed in this passage, nor the explanation which he has given of it, as they may be found in the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles-Lettres⁷. Wesseling has shown in his notes, that they are not admissible. The following is the sense of which it is susceptible, according to that ingenious scholar: 'It is not merely by an effect of chance that the ceremonies of Bacchus in Egypt and in Greece have so remarkable a conformity. In that case, they would perfectly resemble each other,' &c. I confess that the second sentence conveys no meaning to me; nor do I see why, though the resemblance that subsisted between these ceremonies in Greece and in Egypt had been the effect of chance, it must therefore needs be a perfect resemblance.

Herodotus wishes to prove what he has advanced,—namely, that we must not impute to chance the conformity which is observable between the Greek ceremonies and those of Egypt in the worship of Bacchus. For had this conformity been the result of chance alone, the ceremonies observed in the worship of this god in Greece would have borne some trace of the national character, and would have comprised nothing that was hostile to it. In a word, had not these ceremonies been imported from another country, so far from being characterized by an opposition to the national character, they would have partaken of it, in common with all their other religious ceremonies.

141. Πυθέσθαι δέ μοι δοκείει μάλιστα Μελάμπους τὰ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον παρὰ Κάδμου. *Melampus, it appears to me, learned the rites of Bacchus from Cadmus.* He had said a little before, that Melampus had been instructed in Egypt; now, he says, that Cadmus imparted to him these mysteries. But this does not involve a contradiction. He might have been instructed in Egypt, and afterwards by Cadmus, who had himself been in Egypt, had he been his contemporary. But so far from this being the case, he was posterior to Cadmus by several generations.

The voyage of Melampus into Egypt appears very well attested. It is thus reported by Diodorus Siculus: "It is said⁸ that Melampus brought from Egypt the sacred ceremonies which the Greeks observe in honour of Bacchus, the fables concerning Saturn and the war of the Titans, together with the complete history of the loves of the gods." St. Clement of Alexandria also says⁹, that Melampus brought from Egypt to Greece the festivals in honour of Ceres, &c. I shall not stop to refute Nicephorus, who, in his Scholia on Synesius¹, affirms that Melampus was an Egyptian, a sacred scribe, and a hierophant. He was a Greek, and the son of Amythaon, and was descended from Deucalion by six generations. He was contemporary with Hercules, and consequently could never have seen Cadmus, who was anterior to that

⁷ Tom. XII. p. 177.

⁸ Diod. Sic. I. xvii. p. 109.

⁹ Clem. Alex. in Protrept. p. 12. lin.

28, 29.

¹ Nicephor. in Synesium, p. 419.

hero by five generations. [Melampus belongs to the age of fable, and must on every account be considered as a fabulous personage.]

142. Ἐς τὴν νῦν Βοιωτίην καλεομένην χώραν. *To the country which is now called Bœotia.* "Bœotia took this name from Bœotus², son of Itonus and of the nymph Menalippe, and grandson of Amphictyon." Diodorus Siculus³ supposes that Bœotus was the father of Itonus, that he reigned in Thessaly, which was then called Æolia, and that he called his subjects Bœotians.

But we do not find from that author, how or when these Bœotians passed into the country which has since received the name of Bœotia. Thucydides supplies this deficiency :

"The people⁴ who are now called Bœotians, having been driven from Arnus by the Thessalians sixty years after the taking of Troy, came and established themselves in the country which now bears the name of Bœotia, but which was then called Cadmeis. There had formerly been in that country a portion of this nation, from whom were descended those who went to the siege of Troy."

L. 143. Ἡρῆς. *Juno.* Manetho⁵ speaks of the Juno of the Egyptians, and affirms that three men a day were sacrificed to her, who were examined with as much strictness as the calves. Amosis abolished these barbarous sacrifices. Diodorus Siculus⁶, Horapollo⁷, and other authors, also mention this Juno. When the Greeks remarked any resemblance between a god of another nation and any one of their own, they immediately identified them, and gave to the latter the name of the former. Hence the Egyptian divinity, to whom some authors give the name of Venus, is by others called Juno. Herodotus speaks of the Juno of the Greeks, who was not known in Egypt, whilst the authors cited in the commencement of this note probably had in view the Juno of the East, whom they usually called Venus; but they then always added the surname of Urania, to distinguish her from the Venus of the Greeks⁸. This Juno of the orientals, or 'Venus cœlestis,' was called in Egyptian 'Athor' [Hathor].

Juno, in all probability, was first known by the Argives; Themis by the people of Delphi, amongst whom she had originally an oracle; Vesta, the Dioscuri, the Graces and the Nereids, were known elsewhere, though not by the Hellenic nation. When they first acquired a knowledge of them, they hesitated to adopt their names, and it was not without the permission of the oracle that they began the use of them. The names of these divinities being then more generally known, the Hellenes borrowed them of their neighbours the Pelasgi. But we must not therefore conclude that these divinities were originally Pelasgian.

² Pausan. Bœot. I. p. 711.

³ Diod. Sic. IV. lxxvii. pp. 311, 312.

⁴ Thucyd. I. xii. p. 11.

⁵ Apud Porphyry. de Abstinent. II. lv.

p. 200.

⁶ Diod. Sic. I. xiii. xv. pp. 17, 18.

⁷ Horapoll. Hierogl. I. xi. p. 22.

⁸ Ælian. de Nat. An. X. xxvii. p. 575.

144. Νομίζουσι δ' ὧν Αἰγύπτιοι οὐδ' ἥρωσι οὐδέν. *The Egyptians pay no customary honours to heroes.* I think that this is the true meaning of the words: every one knows what the Greeks understood by the term τὰ νομιζόμενα⁹, which is to be met with very frequently. It is well known that this people annually paid funeral honours to the heroes. Herodotus, who observed nothing of this kind established in Egypt, points out this difference. He had said, a little before, that certain of the Greeks¹ honoured two Hercules; one, to whom they sacrificed as an immortal, and the other to whom they rendered funeral honours as a hero. Cicero has since said², 'Tertius (Hercules) est ex Idæis Digitis, cui inferias offerunt.'

LI. 145. Τοῦ δὲ Ἑρμέω τὰ ἀγάλματα ὀρθὰ ἔχειν τὰ αἰδοῖα ποιεῦντες, οὐκ ἀπ' Αἰγυπτίων μεμαθήκασι, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ Πελασγῶν. *They have learned to make the statues of the Ithyphallic Mercury, not from the Egyptians, but from the Pelasgians.* Cicero³ expressly distinguishes this Mercury from that of the Egyptians. The one of which we speak was descended from Cœlus and Lux. 'Mercurius⁴ unus Cœlo patre, Die matre natus; cujus obscœnius excitata natura traditur quod aspectu Proserpinæ commotus sit.' The Cyllenians⁵ rendered high honours to a statue of Mercury represented in this attitude. I confine myself to these examples, of which it would be very easy to augment the number. The Pelasgians⁶, in the mysteries of the Cabiri, called him Camillus. He was the fourth Cabirus.

146. Τὰ Καβείρων ὄργια. *The mysteries of the Cabiri.* "The Cabiri were, according to the account of Mnaseas⁷, four in number; Axieres or Ceres, Axiokersa or Proserpine, Axiokersus or Pluto; the fourth that has been added is Casmilus or Mercury, as Dionysodorus informs us." There were other opinions as to these Cabiri, for which see the same Scholiast.

Those who had⁸ been initiated into these mysteries were held in great estimation; they were supposed to have nothing to fear in tempests or other dangers. Plutarch⁹ informs us, that those who had learned the names of the Cabiri made use of them as a charm to avert danger, by pronouncing them slowly. I admire the reflection of this judicious writer, who adds that in trouble of mind, or on occasions of difficulty, those who have made some progress in virtue, have but to call to mind men eminent for their virtues, and to imagine what they would have done in similar circumstances, to strengthen their own prin-

⁹ Demosth. pro Coronâ, p. 513, c. et passim. Confer Budæi Commentaria Linguae Græcæ, p. 97.

¹ Herod. II. xlv.

² Cicero de Naturâ Deorum, III. xvi.

³ Id. ibid. xxii.

⁴ Id. ibid.

⁵ Pausan. VI. xxvi. p. 519. lin. 5.

⁶ See the Scholiast of Apollonius Rhodius, Arg. I. 917. fol. 132, B. lin. 15.

⁷ Id. ibid.

⁸ Aristoph. Schol. ad Pacem, 277. p. 343.

⁹ Plut. de Profectu in Virt. p. 85, B.

ciples and prevent them from falling. These mysteries were celebrated in Samothrace, in the cave of Zerinthus. The Corybantes and Hecate were there invoked; whence this island obtained the name of the city of the Corybantes¹.

LII. 147. Θεοὺς δὲ προσωνόμασάν σφεας ἀπὸ τοῦ τοιούτου, ὅτι κόσμῳ θέντες τὰ πάντα. *They call them gods on this account, that they have set all things in order.* This is founded on the etymology of the word Θεός, which is made to come from Θῶ, whence is formed τίθημι. Thus² God, Θεός, is he who has made all things, or arranged all things, ὁ πάντα τιθεὶς καὶ ποιῶν.

Plato³ gives another etymology of the same word, and makes it come from θέω, 'curro,' on account of the perpetual motion of the stars, the sun, the moon, the heavens, which were the first objects of adoration to the earliest people of Greece.

But setting aside these etymologies, it does not appear that amongst the Pelasgi, 1540 years before our era, the idea of the Divinity was so very indistinct. The magnificent spectacle furnished by the sun, the moon, the stars, day, night, the months, the seasons, the years, in constant regular succession, had struck their minds, and forced upon them the conviction that there was a supreme being, who had created and disposed all things for the benefit of man. They therefore expressed their gratitude by a species of worship. [The etymology of Θεός, given above, merits no confidence. The words Θεός, Ζεὺς, Διὸς, with the Latin Deus and Divus, are all evidently connected with the Sanscrit Deva.]

LIII. 148. Ἡσίοδον γὰρ καὶ Ὅμηρον ἡλικίην τετρακοσίοισι ἔτεσι δοκέω μεν πρεσβυτέρους γενέσθαι, καὶ οὐ πλέοσι. *I hold that Hesiod and Homer preceded me by four hundred years, and not more.* Herodotus was born, according to Aulus Gellius, fifty-three years before the Peloponnesian war, that is to say, in the year 4230 of the Julian period, at the commencement of the 74th Olympiad, 484 years before the vulgar era. Homer and Hesiod consequently must have been born in the year 3830 of the same period, 884 years before our era.

In the life of Homer, attributed to our historian⁴, the expedition of Xerxes is fixed 622 years after the birth of that poet, who, according to the same author, came into the world 168 years after the taking of Troy. Consequently Homer lived in the year 3612, 1102 years before our era. These two computations differ very remarkably. Scaliger⁵ supposed that the text of the life of Homer had been altered, and he restored it to a conformity with what we read in this paragraph of Herodotus. The late President Bouhier⁶, on the contrary, thought that the text of

¹ Dionys. Perieg. 524.

² Eustath. ad Homer. Iliad. XVIII. p. 1148. lin. 51.

³ Plato, in Cratylus, vol. I. p. 397, c, d.

⁴ Vita Homeri, xxxviii.

⁵ Euseb. Chronic. p. 102.

⁶ Rech. et Dissert. sur Hérodote,

p. 124.

the life of Homer was correct, and that we should alter the great history so as to agree with it.

It appears to me very certain, that the life of Homer attributed to Herodotus is not from the pen of that author. It would not be very difficult to prove this, but would require a dissertation somewhat beyond the limits of a note. We must leave the texts of both works as they are, but consider what is here expressed as the real opinion of Herodotus on the antiquity of Homer.

If we consider that Homer sings the exploits of the different princes who signalized themselves during the Trojan war, and even of those who distinguished themselves a century before it, and that he gives their genealogy with the greatest possible accuracy, we shall be induced to fix his birth, with the author of his life, at a period not more than 168 years after the taking of Troy. But when we reflect, that in those remote times there was less of dissipation than in our days, that the subjects of conversation, less varied than in the present state of society, usually turned on the striking events of former ages, we may easily conceive that these exploits might be preserved fresh in memory for a period of four centuries, or even longer, especially if we remember that writing was known in Greece nearly three centuries before the destruction of Troy. This granted, such traditions must have existed in all their force at the period in which Herodotus places his birth, that is to say, the year 3830 of the Julian period, 884 years before our era. We should certainly be at a loss to determine between these two opinions, without the authority of our historian, whose acknowledged accuracy inclines the balance in his favour. The other authors are divided on this point. Velleius Paterculus (lib. I. cap. i.) places his birth in the year 3746 of the Julian period, 968 years before our era. Porphyry (apud Suidam, voc. *Ὅμηρος*,) fixes it in the year 3807 of the Julian period, 907 years B. C., that is to say, sixty-one years later than the time assigned by Velleius Paterculus. This year, 3807, is the year in which he flourished, according to the Oxford Marbles, Epoch xxx. And I am the more inclined towards this latter opinion, as Lycurgus, who brought his poems into Greece, was born in the year 3790 of the Julian period, 924 years B. C., and as his travels cannot, at the earliest, be fixed before the year 3851 of the Julian period, 863 years before our era, which is the year in which Charillus, to whom he had been tutor, assumed the reins of government. Now, according to Herodotus, Homer was at that time only twenty-one years old; he could not, therefore, have composed his poems. These reasons, which appear to me conclusive, induce me to adopt the opinion of the author of the Oxford Marbles, who supposes that he flourished in the year 3807 of the Julian era. If we admit this opinion, it will be natural to place his birth forty years before this, that is to say, about the year 3767 of the Julian period, 947 years B. C.; and then all difficulties vanish. He succeeds Phemius in his school of literature, teaches for some years, travels in various

directions to collect materials for his poems, and at length composes them, sings them in detached portions, and gains an immortal reputation. We may suppose that he died about the 63rd year of his age, as he was then strong enough to undertake the tour of Greece. Twenty years afterwards, Lycurgus travelled into Asia Minor; every one there had these celebrated poems in his mouth, and the poet was the universal and only theme of conversation. That wise legislator, struck with the beauty of the verses, and still more with the moral precepts which they conveyed, collected and brought them away with him.

Herodotus seems to make Homer and Hesiod contemporaries; he does not, however, very clearly explain himself upon this subject. Some writers think that Hesiod was more ancient: but I conceive it safer to follow the opinion of Cicero, who affirms that Homer preceded him by some centuries. Of this, some proofs may be adduced. The first syllable of *καλός* is always long in Homer; and as this word is found no less than 270 times in that author, that must have been the pronunciation of his time: now, in Hesiod, this first syllable is sometimes long and sometimes short. Homer always makes the penultimate of *ὀπωρινός* long, whereas Hesiod, with the moderns, always makes it short; which proves that he was much more modern than Homer⁷. [Herodotus here employs round numbers, and a mode of expression which might be more reasonably allowed to pass without being subjected to strict interpretation.]

149. Οὗτοι δέ εἰσι οἱ ποιήσαντες θεογονίην Ἑλλησι. *It is they who have versified the Greek theogony.* Ποιεῖν signifies to make verses, to write verses. From a thousand examples of this word bearing this signification, I will cite only the following: Τοσαύτην ἀφθονίαν παρεσκεύασεν ἡ τούτων ἀρετὴ καὶ τοῖς ποιεῖν δυναμένοις καὶ τοῖς εἰπεῖν βουληθεῖσιν ὥστε καλὰ μὲν πολλὰ τοῖς προτέροις περὶ αὐτῶν εἰρῆσθαι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκείνοις παραλελειφθαι· ἱκανὰ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις ἐξεῖναι εἰπεῖν⁸. “The virtues of these illustrious dead have furnished such abundance of matter both to poets and orators, that if those who have preceded me have said much in their praise, they have also omitted much, and there will still be abundant scope for the dissertations of those who come after them.” Ὡς περ δὲ καὶ ὁ Κρέων Εὐριπίδῃ πεποιήται τὸν Τυρεσίαν ἰδὼν ἔχοντα τὰ στέφη⁹. “In the same manner that Euripides has described in verses Creon perceiving Tiresias with a crown” Which passage has been ill rendered by the Latin translator. Μελετῶ, εἶπε, στρατηγεῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐπειδὴ περ Περικλῆς ποιεῖν μὲν ἔφη με, στρατηγεῖν δ’ οὐκ ἐπίστασθαι¹. “I study,” quoth he, “the functions of a general, because Pericles says, that although I can make verses, I know not how to command an army.” Εἰ δὲ Πεισίστρατον ἐπαινοῦμεν ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἑτέρῳ πεποιημένων συλλογῆς, ποῦ

⁷ See S. Clarke on the Iliad. II. 43.

⁸ Lysias, Funeb. Orat. p. 27.

⁹ Plat. Alcib. II. vol. II. p. 251, B.

This passage of Plato alludes to verse 865 of the Phœnissæ of Euripides.

¹ Athen. Deipnos. XIII. viii. p. 604, D.

θήσομεν τὸν Ὅμηρον μιμητήν²; “If we praise Pisistratus, because he has collected the poems of another, what rank shall we assign to the imitator of Homer?” To these passages I will add two from Diogenes Laërtius, which the commentators have not understood. This biographer, in the first, speaking of Socrates³, says, ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ μῦθον Αἰσώπειον: “He also rendered into verse one of Æsop’s fables.” We know that the fables of that writer were in prose. The second example is from his preface, Καὶ τὸν μὲν (Μουσαῖον) Εὐμόλπου παῖδα φασὶ, ποιῆσαι δὲ Θεογονίαν καὶ Σφαῖραν πρῶτον: “They say that Musæus was the son of Eumolpus, and that he first described in verse the Theogony and the Globe.”

I have cited this passage because Sir Isaac Newton, having mistranslated it, uses it in support of his opinion. This illustrious philosopher, who has done so much honour to his nation, thus renders the passage: “Musæus, the Argonaut⁴, the son of Eumolpus, and master of Orpheus, made a sphere, and is considered the first of the Greeks that did so.”

Now Musæus was not an Argonaut; his name is to be found in no list of the Argonauts; and ‘made a sphere’ is not a correct translation, as I have shown above.

LIV. 150. Τὴν μὲν αὐτέων ἐς Λιβύην πρηθεῖσαν. *That one of them had been sold to be taken into Libya.* The preposition ἐς, with the accusative, indicates motion, and it is, therefore, incorrect to translate, “They were sold, one in Africa, &c.” Examples of this expression are very frequent. Πραθεῖς εἰς Λευκάδα⁵: “Sold to be taken to Leucadia.” Παρὰ δὲ Ἰπποκράτους τοῦ Μινδάρου ἐπιστολέως, ἐς Λακεδαίμονα γράμματα πεμφθέντα ἐάλωσαν ἐς Ἀθήνας⁶: “They intercepted the letters which Hippocrates, son of the envoy Mindarus, had sent to Lacedæmon, for the purpose of taking them to Athens.”

LV. 151. Δωδωναίων αἱ προμάντιες. *The priestesses of Dodona.* According to another tradition, which the reader perhaps will not be displeased to see, they were⁷ originally men who delivered the oracles at Dodona. They were called ‘Selli,’ or ‘Helli,’ from the Thessalian Hellus⁸, who had given the name of Hellopia to the country surrounding Dodona. These priests practised great austerities: they led a pastoral life, lived upon the mountains, slept on the ground⁹ upon skins¹, and never used the bath², thinking by these means to honour Jupiter,

² Libanius in Paneg. Juliani Cons. Dicto, vol. II. p. 240, B, C.

³ Diog. Laërt. II. xlii. p. 106.

⁴ Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms, by Sir Isaac Newton, p. 87.

⁵ Demosth. p. 708.

⁶ Xenophon. Hellen. I. i. xv. p. 7.

⁷ Strabo, VII. p. 506, C.

⁸ Eustath. in Iliad. XVI. p. 1057.

lin. 61. See also, as to the Selli or Helli, the ancient Scholiast of Sophocles on verse 1164 of the Trachiniæ, ex edit. Brunckii.

⁹ Sophocl. Trach. 1164, et Hom. Iliad. XVI. 235.

¹ Eustath. in Iliad. p. 1057. lin. 63.

² Homer. Iliad. XVI. 235.

whose ministers they were. For so we must interpret the σοὶ . . . ἀνιπτό-ποδες, χαμαιεῦναι, of Homer. Σοὶ means, for you, in honour of you, to please you. These priests were also called Tomuri³, a compound word, which comes from τέμνω and οὐρά, 'caudam demeto,' 'castro ;' perhaps because they were subjected to a certain operation which insured their chastity. Their situations, therefore, would not be greatly envied ; and we find that they were very soon replaced by priestesses, who were chosen of an advanced age, and were also called Tomuræ⁴. It must be admitted, however, that the temple of Dodona was upon a mountain called⁵ Tomarus, or Tmarus ; and Strabo thinks that it was from this mountain that the ministers of the god⁶ took the name of Tomori or Tomuri, by abbreviation for Tomaruri, that is to say, guardians of the mount Tomarus. Eustathius, in his commentary on Homer's Iliad, contents himself with copying our geographer⁷.

With regard to the etymology of the word Dodona, I shall not hunt through the ancient and modern languages merely to find some word that sounds like it, and then attach to it some fanciful meaning. Dodona is the name of a place, where in process of time a city was built. This spot was planted with oaks, to which credulity and superstition attributed the power of delivering oracles. These oaks were consecrated to Jupiter, the sovereign of the gods ; this god dictated his oracles to the oaks, and the oaks to the Selli. These priests were also called Hypo-phetæ, a word which denotes their subordination, and indicates that they did not receive the oracles directly from the god himself. Lucan, and perhaps other poets, have called a forest of oaks 'Sylva Dodones⁸,' by the same figure which gives to wine the name of Bacchus, and to bread that of Ceres.

152. Ἐπὶ φηγόν. *Upon an oak.* The φηγός of the Greeks is not the 'fagus' of the Latins. The latter is a beech-tree, the former a species of oak, perhaps that which is termed 'Esculus.'

LVI. 153. Πελασγίης καλεωμένης. *Which was then called Pelasgia.* The first Pelasgians established in Thessaly, having been driven thence by other Pelasgians, took refuge in a part of Thesprotia, near Dodona. [The site of Dodona, according to modern travellers, is not far from Yanina, the capital of Albania.]

LVII. 154. Πελειάδες δέ μοι δοκέουσι κληθῆναι πρὸς Δωδωναίων ἐπὶ τοῦδε αἱ γυναῖκες, διότι βάρβαροι ἦσαν. *It appears to me that the women were called doves by the Dodonæans because they were foreigners.* The inhabitants of Cos, and the Epirotæ, according to Hesychius, called old men πελεῖοι, [a dialectic variation of παλαιοί ;]

³ Eustath. in Iliad. ut supra.

⁴ Id. ibid. p. 1058, lin. 1. et Odyss. XVI. p. 1806, lin. 41.

⁵ Strabo, VII. p. 305, c.

⁶ Id. ibid. p. 506, A, B.

⁷ Eustath. in Odyss. XVI. p. 1806, lin. 38, &c.

⁸ Lucan. Pharsal. III. 441.

and as the same grammarian gives the name of *πέλειαι* to the prophetesses of Dodona, and as this word, which in one part of Greece signified 'old women,' in the rest of the country implied 'doves,' the late Abbé Sallier⁹ concluded, that the double meaning of the word had caused the error, and turned into a prodigy a simple and ordinary fact. Valckenaer¹⁰ also favours this opinion in his notes on the *Phoenissæ* of Euripides. The conjecture is very ingenious; but had the double signification of the word been the source of the error, Herodotus would doubtless have been aware of it. Therefore it appears to me safer to trust to the account given by our historian.

LVIII. 155. Πανηγύρις δὲ ἄρα καὶ πομπὰς πρῶτοι ἀνθρώπων Αἰγύπτιοι εἰσι οἱ ποιησάμενοι. *The Egyptians are the people who first established general congregations and religious processions.* This people gathered without labour the abundant harvests which the earth produced, as we may say, spontaneously; and thus being unoccupied for one half the year, they could celebrate a vast number of festivals without prejudice to themselves. This could not be the case with the inhabitants of a country less favoured by nature. Too great a number of festivals would waste valuable time, would accustom the people to idleness, and even to debauchery.

156. Καὶ προσαγωγὰς. *And introductions to the divinity.* This term is borrowed from the courts of kings, where there were officers for the purpose of introducing strangers. Herodotus applies it to the ceremonies of religion, which in some measure familiarize us to the deity, and introduce us into his presence.

157. Φαίνονται ἐκ πολλοῦ τευ χρόνου ποιούμεναι. *They seem to have been* (i. e. were manifestly) *instituted long ago.* This mode of speaking does not express a doubt, but conveys an affirmation. See the *Cyropædia*¹, in which Mr. Hutchinson clearly explains this point in his notes.

LIX. 158. Βούσιριν. *Busiris.* 'Bou' with the Egyptians signified a tomb, or sepulchre. We see in Hesychius, that this people gave the name of Boutoi to the places where they deposited the dead. Thus Busiris was the tomb of Osiris. Plutarch informs us², from Eudoxus, that though Osiris had different sepulchres, his body had been interred at Busiris, which word signifies the same as Ταφόσιρις, or the tomb of Osiris.

[The Greeks, who affected to explain all names from their own language, derived Βούσιρις from βούς and Ὀσιρις, alleging that Isis buried Osiris in an ox's hide³. It is true that *Be* in Coptic signifies a

⁹ Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. V. Hist. pp. 33, 34. note.

¹⁰ Ad Phoeniss. 1475, p. 497. col. 2.

¹ Cyri Instit. Oxoniæ, 1727, 4to. p. 6, voc.

² Plut. de Is. et Osir. p. 359, c.

³ Diod. Sic. I. lxxxv; Steph. Byz. in

sepulchre⁴; but as Pousiri (the name of Osiris with the article prefixed) occurs in the Rosetta inscription, Champollion justly concluded that Βούσιρις was nothing more than the name of the god, and that Tapou-siri, altered by the Greeks into Ταφόσιρις, means merely, 'the city of Osiris⁵.']

159. Μέγιστον ἱρόν. *A very spacious temple.* The Abbé Sicard⁶ has given us a description of the ruins of a temple, which conveys a grand idea of what it must have been in the day of its splendour. These ruins do not belong to the city in question: they are at a place which Pliny calls Isidis Oppidum⁷; Stephanus of Byzantium, Ἰσειον; and D'Anville, Bah Beit, or Palace of Beauty⁸.

160. Ἐς Σαῖν πόλιν τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ πανηγυρίζουσι. *They hold in the city of Saïs their general assemblies in honour of Minerva.* According to Pausanias, Minerva was called Saïs in Egyptian. The Minerva of Thebes, he observes⁹, is called Onca, as in the Phœnician language; and not Saïs, as in the Egyptian. The historian Charax is of the same opinion¹; but both are in error. Saïs is the name of the city where Neith, the Minerva of the Egyptians, was adored. Saïth, it is true, signifies in Hebrew an olive-tree; and perhaps it has the same signification in Egyptian. But to conclude from this, with M. Pluche, that the inhabitants of this city particularly cultivated the olive-tree², that they rendered solemn thanksgivings to Neith for the plenty which they enjoyed from the cultivation of that tree, as one of the bounties of the divinity,—in a word, that they had instituted festivals and sacrifices in gratitude for the excellent oil of which the goddess had made them a present,—is to take for granted what it would have been better to prove. So far from the territory of Saïs being fertile in olive-trees, we know that this plant was very scarce in Egypt. It grew only in the Heracliotic nome³, and in the gardens around Alexandria. The olive-trees of this nome furnished good oil, if the proper precautions were taken; but otherwise it had a rancid flavour. Those of Alexandria gave no oil.

The city of Saïs, therefore, did not derive its name from the olive-tree; but even if this point were granted to M. Pluche, he would be no nearer his object. The Athenians considered the olive-tree as a present from Minerva, whereas the Egyptians conceived they were indebted for it to Hermes. According to the Egyptians, says Diodorus Siculus⁴, it was Hermes who discovered the olive-tree, and not Minerva as the Greeks affirm. M. Goguet has fallen⁵ into the same error as M. Pluche.

⁴ Zoëga de Obelisc. p. 288; Jablonski, Voc. Eg. p. 54.

⁵ Eg. sous les Phar. II. pp. 185, 263.

⁶ Mémoires des Missions du Levant, tom. II. p. 118.

⁷ Plin. Hist. Nat. V. x. p. 258.

⁸ Mém. sur l'Eg. anc. et mod. p. 86.

⁹ Pausan. IX. xii. p. 734.

¹ Charax in Scholiis Græcis MSS. ad Aristid. Panathen. Vide Luc. Holsten. ad Stephan. Byzant. voc. Σαῖς.

² Histoire du Ciel, tom. I. p. 185.

³ Strabo, XVII. p. 1163, A, B.

⁴ Diod. Sic. I. xvi. p. 20.

⁵ De l'Origine des Loix, &c. tom. II. p. 191.

LX. 161. Ποιεῦσι τοιάδε. *They do as follows.* This great number of festivals, and, above all, the air of gaiety which characterized those who were in the habit of going by water to Bubastis, to celebrate the feast of Diana, prove that the Egyptians were a lively people, addicted to pleasure and merriment: the Abbé Winkelman⁶ has thought proper to represent them as gloomy. Modern accounts, however, justify the portrait which Herodotus has drawn of them.

162. Ἀνασύρονται. *Raise their robes in an indecent manner.* This is the true meaning of ἀνασύρεσθαι. Αἱ γυναῖκες κατὰ πρόσωπον ἰστάμεναι δεικνύουσιν ἀνασυράμεναι τὰ ἑαυτῶν γεννητικὰ μόρια⁷. Hence the sort of women called ἀνασυρτόπεπλοι, as M. Toup shows in his *Epistola Critica*, p. 84, and especially in the second edition of his *Emendationes in Suidam*, vol. II. p. 502. See also Hesychius under the words ἀνασεσυρμένη and ἀνεσύρατο, and the note of the late M. Alberti.

163. Οἶνος ἀμπέλινος. *Grape wine.* In the Greek, 'wine of the vine,' to distinguish it from beer, which was called wine of barley. I can scarcely conceive what has induced M. Schmidt⁸ to conjecture that wine of barley, or beer, was here meant. All the editions and all the MSS. that I have consulted, have οἶνος ἀμπέλινος, 'wine of the vine.'

LXI. 164. Τὸν δὲ τύπτονται οὗ μοι ὀσιόν ἐστι λέγειν. *In honour of whom they strike themselves it is not permitted me to say.* This is an example of the middle verb, used in a reflective sense. We must understand the preposition διὰ with τὸν δέ. It is the same as if it were τῷ δὲ τύπτονται, as in Stephens's edition, p. 71. Athenagoras⁹ has preserved this passage; but the Benedictine fathers have badly translated it by 'quomodo autem verberentur.'

Voltaire's manner of translating this passage¹ is too curious to be passed over: "In the city of Busiris, says Herodotus, they strike both the men and the women after the sacrifices; but to say what part they strike, is not permitted me."

LXII. 165. Τὰ δὲ λύχνα ἐστὶ ἐμβάφια ἔμπλεα ἅλός καὶ ἐλαίου. *The lamps are saucers filled with salt and oil.* Salt was used in all religious ceremonies. In this instance it sank to the bottom of the vessel, and did not prevent the lamp from burning. Wesseling cites Pliny. But that naturalist², in the passage quoted, only says, that the water drawn from the wells at Babylon, and thrown on the salt-beds, condenses and forms a kind of bitumen, resembling the oil used for lamps; when this is removed, the salt is found beneath. This, however, has no reference

⁶ Hist. de l'Art, II. i.

⁷ Diod. Sic. I. lxxxv. vol. I. p. 96.

⁸ De Sacerd. et Sacrif. Ægypt. p. 236.

⁹ Athenag. Legat. pro Christianis, § xxv. p. 114; ex edit. vero Benedictin. p. 306, D. This passage is translated

in the same way in the Oxford edition, p. 114.

¹ Questions sur l'Encyclopédie, part VII. art. Initiation, p. 233.

² Plin. Hist. Nat. XXXI. vii. vol. II. p. 559. lin. 39.

to what Herodotus has been saying. But perhaps Wesseling quoted it only to show that the salt will go to the bottom of the vessel; which was the less necessary, as daily experience proves the fact. This oil was expressed from the plant called by the Egyptians kiki, and not from the olive.

166. Τῇ ὁρτῇ οὖνομα κέεται Λυχνοκαΐη. *This festival is called the Lamp-burning.* This festival, which greatly resembles that of the lanterns, established from time immemorial in China, goes to confirm the suspicion of M. de Guignes, that China was a colony of Egypt.

LXIV. 167. Τὸν Ἄρεα ἀπότροφον γενόμενον, ἐλθεῖν ἐξανδρωμένον, ἐθέλοντα τῇ μητρὶ συμμίξαι. *Mars being reared at a distance, came when grown up to manhood, wishing to converse with his mother.* The whole of this passage has been wretchedly misconceived by the translators, with the exception of Valckenaer and Wesseling. 1. Ἀπότροφος signifies 'brought up away from his parents,' as is well explained by Hesychius and other authors. 2. Ἐξανδρωμένος means, 'who has reached the age of puberty,' as we see in Suidas and elsewhere. 3. Τῇ μητρὶ συμμίξαι has been interpreted in an indecent manner, though it means only an interview, a mere conversation. Many examples of this may be found in our author. Perhaps Herodotus has borrowed the expression from Homer, whom he frequently imitates. That poet has employed it³ in the same sense. The reader may refer to the remarks of Eustathius on this passage⁴, and the reflections of Boileau on Longinus⁵.

LXV. 168. Τὰ ἐγὼ φεύγω μάλιστα ἀπηγέεσθαι. *Which I particularly avoid relating.* The ancients were very scrupulous on all points concerning religion. In the time of Diodorus Siculus, foreigners did not treat the worship of Egypt with so much respect; and this historian, therefore, has not hesitated to report the motives which induced the Egyptians to render divine honours to animals. "Isis," says he⁶, "having committed to the priests the body of Osiris, ordered them to consecrate to that god one of the species of animals indigenous to the country, at their own choice; to honour it during its life as they had honoured Osiris, and after its death to render it similar funeral rites." The same author mentions, a little further on, (lxxxvi., &c.) several other reasons, of which some are perhaps well founded.

169. Τὴν τιμὴν. *The honourable employment.* "Far from⁷ refusing this employment, or blushing to exercise it in public, it administers to their vanity, as if they participated in the greatest honours of the gods. When they travel through the country and the cities, they

³ Odyss. VI. 288.

⁴ Eustath. ad Odyss. VI. p. 1563, lin. 57 et s.

⁵ Réflexions Critiques sur quelques

passages de Longin, par Boileau. Réflex. iii. tom. V. p. 47. & s. Paris ed. 1772.

⁶ Diod. Sic. I. xxi. p. 25.

⁷ Id. ibid. I. lxxxiii. vol. I. p. 93.

bear certain marks indicating the species of animal which they tend, and are respected and adored by those who meet them."

170. Τῇ μελεδωνῶ διδοῖ. *They give it to the female keeper.* This fund was not the only one appropriated to the maintenance of these animals. "There is a field⁸ consecrated to each species of animal that they worship. It is sufficient for their nourishment and attendance. . . . To the hawks they gave meat cut in pieces, which were thrown to them, calling to them at the same time in a loud voice till they took them. To the cats and the ichneumons was supplied bread soaked in milk, or fish of the Nile cut into pieces. In like manner, each animal is furnished with the kind of food most fitting for it."

171. Ἰβιν ἢ ἱρῆκα. *An ibis or a hawk.* 'Ne⁹ fando quidem auditum est crocodilum, aut ibim, aut felem violatum ab Ægyptio.'

'Ægyptiorum morem¹ quis ignorat? Quorum imbutæ mentes pravis erroribus quamvis carnificinam prius subierint quam ibim, aut aspidem, aut felem, aut canem, aut crocodilum violent, quorum etiamsi imprudentes quidpiam fecerint, pœnam nullam recusent.' "He² who has voluntarily killed a consecrated animal is punished with death; but if any one has even involuntarily killed a cat or an ibis, it is impossible for him to escape capital punishment; the mob drag him to it, treating him with every cruelty, and sometimes without waiting for judgment to be passed. This treatment inspires such terror, that if any person happens to find one of these animals dead, he goes to a distance from it, and by his cries and groans indicates that he has found the animal dead. This superstition is so deeply impressed on the minds of the Egyptians, and the respect they bear these animals is so profound, that at the time when their king Ptolemy was not as yet declared the friend of the Roman people, when they were paying all possible court to travellers from Italy, and their fears made them avoid every ground of accusation, and every pretext for making war on them; yet a Roman having killed a cat, the people rushed to his house, and neither the entreaties of the grandees whom the king sent for the purpose, nor the terror of the Roman name, could protect this man from punishment, although the act had been involuntary. I do not relate this anecdote on the authority of another; for I was an eye-witness of it during my stay in Egypt."

Yet Sextus Empiricus³ asserts that it was customary to sacrifice a cat to Horus, in the city of Alexandria.

LXVI. 172. Ἐν ὁτέοισι δ' ἂν οἰκίοισι αἰέλουρος ἀποθάνῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου. *In whatever house a cat shall have died a natural death.* I hesitated for some time whether I should translate this, 'by accident,' or 'by a natural death;' but at length determined in favour of the latter,

⁸ Diod. Sic. I. lxxx. vol. I. p. 93.

⁹ Cicero de Nat. Deorum, I. xxix.

¹ Id. Tusculan. Quæst. V. xxvii.

² Diod. Sic. I. lxxxiii. vol. I. p. 94.

³ Sext. Empir. Pyrrh. Hypotyp. III. xxiv. p. 183.

on the authority of Aulus Gellius, who says ⁴, αὐτόματος θάνατος, 'quasi naturalis et fatalis, nullâ extrinsecûs vi coactus venit.' Which the Latins call 'mori suâ morte.' Not that ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου does not signify 'by chance,' as we may see in the following passages of Xenophon. Τούτων δὲ μάρτυρες οἱ σωθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου ⁵: "I have for witnesses those who by chance were saved." Ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου χθὲς ἤκοντος πλοίου ⁶: "A boat having arrived yesterday by chance." But as these terms 'by accident,' 'by chance,' would also apply to a death caused involuntarily by the hand of man, and as the offender in such case was himself doomed to die, I am satisfied that in this place Herodotus meant a natural death.

173. Ξυρέονται τὴν κεφαλὴν. *They shave their heads.* Because the dog was consecrated to Anubis, who was represented with the head of a dog ⁷. Thus Virgil ⁸ and Ovid ⁹ call this god 'latrator Anubis;' and Propertius ¹ and Prudentius ² 'latrans Anubis.' The Egyptians paid greater honours to the dog ³ than to any other animal; but Cambyses having caused the ox Apis to be killed, and no other animal being found to touch it but the dog, the latter sunk much in their estimation. He was, however, still held in great veneration, as we see by this passage of Herodotus, and by the war which the inhabitants ⁴ of Cynopolis waged against those of Oxyrinchus, who had killed a dog and eaten it.

LXVII. 174. Ταριχευθέντες. *After they have embalmed them.* "When one ⁵ of these animals happens to die, it is wrapped in linen, and after the by-standers have beaten themselves on the breast, uttering doleful cries, it is carried to the Tarichæa ⁶, where it is embalmed with cedria and other substances which have the virtue of preserving bodies, after which it is interred in the sacred monuments."

175. Ἰχνευταί. *The ichneumons.* Hesychius perfectly explains this term. Ἰχνευταὶ οἱ νῦν ἰχνεύμονες λεγόμενοι: "The ichneutæ are now called ichneumons." It is the mortal enemy of the crocodile, whose eggs ⁷ it breaks. When the crocodile is asleep, this little animal enters his throat, and by eating its way into his entrails kills him.

The ichneumon also destroys the eggs of the asp, and fights with that dangerous reptile. If we may believe the too credulous Ælian ⁸, it rolls itself in the mud, so as to form for itself a kind of armour imper-

⁴ Aul. Gell. Noct. Att. XIII. l. vol. II. p. 135.

⁵ Xen. Hist. Hell. I. vii. § x. p. 59.

⁶ Id. Cyri Exp. VI. iv. § xii. p. 350.

⁷ Diod. Sic. I. § lxxxvii. vol. I. p. 97.

⁸ Virgil. Æneid. VIII. 698.

⁹ Ovid. Metamorph. IX. 692.

¹ Prop. III. Eleg. xi. 41.

² Prudent. Apotheos. 196.

³ Plut. de Is. et Osir. p. 368.

⁴ Id. ibid. p. 380, B.

⁵ Diod. Sic. I. lxxxiii. vol. I. p. 94.

⁶ The place where bodies were embalmed. The same honours were performed to the sacred animals after their death as to men. They had their particular embalmers. Ælian calls them "people who superintended the embalming of animals and were skilled in that art." Hist. An. X. xix. vol. I. p. 578.

⁷ Diod. Sic. I. lxxxvii. vol. I. pp. 97, 98.

⁸ Ælian. Nat. Animal. VI. xxxviii. vol. I. p. 345.

vious to⁹ the bite of the asp. The extremity of its snout is then the only part exposed; and this it takes care to cover by folding its tail several times round it. If bitten in this place it dies, otherwise the asp vainly tries his teeth against the mud. The ichneumon seizes its opportunity, fastens on its throat, and strangles it. The same thing is mentioned by Pliny¹. Diodorus Siculus, on the contrary², says it is the cat that kills the asp. But we shall find it as difficult to believe this, as what Ælian with his usual credulity asserts elsewhere. The ichneumon, he says, is both male and female³, and by a peculiar bounty of nature is both father and mother. These animals fight together, and those who are bitten serve as females for the others; from fathers, which they had been, they become mothers, and suffer the pains of parturition as a punishment for their cowardice.

I have not been able to learn in Upper Egypt, says Pococke⁴, whether the ichneumon destroys the eggs of the crocodile, or whether it enters his throat, and gnaws away his bowels. It is probable that it may destroy the eggs of that animal; but I do not think it at all probable that it should enter into his body without being suffocated. There is in Egypt an animal which is called Pharaoh's rat, and which in Europe passes for the ichneumon; in shape it is somewhat like the ferret, but is much larger.

Aristotle also speaks of the ichneumon⁵. He says that this animal has as many young ones as the dog, and he observes⁶, that when the ichneumon sees an asp, he does not attack it, till he has called to his assistance others of his race, and has encased himself in an armour of mud. M. Buffon calls it 'mangouste.' M. Camus asserts that the Egyptians keep ichneumons in their houses as we do cats; but in this he is certainly mistaken: for if this were so, how could M. Maillet say⁷, that he had seen only representations of them in stone? and how does it happen that Dr. Pococke, who travelled long after that Consul, should never have met with one of them?

[The ichneumon or mangusta belongs to the ferret tribe. It is nearly three feet long, including the tail, which is half of the entire length; its height is seven inches. The ichneumon is an active, prying, circumspect, and tolerably sagacious animal. It preys on birds and reptiles, and on eggs of every kind, which it seeks for with much cunning and perseverance⁸. The Arabs commonly call it Pharaoh's cat, though the name of Pharaoh's rat has been also given to it. The ichneumon is easily tamed, and we have seen one in a domestic state, exercising the usual functions of the cat in destroying vermin. In Egypt it may be often seen domesticated, though rather as a curiosity than for use; its

⁹ Ælian. Nat. Animal. III. xxii. vol. I. p. 149.

¹ Plin. Hist. Nat. VIII. xxxiv. vol. I. p. 452.

² Diod. Sic. I. lxxxvii. vol. I. p. 97.

³ Nat. Anim. X. xlvii. vol. I. p. 595.

⁴ Pococke's Description of the East, vol. I. p. 203.

⁵ Hist. An. VI. xxxv. p. 885, F.

⁶ Ibid. IX. vi. p. 927, D.

⁷ Descr. de l'Égypte, vol. II. p. 130.

⁸ Dict. des Sc. Nat. art. Ichneumon.

propensity to destroy poultry rendering it less worthy of confidence than the cat, with which animal it wages perpetual war⁹.]

176. 'Ες 'Ερμέω πόλιν. *At Hermopolis.* There were three towns of this name in Egypt, of which I speak in my Geographical Table. I think with Wesseling, that Herodotus here means that situate in the Thebais, from what he says of the mansion called Ibeum, which was not far from it, and which appears to have taken its name from the ibises buried there.

[Hermopolis Magna, which is here spoken of, was called by the Egyptians Shmún (which was the name of the god whom the Greeks supposed to be Pan). In the Coptic it is called Shmún Snau, 'the two Shmúns¹⁰;' whence the Arabic name of the place, Ashmúnein, is also in the dual number. In the Itinerary of Antoninus, the Ibeum is called Ibiu, and is said to be twenty-four miles north of Hermopolis. Herodotus was certainly mistaken when he supposed that all the ibises that died in Egypt were buried at or near Hermopolis. There are the remains of millions of them in the tombs at Memphis¹.]

177. Τὰς δὲ ἄρκτους, εἰούσας σπανίας, καὶ τοὺς λύκους. *Bears which are rare in Egypt, and wolves, &c.* 'Ursis², lupis, vulpibusque ea provincia non est destituta, etsi hæc animalia non admodum ibi sint copiosa. Ursi ovibus nostratibus haud majores visuntur, omnesque colore fere albicant, et cicures nostratibus facilius redduntur, minusque feroces sunt. Lupi itidem et vulpes duplo minores quam apud nos apparent.' Herodotus only says of the wolves, that they were scarcely larger than foxes; and that is exactly the case: it is, therefore, difficult to guess what can have induced M. De Pauw³ to say, that the mummies of wolves, in good preservation, show that the character of that animal was very different from the account given of it by Herodotus. Prosper Alpinus, who had lived in Egypt, is a sufficient guarantee for the accuracy of our historian. Aristotle also says⁴, that the wolves of Egypt are smaller than those of Greece. Pliny confirms his testimony⁵, and adds that they are timid.

"It is of the jackal," says M. Sonnini⁶, "that we must understand all that writers have hitherto advanced both of the wolf and of the fox of Africa; for, allowing that these animals considerably resemble each other, we may safely assert, that there are neither wolves nor foxes in this part of the world."

But both Aristotle and Pliny confirm the fact reported by Herodotus. If we question the testimony of the latter on the score of his frequent inaccuracies, we cannot reject that of the Greek philosopher. In his

⁹ Wilkinson, Manners and Customs, &c. 2nd Series, vol. II. p. 151.

¹⁰ Champollion, L'Eg. sous les Phar. I. p. 291.

¹ Id. ibid. p. 296.

² Prosp. Alpin. Hist. Nat. Ægypti, IV. ix. p. 132.

³ Recherches Philosophiques sur les Egyptiens et les Chinois, sect. vii. p. 133.

⁴ Arist. Hist. An. VIII. xxviii. p. 919, D.

⁵ Plin. Hist. Nat. VIII. xxii. vol. I. p. 450. lin. 9.

⁶ Voy. en Egypte, tom. I. p. 155.

time, Egypt was as well known to the Greeks as Greece itself; and he could therefore, without much trouble, obtain information respecting the animals of that country. The pains he took to perfect his History of Animals is matter of notoriety, and we can, therefore, scarcely suppose that he should have neglected those peculiar to Egypt: the best-informed of the moderns have borne testimony to the accuracy of his observations; I may cite the illustrious Buffon, and the learned translator of the History of Animals, M. Camus.

[It is very doubtful whether bears were ever indigenous in Egypt. Those represented in the paintings are led by strangers. As to wolves, Sir G. Wilkinson confirms the testimony of Herodotus⁷.]

178. Τοὺς λύκους. *The wolves, &c.* “Wolves⁸ were honoured in Egypt, because they bear a considerable resemblance to the dog; and because formerly, as the Egyptians say, Isis with her son Orus being on the point of encountering Typhon, Osiris came from the infernal regions to their succour, under the form of a wolf. Others say, that the Ethiopians having undertaken an expedition against Egypt, were put to flight by a vast multitude of wolves, and that this circumstance gave to the nome in which it occurred the name of Lycopolis.”

LXVIII. 179. Τοὺς χειμεριωτάτους μῆνας τέσσερας ἐσθίει οὐδέν. *During the four most severe months of winter he takes no food.* “Herodotus⁹ says, that the crocodiles eat nothing during four months in winter; and Pliny¹, that they lie hid in caves during this season: but I saw them in great abundance during the whole month of January; and was assured that they never go further than thirty or forty paces from the river, and that they venture so far only by night; though it is probable that in winter they are mostly out of water by day, to sun themselves, as I observed, and that they keep in the water by day in summer, when the sun is hot.”

[At the present day the crocodile is very rarely seen in Lower Egypt. But in ancient times, when those animals were allowed to descend the river unmolested, it is not improbable that they may have acquired in the comparatively cold climate of the Delta the habit of torpid hybernation described by Herodotus.]

180. Θερμότερον γὰρ δὴ ἐστὶ τὸ ὕδωρ. *The water is warmer.* The water which has become heated during the day-time retains the heat during the night, and is then warmer than the air. This is an ascertained fact, which Gronovius would have done as well not to have contradicted.

181. Ἑπτακαίδεκα πήχεας. *Seventeen cubits.* The cubit being above 1 foot 6 inches, the 17 cubits make about 26 feet. But as there were

⁷ Manners and Customs, &c. 2nd Series, vol. II. p. 146.

⁸ Eusebii Præpar. Evang. II. i. p. 50, B, C.

⁹ Pococke's Description of the East, vol. I. p. 203.

¹ Plin. Hist. Nat. VIII. xxv. vol. I. p. 453. lin. 13.

also cubits of 1 foot 8 inches 5 lines, the 17 cubits of that capacity would give 28 feet 11 inches 1 line².

Ælian relates³, that during the reign of Psammetichus a crocodile of the length of 25 cubits was seen, that is to say, more than 37 feet; and under Amasis, another of more than 26 cubits, that is to say, more than 39 feet. Mr. Norden has seen them⁴ of 30, and even 50 feet in length.

182. Ἐχει δὲ ὀφθαλμοὺς μὲν ὑὸς καὶ χαυλιόδοντας. *He has eyes like a pig and projecting teeth.* M. Camus remarks, in the second volume of his translation of Aristotle's History of Animals, p. 262, that it may be more justly observed, that its eyes are like those of the cat; and he adds, that the eyes of the one which he saw at Paris were green like a cat's.

As to the projecting teeth, the Greek expression is χαυλιόδοντας, which I had at first translated, with M. Bellanger, 'teeth in the form of a saw;' and I relied greatly upon Pliny's expression⁵, 'pectinatim stipante se dentium serie,' and on the anatomical description of a crocodile⁶ by the Academy of Sciences, wherein no mention is made of projecting teeth, or teeth pointing outwards. But after comparing a great number of authors who have mentioned the 'chauliodontes,' it appeared that they all understood by that term, teeth which point outwards. John the Deacon explains this very clearly⁷: χαυλιόδοντα μὲν λέγονται, ὅσα ἔχουσι τοὺς ὀδόντας ἐξεστικότας (leg. ἐξεστηκότας) τοῦ στόματος, οἷον ἐλέφας καὶ ὁ χοῖρος: "The name of chauliodontes is given to all animals whose teeth project from their mouths, such as the elephant, the pig, &c." And if any doubt remained, Diodorus Siculus completely removes it. "The crocodile," says he⁸, "has many teeth in each jaw, two of which are chauliodontes, and much larger than the others." Had he understood by this word 'teeth in the form of a saw,' he would not have remarked that it had but two such, as it is the case with them all.

183. Γλῶσσαν οὐκ ἔφυσε. *It has no tongue.* Aristotle⁹ thought, as well as Herodotus, that the crocodile has no tongue. This animal¹ has, nevertheless, a fleshy substance resembling a tongue, adhering all along to the lower jaw, and which may serve him to turn over his food in his mouth. But the Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences furnish a more exact description²: "The tongue was three inches long, and about five lines in breadth towards the middle, which must be understood to

² See above, p. 207.

³ Ælian. Nat. Animal. XVII. vi. vol. II. p. 922.

⁴ Travels in Egypt and in Nubia, vol. II. p. 43.

⁵ Plin. Hist. Nat. VIII. xxv. vol. I. p. 452. lin. 11.

⁶ Mém. de l'Acad. des Sciences, tom. III. part iii. p. 166.

⁷ Joh. Diacon. Scholia in Scut. Hesiodi, ver. 303. fol. 182.

⁸ Diod. Sic. I. xxxv. vol. I. p. 41.

⁹ Arist. Hist. An. II. x. p. 784, E.

¹ A Description of the East, by Rich. Pococke, vol. I. p. 202.

² Mém. de l'Acad. des Sciences, tom. III. part iii. p. 73.

include both the flesh and the muscles of the tongue only ; for the skin which envelopes them is much larger, extending to the lower jaw, to the lower edge of which it is attached. This membrane, constituting the most considerable portion of the tongue in those animals which do not use it for the purpose of speaking or of turning over the food which they masticate, but which, like the crocodiles, fishes, and serpents, use it only for tasting their food, was pierced with a number of little holes, which are the mouths of conduits issuing from the glands with which the upper part of the tongue is furnished." M. Camus³ proved the truth of what both Herodotus and Aristotle have said of the tongue of the crocodile, on one of those animals which was at Paris in the year 1772.

184. Οὐδὲ τὴν κάτω κινεῖ γνάθον. *He does not move the lower jaw.* Aristotle also says, that⁴ the lower jaw of the crocodile is immoveable. But though the authority of this learned naturalist is of great weight, it is, nevertheless, true that it is only the lower jaw of the crocodile that is moveable. This is confirmed by the observations of the Academy of Sciences, those of Dr. Grew, cited by Ray, Klein, and Buffon.

185. Δέρμα λεπιδωτὸν, ἄρρηκτον ἐπὶ τοῦ ῥώτου. *A scaly skin, impenetrable on the back.* For this reason⁵, those who pursue them always aim at their bellies, where the skin is tender and not armed with scales like the back. I shall quote the description of the Academy of Sciences : "The whole body⁶, with the exception of the head, was covered with scales These scales were of three sorts : those which covered the sides, the shoulders, the legs, and the greater part of the neck, were nearly round, of different sizes, and irregularly placed ; all the others were more regular both in form and collocation. They were of two sorts : those which covered the back, the middle of the neck, and the upper part of the tail, were not separated from each other, but crossed the body from one side to the other like bands, and on these bands were grooves or indentures marking them out into scales, not placed alternately like tiles, but straight behind each other ; the grooves which formed the scales making direct lines from one extremity of the animal to the other, as the bands formed cross lines at right angles with them. The separation of the bands was much more distinctly visible than that of the scales, the latter being divided only by the grooves, whilst the spaces between the former were covered only with skin ; the scales being placed side by side like the stones of a pavement, and not one over the other like tiles To pierce the crocodile, he must be struck perpendicularly between the bands, where he is only protected by skin, for the bands themselves are impenetrable ; their substance, apparently of a nature between bone and cartilage,

³ Hist. des Animaux d'Aristote, traduite par M. Camus, tom. II. p. 262.

⁴ Aristot. de Partibus Animal. II. xvii. p. 997, E.

⁵ A Description of the East, by Rich. Pococke, vol. I. p. 203.

⁶ Mém. de l'Acad. des Sciences, tom. III. part iii. p. 162.

possessing a hardness which surpasses that of the hardest bones, and a flexibility which, like gristle, secures them from breaking. . . .

"The scales which protected the belly, the undermost part of the tail, the under part of the neck and jaw, the lower part of the legs and paws, were flexible and penetrable. Like those of the back, they were ranged in the form of stones in a pavement, and not one upon another; but they did not form bands like those above, being separated from each other, and joined only by strong ligaments. Their shape was square, and their substance was not impenetrable like those of the back."

186. Ὁξύδερκέστατον. *Its sight is very piercing.* "I found⁷ by experience that the crocodiles are very quick-sighted; for, making a circuit to come directly behind them to shoot at them, I always observed that they began to move gently into the water, as soon as I came in sight of them."

Aristotle⁸ observes, as well as Herodotus, that out of the water the crocodile's sight is very piercing; he does not proceed to state that it cannot see in the water, but that its sight is very bad there. βλέπουσι δ' ἐν τῷ ὕδατι φαύλως.

187. Ὁ δὲ τροχίλος. *The trochilus.* Marmol⁹ affirms that it is a white bird, about the size of a thrush. The greater part of the translators render this word by 'wren;' but that bird haunts decayed buildings, old walls, hedges, &c.; whereas the trochilus¹ delights in the borders of marshes, lakes, and rivers. Father Sicard, a pious and learned Jesuit missionary, informs us² that it is the sagsag, a kind of bird with which I am wholly unacquainted.

[The bird called sagsag, or siksak, by the Arabs, is a species of plover (*Charadrius Ægyptiacus*). The service which it really renders to the crocodile is confined to its warning that animal, by its shrill cries, of the approach of strangers. It escaped the attention of Larcher, that there are no leeches in the Nile: the βδέλλαι which the trochilus picked from the mouth of the crocodile, have been supposed by more circumspect commentators to have been a kind of fly; but it is absurd to attempt ridding fable of inaccuracy.]

LXIX. 188. Ἀτε πολεμίους περιέπουσι. *They persecute them as enemies.* The inhabitants of Tentyra detested crocodiles. They pursued them on all sides for the purpose of destroying them. Some believed³ that they possessed the same natural power against crocodiles that the Psylli in Cyrenaica had against serpents. They plunged boldly into the river, and even crossed it without receiving any damage from them, though no

⁷ Pococke's Description of the East, vol. I. p. 202.

⁸ Aristot. Hist. An. II. x. p. 785, A.

⁹ Description de l'Afrique, I. xxii. vol. I. fol. 286.

¹ Plutarch. de Solertiâ Animal. p. 980, D.

² Mém. des Missions du Levant, tom. V. p. 450.

³ Strabo, XVII. p. 1169, B, C.

other person dared to do so. Crocodiles were transported to Rome for the purpose of being exhibited to the people, and some of the Tentyritæ accompanied them. A reservoir was prepared, on one side of which was placed a machine, so contrived as to expose them to the heat of the sun on coming out of the water. The Tentyritæ went into the water and dragged the crocodiles on to this machine with a net, where they were exposed to the people; and they afterwards drew them into the water again.

Seneca⁴ appears to doubt, and with reason, this natural power of the Tentyritæ against the crocodiles; justly attributing all their advantages over them to their boldness and contempt for the animal. Animals usually fly from those who are bold enough to resist them, and are generally bold against those who appear to fear them. He goes on to observe, that this peculiarity of subjecting the crocodiles was so little attributable to any natural advantage, that those of the Tentyritæ who lost their presence of mind in the pursuit, for the most part perished.

Another trait of the boldness of the Tentyritæ is furnished by Pliny, who relates⁵, that when they perceived the crocodiles in the water, they swam towards them, jumped on their backs, as on a horse, thrust a thick stick into their mouths, and by that means kept them open, and their heads bent backwards in the position to bite; then, seizing both ends of the stick, they used it as a bridle, to direct their prisoners to the shore. Sometimes they frightened them with their voices only, and forced them to give up the bodies they had recently devoured, that they might receive sepulture. The island of the Tentyritæ was the only one which the crocodiles dared not approach.

189. Δεδιδαγμένον εἶναι χειροήθεα. *Trained so far as to suffer themselves to be touched.* It appears that this, however, was a particular species of crocodile. In the Arsinoite nome great honours were rendered to the crocodile; it was held sacred, and a portion of the lake was set apart for its use⁶. It was tamed by the priests. They called it 'sonchis.' The sonchis, says Damascius in his Life of Isidorus, is a species of crocodile. The name of 'champsas,' which Herodotus gives it in this paragraph, is no doubt the generic term.

[The name Suchus, Σοῦχος, (not Sonchis,) appears to have been given to the individual crocodile tamed in the manner described by Strabo, and to have been ignorantly mistaken for the name of a species some centuries later, when the worship of the crocodile had ceased. There are two species or varieties of crocodile inhabiting the Nile, both, of course, carnivorous and dangerous. M. Geoffroy de St. Hilaire, found in the tombs at Thebes an embalmed crocodile differing from the common kind, and which he called Suchus. It coincides exactly in

⁴ Nat. Quæst. IV. ii. vol. II. p. 751.

⁵ Hist. Nat. VIII. xxv. vol. I. p. 453.

⁶ Strabo, XVII. p. 1165, D.

character with the specimen in the Parisian Museum of what Adanson named the green crocodile of the Niger (Senegal) ⁷.]

190. Ἀρτήματα τε λίθινα χρυτὰ καὶ χύσεια ἐς τὰ ὦτα ἐνθέντες. *Fixing in their ears pendants of molten stone and of gold.* This would lead one to suppose that the crocodile has external ears; but those which the Sultan ⁸ sent to Louis XIV., and which were dissected by the Academy of Sciences, had none. The opening of the ears were found above its eyes, but concealed and covered with skin, which closed over them exactly in the manner of eye-lids. When the animal was alive and out of the water, these lids probably opened; at all events, it must have been to these membranes that the ear-rings were attached.

Was it glass, enamel, or some factitious gem which is here alluded to in the expression λίθινα χρυτὰ? This it would be difficult to decide. Glass is very ancient; but its origin is not known ⁹.

191. Σιτία ἀποτακτὰ διδόντες καὶ ἱρήια. *Giving them meat prepared for them and sacred.* I cannot persuade myself that this is to be understood of a form of worship offered to the crocodiles, and that victims were sacrificed to them; I am rather inclined to believe that it refers to the custom of the Ombitæ, who gave to the crocodiles the heads of victims.

192. Χάμψαι. *Champsæ.* The Copts ¹⁰ translate the word crocodile in the Old Testament by Amsah, and in a Græco-Coptic Glossary in the Royal Library it is called, with the masculine article, P-amsah. The modern Egyptians give it the name of Timsah, as Pococke informs us ¹. These do not differ so widely from 'champsæ,' but that we may attribute the variation to the copyists.

[The Egyptian name for the crocodile was Amsah; but it is possible that in the time of Herodotus χε was used as an article in some parts of Egypt, in place of the Coptic πε ². The modern Temsah is the Arabic derivative from the same root.]

LXX. 193. Μὴ ποιήσας δὲ τοῦτο, σὺν πόνῳ χειροῦται. *Unless he does this (viz. cover the eyes of the crocodile with mud) he finds it hard to subdue it.* Pococke ³ relates a mode of taking the crocodile which seems to partake of those described by Herodotus and Pliny ⁴. "They make some animal cry at a distance from the river, and when the crocodile comes out, they thrust a spear, to which a rope is tied, into his body; they then let him go into the water to spend himself, and after-

⁷ Diet. des Sc. Nat. art. Crocodile.

⁸ Mém. de l'Acad. des Sciences, tom. III. part iii. pp. 165, 166.

⁹ See Minutoli, On the Coloured Glass-work of the Ancients, 1836.

¹⁰ Panth. Ægypt. V. ii. p. 70.

¹ Descr. of the East, vol. I. p. 203.

² Champollion, L'Ég. sous les Phar. I. p. 152. The facility with which the

sounds of *k* and *p* may be changed into one another, is exemplified in the Greek dialects. But it is more to the purpose here to remark that the Greek word πύργος was changed by the Egyptians and Nubians (who used it to signify a convent or monastery) into κύργος.

³ Pococke's Description, vol. I. p. 203.

⁴ See note 188.

wards, drawing him out, run a stick into his mouth, and leaping on his back, tie his jaws together."

The inhabitants of Apollonopolis⁵, who form part of the Tentyritæ, take them with nets, hang them up, beat them with rods, regardless of their tears and groans, cut them in pieces, and eat them.

[The naturalist Rüppell, after describing the mode of harpooning the crocodile practised by the people of Dongola, adds as follows: "Had I not seen it with my own eyes, I should never have believed it possible, that two men could haul out of the water a crocodile fourteen feet long, then in the first place bind his jaws, tie his legs over his back, and, finally, despatch him by stabbing him so as to divide the spine⁶."

The skill and courage of the Tentyritæ, as related by Pliny, were successfully imitated by the adventurous Mr. Waterton, who vaulted on the back of a Cayman in the river Essequibo, and seizing the fore-legs of the animal used them for a bridle⁷.]

LXXI. 194. Οὐρὴν ἵππου. *A horse's tail.* Aristotle⁸ says, that the hippopotamus has the tail of the hog; Achilles Tatius⁹, the tail short and without hairs. This description agrees better with the accounts of modern travellers than that of Herodotus.

195. Τὸ δέρμα δ' αὐτοῦ οὕτω δὴ τι παχύ ἐστι, ὥστε αὐτοῦ γενομένου, ξυστὰ ποιέεσθαι ἀκόντια ἐξ αὐτοῦ. *Its skin is so hard, that, when dry, javelins are made of it.* These javelins were furnished with iron points. See Stephens's Thesaurus, under the word ξυστός. The Abyssinians at this day make bucklers with the skin of this animal: 'Dantur qui¹ venatione hippopotamorum se sustentant et carne vescuntur. Corium autem crassissimum ad varios usus, in primis ad scuta, adhibent.'

[In Nubia, the skin of the hippopotamus is cut into whips called korbadi, which are in great repute and constitute an important article of trade².]

LXXII. 196. Λεπιδωτόν. *Lepidotus.* The word signifies scaled, and a particular kind of fish; but what kind of fish, I know not. Linnæus thinks that it is the red carp of the Nile, 'cyprinus rubescens Niloticus³.' But I know not what reasons have led the learned naturalist to this decision. I doubt very much whether they were substantial ones; for none of the ancient authors who have spoken of the lepidotus have given a description of it. All that is known of it is, as its name conveys, that it has scales. Father Sicard, in his Memoirs of the Levantine Missions, asserts, that it is the fish known at Cairo by the name of 'bunni,' which weighs from twenty to thirty pounds; but the

⁵ Ælian. de Nat. An. X. xxi. p. 567.

⁶ Rüppell, Reise in Nubien, p. 51.

⁷ Waterton's Wanderings in S. America, p. 231.

⁸ Aristot. Hist. An. II. vii. p. 783, D.

⁹ De Amoribus Leucipp. IV. p. 223.

¹ Ludolf. Hist. Æthiop. I. ii.

² Rüppell, Reise in Nubien, p. 54.

³ Linnæi Syst. Nat. vol. I. p. 528.

remark I have made upon the opinion of Linnæus will as justly apply to that of the learned Jesuit.

M. Maillet says⁴, that at Cairo there is a species of fish called 'boulti,' which greatly resembles the carp. Is this the 'bunni' of Father Sicard? If so, it cannot be the same that Herodotus calls lepidotus, because, according to Macrisi, this was not always known in Egypt.

Strabo informs us⁵, as well as Herodotus, that this fish was honoured by all the Egyptians; there can be no doubt that it was so at the town of the same name, as the oxyrynchus was at Oxyrynchus⁶. Father Sicard calls it 'quechoué.' He says that this fish is of the size of the shad ('l'alse'), and that its snout is very pointed. If this fish be the only one in the Nile bearing the same characteristics, the learned Jesuit is probably right.

What induces me to believe that the honours rendered to these two kinds of fish were confined to the towns that bore their names is, that we learn from Plutarch⁷ that the Egyptians held the lepidotus, the oxyrynchus, and the phagrus in aversion, because those fish had devoured the generative organ of Osiris, which Typhon had thrown into the Nile. We are informed, moreover, by the same author⁸, that the inhabitants of Cynopolis, without any scruple, ate the oxyrynchus, and that the Oxyrynchites ate dogs, which in Pliny's time occasioned a very active war between the two cities.

[Sir Gardner Wilkinson, in his first series of the Manners and Customs of the Egyptians⁹, maintained that the Lepidotus of Herodotus was the *Salmo dentex*: he has since, however, renounced that opinion, and decided in favour of the Binny or *Cyprinus Lepidotus*¹.]

197. Τὴν ἔγχελυν. *The eel*. Antiphanes², in his *Lycon*, ridicules the Egyptians on their worship. "The Egyptians," says he, "so wise in other things, are particularly so in regarding the eel as the equal of the gods. It is of more consequence than they are. Our prayers suffice to obtain from the gods what we require of them; but we must spend a dozen drachmas to get a smell only at the eels, so perfectly holy is that animal."

A few lines lower down, Alexandrides, in his comedy entitled *The Cities*, addressing himself to the Egyptians, says to them: "You adore the ox, I sacrifice him to the gods; you look on the eel as a powerful divinity, and I as an exquisite dish."

Antiphanes and the other Greek authors who thus made merry at the expense of the Egyptian worship, were probably not aware of the reasons which had induced that people to interdict the use of the eel for

⁴ Descr. de l'Egypte, vol. II. p. 119.

⁵ Strabo, XVII. p. 1167, A.

⁶ Id. ibid. p. 1166, c; 1167, A.

⁷ Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 358, B.

⁸ Id. ibid. p. 380, B.

⁹ Manners and Customs, &c. 1st Series, vol. III. p. 59.

¹ Second Series, II. p. 253.

² Athen. Deipnos. VII. xiii. p. 299,

E. P.

food. The flesh of this and of some other fish having a tendency to thicken the blood and diminish perspiration, brings on those diseases that resemble elephantiasis. The priests forbade the people to eat them, and, in order to secure obedience, caused them to be held sacred.

198. Χηναλώπεκας. *The cravants.* This bird in shape greatly resembles the goose; but it possesses all the address and cunning of the fox. The Greek name, 'chenalopex,' is equivalent to 'fox-goose.' [It is the *Anas Tadorna* of Linnæus.]

LXXIII. 199. Εἰ τῇ γραφῇ παρόμοιος. *If it resembles the picture.* In the time of Herodotus, the phoenix was not believed to spring up again from its own ashes. This opinion was of later date. Suidas, under the word φοῖνιξ, asserts, that when that bird has burned itself, a worm breeds from the ashes, which afterwards changes to a phoenix.

The fathers of the Greek and Latin Church gave credit to this fable, and even cited it as a substantial proof of the resurrection, which it was impossible to reject. St. Clement of Rome³, after having related the fable of the phoenix, chap. xxxv., thus continues: "We consider it a miracle that the Creator of the universe should raise up those who have religiously served him in the faith, when he gives us in a bird proofs of the magnificence of his promises. He indeed says somewhere: Thou wilt raise me up, and I will praise thee: I have slept, and am awake again, because thou art with me. Job also says, Thou shalt raise up again this flesh which has suffered so many pains."

I could very easily bring together passages from the fathers, who all say the same thing; but as that would be needlessly swelling the work, I shall content myself with the following from St. Ambrose: 'Avis⁴ in regione Arabiae, cui nomen est phoenix, redivivo suæ carnis humore reparabilis, cum mortua fuerit reviviscit. Solos non credimus resuscitari? Atqui hoc relatione crebrâ, et scripturarum auctoritate credimus.' The same father says in another place: 'Phoenix avis⁵ in Arabiae locis perhibetur, &c. Doceat igitur nos hæc avis exemplo sui resurrectionem credere.'

But it is not enough to have discovered in the phoenix proofs of the resurrection; the same bird is also brought forward in testimony of the incarnation: 'Quid mirum videtur, si virgo conceperit, cum Orientis avem, quam phœnicem vocant, in tantum sine conjuge nasci vel renasci constet, ut semper et una sit, et semper sibi ipsa nascendo vel renascendo succedat⁶?'

Photius justly enough observes⁷, that St. Clement has made rather too much of the phoenix in the shape of proof.

Let us not, however, condemn too hastily the fathers of the Church.

³ Clem. Rom. Ep. ad Corinth. XXVI. p. 124.

⁴ Ambros. de fide Resurrect. VIII.

⁵ Id. Hexaemer. V. xxiii.

⁶ Ruffinus in Symboli exposit. p. 548.

⁷ Photii Biblioth. Cod. CXXVI. p. 305. lin. 20, &c.

The fable of the phoenix was believed in their time. Fifty-seven years before St. Clement of Rome occupied St. Peter's chair, it was universally believed that the phoenix had appeared in Egypt. Tacitus, who was not over-credulous, reports this in his *Annals*⁸. This fable being then generally received as a truth, it was perhaps allowable for the fathers to refer to it as an illustration.

[Notwithstanding that Tacitus appears to admit the real existence of the phoenix, the passage of that author here referred to, shows clearly that the phoenix was but the symbol of an astronomical cycle. He says, it is true, that no one doubted the existence of the phoenix; 'ceterum adspici aliquando in Ægypto eam volucrem, non ambigitur;' yet, since the time of its appearance was disputed, it is clear that he had no evidence of the fact. Some held that it re-appeared after a period of 1461 years, which is exactly the period requisite to bring the Egyptian year of 365 days into coincidence with the true year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days. Hence Sir Gardner Wilkinson suggests, with some reason, that the name of the phoenix was derived from the Egyptian Pe-eneh or Pheneh, a series of years⁹.]

LXXIV. 200. Ἱποὶ ὄφιδες. *Sacred serpents*. At Metelis in Egypt¹ (for so we must read in Ælian, as M. Wesseling's note points out, and not Melita,) there is in a certain tower a sacred dragon which is venerated, and has both men and women devoted to its worship. They place before it a table, on which is a cup, containing meal moistened with hydromel. They then retire, and the next day the cup is found empty.

Phylarchus relates² that great honours are rendered in Egypt to the asp, and that by these honours and the food that is given to them they become tame, and live amongst the children without doing them any harm. They come from their holes when called by a noise made with the fingers. The Egyptians, after their dinner, place on the table meal moistened with wine and honey, and call to the asps, which come and take their food³. This kind of asp is called 'thermouthis.' The statues of Isis are crowned with them as with a diadem. [Thermouth signifies deadly or causing death⁴.]

LXXV. 201. Πτερωτῶν ὀφίων. *Winged serpents*. Those who have assigned these serpents to the regions of fable are certainly in the wrong. Pausanias was much more reasonable: "We must neither⁵ be too prompt in believing all facts which appear rare, nor too resolutely determined to reject them. Though I have never seen any winged

⁸ Taciti *Annalia*, VI. xxviii.

⁹ *Manners and Customs*, &c. 2nd Series, II. p. 228.

¹ Ælian. *Nat. Animal.* XI. xvii. II. p. 629.

² Id. *ibid.* XVII. v. p. 921.

³ Id. *ibid.* X. xxxi. p. 581.

⁴ Champollion, *L'Eg. s. l. Pharaons*,

⁵ Pausan. IX. xxi. p. 572.

serpents, I believe that there are such; for a Phrygian brought into Ionia a scorpion with wings resembling those of a grasshopper." This is very probably the flying serpent of Isaiah⁶, which the Vulgate renders by 'regulus volans,' and the Septuagint by 'flying asp,' ἑκγονα ἀσπίδων πετομένων⁷. [Considered in relation to the general laws of animal structure and configuration, the flying serpent is an absurdity. We feel no difficulty, therefore, in remanding it to the regions of fable.]

202. Λόγος δέ ἐστι, ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι πτερωτοῦς ὄφιν ἐκ τῆς Ἀραβίης πέτεσθαι ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου. *The story is, that with the spring, the winged serpents fly from Arabia into Egypt.* Cicero, no doubt, had other information as to these serpents, as he makes them to come from the deserts of Africa. 'Avertunt⁸ pestem ab Ægypto (ibes), cum volucres angues ex vastitate Libyæ vento Africo invectas interficiunt, atque consumunt.' Ælian⁹ had access to the same sources of information, as he quotes the fact cited by Cicero, after speaking of that mentioned by Herodotus. The other authors who mention this bird say nothing of the war which it wages on the winged serpents from Arabia, if we except Ammianus Marcellinus¹ and Philes². Ignorant of the sources from which Cicero and Ælian derived their information, we cannot decide whether or not they are mistaken. I am induced, however, to suspect some error in these authors, from a verse of Philes, in which that poet says: "The ibis having fed on the scorpions of Libya, kills the winged serpents which come from Arabia to Egypt." Some author has probably mentioned the same fact, and Cicero and Ælian have applied to winged serpents what was intended only of the scorpions.

203. Διὰ ταῦτα τιμᾶν τὰς ὄρνιθας ταύτας. *On this account they honour these birds.* The ibis was dedicated to the god Theuth [Thaout]³, the Mercury of the Egyptians.

LXXVI. 204. Κρέξ. *The crex.* The crex is a species of bird⁴ with a bill sharply pointed and in form of a saw, and with very long legs. Gesner asserts that it is a bird found in England, with long legs resembling a quail, except that it is larger, and that during the spring and the commencement of the summer it incessantly repeats the word 'crex, crex.' M. Camus⁵ thinks that it is more probably a bird seen by Belon on the Nile, which stands high on its legs, higher than the curlew, and which frequently utters a sound similar to the word crex. The reason assigned by this writer for adopting the opinion of Belon is, that the bird must have been common in Egypt, as Herodotus refers to it by way of comparison in describing the ibis.

⁶ Isaiah, XXX. 6.

⁷ See Bochart, Hierozoic. part II. p. 423.

⁸ De Natura Deorum, I. xxxvi.

⁹ Ælian. Hist. An. II. xxxviii. p. 107.

¹ Amm. Marcel. XXII. xv. p. 262.

² Philæ de Animal. Propriet. xvi. vers. 11.

³ Plat. in Phædro, vol. III. p. 274, c.

⁴ Schol. Aristophanis ad Aves, 1138.

⁵ Histoire des Animaux d'Aristote, traduite par M. Camus, tom. II. p. 258.

This reason appears to me quite futile. Herodotus wishing to describe the ibis to his countrymen, would never compare it to a bird known only in Egypt, and with which the Greeks were as little acquainted as with the ibis itself. He would rather have chosen a bird common in Greece. [The serrate bill described by the scholiast does not suit with the English rail or corn-creak.]

205. Τῶν δ' ἐν ποσὶ μᾶλλον εἰλευμένων τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι. *But of those that are most commonly met with, &c.* Τὰ ἐν ποσὶ are common things, things which are frequently met with. St. John Chrysostom⁶ says nearly the same thing: ὁρᾷς πόθεν (ὁ Κύριος) ἐφόβησε; ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσθητῶν, ἀπὸ τῶν παρὰ πόδας συμβαινόντων. "What means has the Lord adopted to terrify us? Sensible things, things which occur every day."

M. Blanchard has, nevertheless, thought proper to translate⁷, "the other kind has its feet shaped like those of human creatures." Du Ryer had before him said, "they have feet resembling those of men." The Academy of Sciences, deceived by these erroneous translations, or perhaps by that of Laurentius Valla, which is not now before me, take occasion to reproach Herodotus, and very seriously to declare⁸, that this resemblance is found in no bird whatever.

Bruce's account of the ibis⁹ exhibits one of those mistakes so common with him. A comparison of his account with that of Herodotus will suffice to convince the reader of this. I shall therefore not stop to refute him. But when he proceeds to state that there is at the present day no such bird as the ibis in Egypt, we cannot for a moment doubt that he is in error. It is very likely indeed that he did not see any; and how should he, when, by his own account, he travelled through that country only in a boat? But on his return to his own country, he might have read the Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences, and he would there have found that that learned body begged of Louis XIV. to procure them an ibis; that that great prince, who so well deserved the title of Patron and Protector of the Sciences and Literature, wrote to his ambassador at the Porte to request of the Grand Signor to send him an ibis. That potentate cheerfully complied with the request of the king; and it was from this ibis that the Academy of Sciences drew up the description which is found in the third volume of their Memoirs. Father Sicard¹⁰, too, remarks, that in the islands of the lake Tennesus, now called Menzaleh, there are many black ibises and many black and white. [The learned were at a loss to know what was the bird which the ancients called the ibis, and this is

⁶ S. Johannis Chrysostomi in Mat- vol. III. part iii. p. 62.
thæum, Homil. xv. p. 169, A.

⁷ Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript. Nile, vol. V. p. 175.
tom. X. Mém. p. 28.

⁸ Mém. de l'Acad. des Sciences, p. 343.

⁹ Travels to discover the source of the

¹⁰ Mém. des Miss. du Lev. tom. V.

evidently a question which the Grand Signor was not competent to decide.]

206. *Ψιλή. Bare.* *Ψιλός* signifies, without hair or feathers, 'glaber,' 'depilis.' Oppian¹, speaking of the giraffe, says, that the top of its head is without hair, *ψιλὸν ὑπερθε κάρη*, which all the translators, and even Gesner, have rendered 'parvum superne caput.' But Schneider, who has given us a better edition of that author, translates 'glabrum supra caput.' *Ψιλοί* is said, in the historians, of the light troops, and in opposition to *ὀπλιῖται*, or heavy-armed soldiers. They wore neither helmets, nor corselets, nor greaves, nor bucklers. *Ψιλαῖς ταῖς κεφαλαῖς*, in Xenophon², does not mean small heads, but heads without helmets; for the Persians in battle wore the tiara. 'Nudus' is often taken, with the Latins, for a man lightly clothed. It is certain that *ψιλός*, in the sense of 'tenuis,' is a term very rare, as Stephens himself remarks in his Thesaurus.

Δειρή is not the neck, but the part in front of the neck, the throat. The Latin translator is mistaken in this particular, since he renders *τὴν δειρήν πᾶσαν*, 'totum collum.' Ammonius has distinctly marked the difference between *αὐχὴν* and *δέρη*. *Αὐχὴν*, according to that excellent grammarian³, is said of the back part of the neck, and *δέρη* of the fore part: *Αὐχὴν καὶ δέρη διαφέρει. Αὐχὴν μὲν γὰρ λέγεται τὸ ὀπισθεν τοῦ τραχήλου· δέρη δὲ τὸ ἔμπροσθεν.* Thomas Magister says the same thing, p. 129. This difference is easily perceived in Homer, when speaking of Paris, whom Menelaus dragged by the helmet; the strap, says he, which fastened it under his throat, strangled him.

Ἄγχε δέ μιν πολύκεστος ἱμάς ἀπαλὴν ὑπὸ δειρήν⁴.

"The serpent, folding itself round, wounded the eagle in the breast near the throat."

*Κόψε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔχοντα κατὰ στήθος παρὰ δειρήν,
'Ἰδνωθεὶς ὀπίσω⁵.*

The signification of *αὐχὴν* is not less determinate in Homer⁶:

*Εἴ περ γάρ κε βλεῖο πονεύμενος ἢ τυπείης,
Οὐκ ἂν ἐν αὐχέν' ὀπισθε πέσοι βέλος, οὐδ' ἐνὶ νώτῳ,
'Αλλά κεν ἢ στέρνων ἢ νηδύος ἀντιάσειε
Πρόσσω ἱεμένοιῳ*

"For if you should be wounded in battle, either in close combat or from a distance, it would not be in the neck or in the back, but on the breast."

The Academy of Sciences have charged Herodotus with saying that the head and neck of the ibis are bare of feathers; but this accusa-

¹ Oppiani Cynegetic. III. 470.

² Xen. Exped. Cyri, I. viii. § iv. p. 53.

³ Ammonius de Vocabulorum Diffe-

rentiâ, voc. *αὐχὴν*, p. 27.

⁴ Homeri Iliad. III. 371.

⁵ Id. ibid. XII. 204.

⁶ Id. ibid. XIII. 288.

tion ought to be directed against those who have misrepresented our author. They have themselves remarked⁷ that "the ibis has the upper part of the head, that round the eyes, and the under part of the neck near the beak, without feathers, and covered with a red wrinkled skin." Which exactly agrees with the account of our historian.

It may be thought that our author contradicts not only the description of the Academy of Sciences, but himself also, in affirming, a little further on, that the plumage of the ibis is white, except that of the head and the neck, which is black, whereas he had just said that the head and the whole throat were without feathers. But Herodotus does not speak of the colour of the head, or of that part of the neck which is without feathers.

The ibis, according to Strabo⁸, greatly resembles the stork; "but the latter⁹ is decidedly larger, and the other has feet and a neck longer in proportion. The length of the ibis, from the extremity of the feet to the end of the beak, is three feet and a half. There was one at Versailles, however, which was smaller its plumage was of a dirty white, slightly tinged with red over almost the whole body, having under the wing spots of two kinds of red, viz. some of a crimson, and the others of a flesh colour. The beak of the ibis was very large at its commencement, where it was an inch and a half in breadth; it did not terminate in a point, but appeared as if cut off, and was about half an inch wide at that extremity; it curved downwards the whole length. The sides of the beak were sharp, and the beak altogether possessed a hardness sufficient to cut serpents, to which it is so determined an enemy, that it goes to wait for them on their way from Arabia to Egypt¹. In short, we found that the shape of the feet of the white ibis bore no resemblance to that described by Herodotus, as being like the foot of a man²."

This bird is consecrated to the Moon, and suffers itself, *Ælian* says³, to die of hunger, when it is transported out of Egypt. There were some, however, for several years in the menagerie at Versailles; which shows that we must be a little on our guard in reading the works of the ancients.

We must also consign to the region of fable another circumstance related by the same author⁴, on the authority of those who presided over the embalming of the ibis, viz. that the intestines of the animal are 96 cubits, or 130 feet long. The Academy of Sciences found them to be only 4 feet 8 inches. But this remark will not apply to what both

⁷ *Mém. de l'Acad. des Sciences*, tom. III. part III. p. 64.

⁸ Strabo, XVII. p. 1179, B.

⁹ *Mém. de l'Acad. des Sciences*, tom. III. p. 6. part III. 3.

¹ Herodotus says that it is not this species of ibis that attacks the serpents,

but the black sort.

² This arises only from the blunder of the translators. See note 205.

³ *Ælian. de Nat. An.* II. xxxviii. vol. I. p. 107.

⁴ *Id. ibid.* X. xxix. vol. I. p. 579.

Ælian⁵ and Pliny⁶ tell us of the ibis washing itself with its beak. This is confirmed by the mechanism of its beak, which when shut appears perfectly round⁷ without, and within forms a channel of the same shape; and the two parts of it thus closed leave a small opening at the extremity for the discharge of the sea-water, with which it is said to wash itself.

In (the Appendix to) Bruce's Travels⁸, is a long article on the Abou Hannes, or ibis, abounding with errors, which the author would most probably have avoided, had he ever seen the description of that bird by the Academy of Sciences. He asserts that there are none in Egypt; whereas the one sent by the Grand Signor to Louis XIV. came from that country. He also makes Herodotus to say, without, however, naming him, that the ibis destroys the vipers of Egypt. Against this he enters his protest, remarking that the inundations of the Nile prevent vipers from inhabiting that country. Herodotus makes no mention of vipers; he simply says, (lxxv.) that in that part of Arabia adjoining to Egypt there is a plain enclosed by mountains; that in the beginning of spring the winged serpents endeavour to penetrate into Egypt through the defile; but that the ibis goes forth to meet them, and delivers the country from them.

M. Camus does not say much of the ibis in his translation of Aristotle's History of Animals; but what he does say is correct: we feel, in reading it, that he had some knowledge of natural history, a knowledge of which Bruce seems wholly destitute.

[It appears that, after all, Bruce was in the right, and the Academy of Sciences in the wrong. Such at least is the decision of Cuvier, founded on the examination of several mummies of the ibis. This celebrated anatomist and philosopher remarks in his Memoir on the ibis of the ancient Egyptians⁹, that, "of all the modern travellers who have spoken of the ibis, there is but one, the celebrated Bruce, a traveller more famous for his courage than for the justness of his opinions in natural history, who has not blundered respecting the true species of this bird; and his ideas with regard to this subject, however accurate they were, have not even been adopted by naturalists." The same great authority finally concludes¹ that the white ibis of the ancients is not the ibis of Perrault and Buffon (the bird described by the Academy of Sciences), which is a Tantalus; nor the Ibis of Hasselquist, which is an Ardea; nor the ibis of Maillet, which is a Vulture; but it is a bird of the genus Numenius, and of the subgenus Ibis, which has hitherto been described and figured only by Bruce, under the name of Abou Hannes.

⁵ Ælian. Hist. Nat. Animal. II. xxxv. vol. I. p. 105.

⁶ Plin. Hist. Nat. VIII. xxvii. vol. I. p. 453.

⁷ Mém. de l'Acad. des Sciences, tom. III. part iii. p. 65.

⁸ Travels to Discover, &c. vol. V. p. 172, or in the 8vo ed. vol. VII. p. 270.

⁹ Les Ossemens Fossiles, p. 141, and in the Essay on the Theory of the Earth, p. 300.

¹ Theory of the Earth, p. 328.

The sentences above extracted from the Memoirs of the Academy contain sufficient proof of error, as they describe a bird of nearly twice the size of the ibis, which is a curlew and a soft-billed bird, living on worms, fresh-water shell-fish, and similar small prey.

The ibis makes its appearance in Egypt about St. John's day, whence the name Abú Hannes, or Father John. It comes with the rising of the Nile, and disappears again as the waters fall. To this circumstance was probably due the honour paid to it. It is much more common in Nubia than in Egypt². It has been also met with at the Cape of Good Hope³. The Greek name Ibis was formed from the Egyptian Hip⁴.]

LXXVII. 207. Μνήμην ἀνθρώπων πάντων ἐπασκέοντες μάλιστα. *Who of all men the most carefully cultivate the memory.* Thoth⁵ was adored for having invented letters, which was a great relief to the memory. King Thamus, on the contrary, thought that this invention had rendered men negligent, and caused them to cultivate that faculty less carefully.

208. Ὑγιεστάτοι πάντων ἀνθρώπων. *There are no men so healthy.* That was true before the time of Herodotus, and for a long while after him; but when they began to neglect the canals, the water became corrupted, the vapours which it exhaled rendered Egypt very unhealthy, malignant fevers soon began to appear, and became epidemic; and these vapours concentrating and becoming daily more pestilential, at length occasioned that fatal malady known by the name of the plague. This was not the case before the canals were constructed, nor whilst those canals were properly attended to.

209. [Συρμαῖζουσι τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐπεξῆς μηνὸς ἐκάστου. *They take physic three days in succession every month.* The Abyssinians are obliged to do the same thing to rid themselves of the tape-worm. For this purpose they use an infusion of the flowers of the Cusso⁶, without which tree they could hardly exist. The custom here described is not one which can be supposed to have originated in fashion or caprice; there must have been a necessity for it. It is true that Herodotus calls the Egyptians the healthiest of men and says nothing of their diseases; yet we must allow more weight to his positive statement than to the negative evidence of his silence, and may therefore conjecture that the Egyptians were generally subject to a malady, resembling that probably, the frequency of which in Abyssinia has been attributed, with much reason, to the use of raw meat for food.]

210. Οἶνον δ' ἐκ κριθέων πεποιημένον διαχρέωνται. *They use wine made from barley.* As wine was scarce in Egypt, at least in that part

² Cailliaud, Voy. a Meroe, tom. II. p. 197.

³ Blumenbach's Handbuch der Naturgeschichte, 12th ed. p. 178, note.

⁴ Champollion, L'Eg. s. l. Phar. I. p. 296.

⁵ Plato in Phædro, vol. III. p. 275, A.

⁶ The Bankesia Abyssinica of Bruce (Travels, &c. vol. VII. p. 181), and the Brayera Anthelminthica of Rüppell, Reise, &c. vol. II. p. 55.

allotted to the culture of grain, the people substituted for it a drink made from barley, and which for this reason I have called 'beer.' The hop-plant being unknown in that country, the Egyptians added portions of the chervil and the lupin⁷, which gave it a bitterness, as also the root of a plant which came from Assyria, which Salmasius⁸ believes to be the gingidium; as is seen in the following verses of Columella:

Jam siser, Assyrioque venit quæ semine radix,
Sectaque præbetur madido satiata lupino,
Ut Pelusiaci proritet pocula zythi.

This wine of barley, or beer, was called in Greek, by a single word, βρύτος, as we learn from Athenæus⁹, who quotes a verse from the Triptolemus of Sophocles, a tragedy now lost, in which that word is frequently employed.

Diodorus Siculus¹ also informs us, that the Egyptians made from barley a drink which was called 'zythus,' the agreeable odour of which was little inferior to wine. Æschylus had alluded to the same beverage in his tragedy entitled the Supplices², as well as Hecataeus of Miletus, both of them anterior to Herodotus³.

The grain which Herodotus a little before calls 'olyra,' appears to me, after a careful examination of a number of passages of the ancients, to be spelt. It is very certain that it is not rice, as Dr. Shaw⁴ imagined, and that that plant was not known in Egypt till many centuries after the time of Herodotus. The loaves which the Egyptians made of it terminated in a point, as Pollux says⁵ (Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ τοὺς εἰς ὀξὺ ἀνηνεγμένους ἄρτους καλλιστεῖς (lege ex Herodot. κυλλήστις) ὠνόμαζον), and Athenæus⁶, corrected from Pollux by Casaubon. It is difficult to conjecture why M. De Pauw⁷ makes these two authors to say, that to this bread was added a considerable quantity of fermented paste, which communicated to it an acid taste.

[The word ζύθος was probably of Greek origin. The beer now made in Egypt, Nubia, and Abyssinia, from barley, durrah (Holcus Sorghum; which may have been the Olyra of the ancients) or from teff (Poa Abyssinica) is every where called Booza.]

211. Οὐ γὰρ σφί εἰσι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ἄμπελοι. *They have no vines in the country.* M. Dupuy⁸ perceived clearly enough, that Herodotus, in this place, spoke only of that part of Egypt appropriated to the culture of grain. To the examples which this writer quotes from Herodotus, to show that there were vines in Egypt, may be added the following⁹,

⁷ Columell. X. de Cultu Hortor. 114.

⁸ Exercitat. ad Solin. liii. p. 820.

⁹ Athen. X. xiv. p. 447, B.

¹ Diod. Sic. I. xxxiv.

² Æschyl. in Supplicibus Mul. 960.

³ Athen. X. xiv. p. 447, C.

⁴ Shaw's Travels, vol. II. p. 171.

⁵ Jul. Poll. Onomast. VI. xi. segm. 73.

vol. I. p. 609.

⁶ Deipnos. III. xxix. p. 114, c.

⁷ Recherches Philosophiques sur les Egyptiens et les Chinois, sect. III. p. 148.

⁸ Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. tom. XXXI. p. 20, &c.

⁹ Numbers, XX. 5.

which is much anterior to our historian: "And wherefore have ye made us to come up out of Egypt, to bring us into this evil place? It is no place of seed, or of figs, or of vines, or of pomegranates; neither is there any water to drink."

Hellanicus says¹, that the vine was originally discovered in the territory of Plinthine. This city was not far from Mareotis, renowned for the goodness of its wine.

212. Τοὺς δὲ, ἐξ ἄλμης τεταριχευμένους. *Some* (fish were eaten by them) *pickled with salt*. "The Egyptians look upon the sea to be Typhon, and the Nile, which is lost and dispersed in it, as Osiris. The priests, for this reason, hold the sea in abhorrence; and salt, which they call the foam of Typhon, is amongst the number of forbidden things²." They however made use of mineral salt; for Plutarch, in another place, asserts, that the priests³ used no salt with their food during the intervals when they observed continency: it should seem, then, that they did use it at other times; and as they held sea-salt in abhorrence, it must have been some other species of salt which they used.

We learn from Arrian, that the country of Ammon⁴ produced a mineral salt which the priests of Ammon carried into Egypt. The Egyptians used this salt in their sacrifices, because it was purer than that of the sea. I am inclined to believe that Herodotus here speaks of this species of salt.

LXXVIII. 213. Περιφέρει ἀνὴρ νεκρὸν ἐν σορῶ ξύλινον. *A man carries round a wooden figure of a corpse in a coffin*. Plutarch speaks also of this custom⁵; but he asserts, that it was less with a view to exhort the guests to drink and enjoy themselves than that this figure was presented to them, than to incite them to love one another, and not expose themselves to those evils which make life, short as it is, appear too long. But I am inclined to suspect that Plutarch, who was a serious and virtuous man, discovered in this custom a moral end, which never entered into the thoughts of its inventors.

The idea of death, amongst the ancients, was not so revolting as it has since become. "Life," says Anacreon⁶, "runs on like a rapid chariot. In a short time, we shall be but a heap of dust. Why, then, pour on the earth vain libations? Rather perfume me while I yet live, crown me with roses, and call hither my mistress."

It is from this point of view that we must look at the Egyptian custom; and the following passage from the festival of Trimalchio⁷ proves

¹ Athen. Deipnosoph. I. xxv. p. 34, A. In this passage I read *πρώτην* instead of *πρώτη*.

² Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 363, D, E.

³ Id. ibid. p. 352, F.

⁴ Arrian. de Exped. Alex. III. iv.

§ vi. & viii. p. 187.

⁵ Plutarch. in Sept. Sapient. Convivio, p. 148, B.

⁶ Anacreon, Od. iv.

⁷ Petronii Satyric. xxxiv. sub finem.

that such was the spirit of it. "Potantibus ergo, et accuratissime nobis lautitias mirantibus, larvam argenteam attulit servus, sic aptam, ut articuli ejus vertebræque laxatæ in omnem partem flecterentur. Hanc cum super mensam semel iterumque abjecisset, et catenatio mobilis aliquot figuras exprimeret, Trimalchio adjecit :

Heu, heu nos miseros, quam totus homuncio nil est !

Sic erimus cuncti, postquam nos auferet Orcus.

Ergo vivamus, dum licet esse bene."

These detestable maxims had insinuated themselves amongst the people of God in the time of Solomon, the wisest of kings, more than 1000 years before our era. Thus did the libertines then express themselves, as we read in the Book of Wisdom (II. 2, 6 et s.): 'For we are born at all adventure: and we shall be hereafter as though we had never been. . . . Come on therefore, let us enjoy the good things that are present; and let us speedily use the creatures like as in youth. Let us fill ourselves with costly wine and ointments, and let no flower of the spring pass by us. Let us crown ourselves with rosebuds before they be withered. Let none of us go without his part of our voluptuousness.'

[Wooden representations of mummies, such as are here described, are now common in archæological collections. Schweighäuser mentions one of sycomore, a cubit long, in the museum at Strasburg.]

LXXIX. 214. Καὶ δὴ καὶ ᾠσμα ἔν ἐστι, Λίνος. *And indeed there is a certain song too, called Linus.* "Urania¹ had an amiable and engaging son, who was called Linus; all singers and minstrels celebrate him in the choruses and festive songs; at the beginning and the end of every air they invoke Linus."

"Linus," says Diodorus Siculus², "was the first inventor of rhythm and melody among the Greeks. Cadmus having brought from Phœnicia to Greece letters or characters, Linus was the first who adopted them into the dialect of the Greeks, gave them their names, and traced their forms. They were called Phœnician letters, because they had been brought from Phœnicia to Greece; but as the Pelasgi were the first who made use of them, and substituted them for those previously known, they were called Pelasgic. Linus, having attracted admiration by his talents for poetry and music, had many pupils; the three most illustrious of whom were Hercules, Thamyris, and Orpheus. Hercules learned to play the cithara, but he was dull and slow to learn; Linus having in a moment of impatience struck him, Hercules became angered, and gave him so violent a blow with the cithara as to kill him. . . . Linus had written in the Pelasgic character the exploits

¹ Fragm. Hesiodi apud Eustath. ad Iliad. xviii. 570. p. 1163.

² Diod. Sic. III. lxvi. p. 236.

of the first Bacchus, and other mythological stories, which he left to posterity."

But there was a Linus, says Eustathius³, anterior to the tutor of Hercules. It must be of him that Herodotus speaks. Yet the epigram which Eustathius quotes in the place indicated, refers to the second Linus.

"Linus⁴, according to Aristarchus, is a sort of hymn or song, as the Pæan and Dithyrambus." This kind of song was mournful, as Athenæus⁵ has remarked. And thus we find in the poets, αἴλινον or αἴλινα, an adverb compounded of λίνον, and of αἶ, a plaintive particle, to express groans⁶:

Μάτηρ, νιν ὅταν νοσοῦντα
Φρενομόρως ἀκούσῃ,
Αἴλινον, αἴλινον,
"Ἡσει δύσμορος.

"When his mother shall hear that he has lost his wits, she will sing incessantly, Ælinon! Ælinon!"

The commencement of the Idyl of Moschus on the death of Bion, αἴλινα μοι στοναχεῖτε, is generally known. This term was derived from the Asiatic languages. The barbarians, says Euripides⁷, when the blood of their kings is shed, begin their mournful songs, in the Asiatic tongue, with Ælinon; 'Lin' signifying in Phœnician⁸, complaint or groaning.

215. "Ἔστι δὲ Αἰγυπτιστὶ ὁ Λίνος καλούμενος Μανέρως. *Linus is called in Egyptian, Maneros.* "Isis⁹ had no sooner arrived in a desert place, where she fancied herself alone, than she opened the chest, and began to embrace the dead body of Osiris, weeping bitterly. Whilst she was thus occupied, the son of the king of Byblus, who had followed her, softly approached her, and perceived the cause of her grief. She suddenly turned round, and in her anger cast on him a look so terrible, that he died with fear. Others say that he fell into the sea. But however that may be, great honours are rendered to him on account of the goddess. The Maneros, whom the Egyptians invoke in their songs, is this young prince. Some pretend that he was called Palæstinus, or Pelusius, and that the goddess built the city of that name to commemorate him. They add, that the Maneros, whom the Egyptians celebrate in their festivals, was the inventor of music. Others say, that Maneros is not a man's name; but a song¹ suited to festivals and the pleasures of the table, and which they sing, that all may prosper with

³ Eustath. vol. II. p. 1163. lin. 63.

⁴ Id. ibid. p. 1163. lin. 55.

⁵ Athen. Deipnos. XIV. iii. p. 619, c.

⁶ Sophocl. Ajax Mastigoph. 625.

⁷ Euripid. Orest. 1404.

⁸ Le Clerc. not. in Hesiod. p. 338. edit. Amstel. in 8vo, 1701.

⁹ Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 357, D, E.

¹ I read φῶδῆν with Herodotus. Διάλεκτον gives no meaning. I also make some other changes in the text, which I considered necessary, but which it would be scarcely worth while to specify here.

them. It is in fact in the hilarity of a feast that they make the air ring with this Maneros."

The Mariandyni had a similar song, which they called Bormus, as we learn from Athenæus² and from Hesychius³. It is remarkable that the Maneros, the Linus⁴, and the Bormus, should all be mournful songs.

This is rather in contradiction to the passage of Plutarch which I have just cited; but it is possible that there may have been two songs known by the name of Maneros, one extolling him as the inventor of music, and the other deploring his untimely end.

LXXX. 216. Συμφέρονται δὲ καὶ τόδε ἄλλο Αἰγύπτιοι, Ἑλλήνων μούνοισι Λακεδαιμονίοισι. *In this other particular also the Egyptians agree with the Lacedæmonians alone of all the Greeks.* Xenophon puts into the mouth of the young Pericles the following words: "When⁵ will the Athenians have the same respect for old men that the Lacedæmonians have, they who begin with the contempt of their fathers, and thence pass to despising old men in general?"

Plutarch relates two anecdotes which do great honour to the Lacedæmonians: I shall quote only the latter of them. "At the festival⁶ of the Panathenæa, an old man was seeking a place; they called him on different sides, as if intending to make room for him; and as soon as he reached any particular spot, he was repelled with insulting railery. But on reaching the seats where the deputies from Lacedæmon (the Theori) sat, they all immediately rose and gave him a place amongst them. The people, struck with admiration, clapped their hands in token of applause. Upon which a Spartan cried out: By Castor and Pollux, the Athenians know the rules of decorum, but the Lacedæmonians practise them." Valerius Maximus relates⁷ the same story in nearly the same words. Nevertheless, Xenophon makes Socrates to say⁸, that it was a custom universally established, that young people should yield the precedence to their elders, rise when they entered, and give them the place of honour.

The Athenians had also borrowed from the Egyptians⁹ another very considerate law, which forbade them to put to death a pregnant woman, till after her delivery.

LXXXI. 217. Ἐνδεδύκασι δὲ κιθῶνας λινέους, περὶ τὰ σκέλεα θυσανωτοῦς, οὓς καλέουσι καλασίρις. *They wear linen shirts, fringed about the legs, which they call kalasiris.* These fringes were not merely

² Deipnosoph. XIV. iii. p. 619, F.

³ Under the word Βωρμός.

⁴ Athen., as above, c; and Hesychius.

⁵ Xenophon, Mem. Socrat. III. v. § xv. p. 152.

⁶ Plutarchi Laconi Apophth. p. 235, D.

⁷ Val. Max. IV. v. Extern. II. p. 381.

⁸ Xen. Socrat. Mem. II. iii. § xvi. p. 93.

⁹ Plut. de Serâ Numinis Vindictâ, p. 552, D. Ælian. Var. Hist. V. xviii. p. 432.

ornamental, but prevented the texture of the garment from unravelling. The robes without fringe were hemmed, which answered the same purpose.

[The calasiris, the name of which is supposed¹ to be derived from kali (in Coptic, the leg), does not appear to have been worn by the Egyptian commonalty. But these fringed dresses are frequently represented on monuments and have been found in the tombs².]

218. Ὁμολογέουσι δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι Ὀρφικοῖσι καλεομένοισι καὶ Βακχικοῖσι. *These observances agree with what are called the Orphic and Bacchic rites.* “Bacchus³ wishing to pass with his troops from Asia to Europe, contracted a friendship with Lycurgus, king of that part of Thrace, which is situate near the Hellespont. He sent first the Bacchantes thither, as into a friendly country; but Lycurgus ordered his forces to attack Bacchus in the night, and to slay him and all the Mænades. Bacchus having received intimation of this from a native of the country, named Tharops, was alarmed, as his troops were still on the other side of the sea, he himself having come over with only a few friends; and for this reason he returned secretly to his army. In the mean time, Lycurgus attacked the Mænades, and put them all to the sword, in a place called Nysius. Bacchus having returned with his army, overcame the Thracians in a combat, in which Lycurgus was taken. His eyes were put out, and after suffering every kind of torture, he was crucified. Bacchus in grateful acknowledgment gave to Tharops the kingdom of Thrace, and taught him the orgies and other mysteries. Œagrus, the son of Tharops, succeeded his father, and, having learned from him the ceremonies and mysteries, taught them to his son Orpheus, who excelled all the world in genius and knowledge; and on this account the ceremonies invented and celebrated by Bacchus were termed Orphic.”

Such is the opinion of Diodorus Siculus. He relates, however, in another place, that the Egyptian priests affirmed that Orpheus⁴ had borrowed from their country the greater part of the mysteries, such as those of Isis and Osiris, which are, with little difference beyond the name, the same as those of Bacchus and Ceres, as well as the fable of the infernal regions. In fact, by the pains of the wicked and the enjoyments of the just, he painted only what was typified at the funerals of the Egyptians.

Pausanias affirms that Orpheus was an Egyptian. “A certain Egyptian⁵,” says he, “thought that Amphion was of his country, and that Orpheus, so skilled in magic, whom we Greeks believe to have been a Thracian, was also an Egyptian.” For so the passage must be rendered. M. Schmidt has attempted to prove that Orpheus was an Egyptian. And these are his reasons. Or, or Oros, as the Greek ter-

¹ Jablonski, *Opuscula*, vol. I. p. 102.

² Wilkinson, *Manners, &c.* II. p. 347.

³ Diod. Sic. III. lxiv. p. 234. lin. 55.

⁴ Id. *ibid.* I. xcvi. vol. I. p. 107.

⁵ Pausanias, VI. xx. p. 505.

mination makes it, is an Egyptian divinity answering to the Apollo of the Greeks⁶. Phe, or Pho⁷, in Coptic, signifies to engender. Hence Semphos is rendered, son of Hercules, Sem or Som being the Egyptian Hercules; and white Hellebore, which is called 'genitura Herculis,' was called Somphia by the Egyptians. Thus Orpheus should be the son of Or, or Oros [Horus], that is to say, Apollo.

There were certain traditions in Greece agreeing very well with this etymology; and, according to these traditions, Orpheus was the son of Apollo, as may be seen in the following verses of Pindar⁸:

Ἐξ Απόλλωνος δὲ, φορ-
μικτὰς, ἀοιδᾶν πατήρ
Ἔμολεν εὐαίνητος Ὀρφεύς.

"Orpheus also came, the son of Apollo, the father of song, and an excellent player on the cithara."

The Scholiast of Pindar quotes, in his note on these verses, an oracle of the Pythoness, in which Orpheus is called the son of Apollo.

It is to be remarked also, that on Egyptian monuments we find Orus, or Harpocrates⁹, who are the same, surrounded by various animals; which proves, moreover, that the Greeks had borrowed from Egypt the fable of the animals following Orpheus.

To the single testimony of Pausanias may be opposed that of all the writers who have had occasion to mention Orpheus, and who all agree that he was a Thracian.

But was there ever such a person as Orpheus? I know it has been contended that he never existed, and I believe that Vossius was the first who maintained such an opinion¹. M. Mosheim², an Abbé of Mariendal, is the second, or at least the most celebrated of those who have followed Vossius. This opinion is founded on a passage of Cicero³: "Orpheum Poëtam docet Aristoteles nunquam fuisse." The passage of Aristotle to which Cicero alludes is lost; but it is clear that Cicero's words may be understood to mean, that "Aristotle taught that Orpheus never was a poet;" that is to say, that the verses attributed to him were not really of his composition. Fabricius⁴ had thus understood it, and it is astonishing that Mosheim should not have been aware of this. Mr. Davies, to whom we owe an excellent edition of the Treatise on the Nature of the Gods, understood it as Fabricius did. Verburgius, the Abbé d'Olivet, and M. Ernesti, make no observation on this passage. But the last, in his index, under the word ORPHEUS, appears to incline to Mosheim's opinion.

219. Ἐοῦσι δὲ Αἰγυπτίοισι καὶ Πυθαγορείοισι. *But which are really*

⁶ Herod. II. cxliv. et clvi.

⁷ F. S. Schmidt, Opuscula, p. 108.

⁸ Pindari Pyth. Od. IV. 313.

⁹ Recueil d'Antiq. Egypt., &c. tom. III. plate x. No. 2.

¹ Vossius de Arte Poeticâ, xiii. p. 78.

² Notes on Cudworth's Intellectual System, c. IV. xvii. p. 342.

³ De Nat. Deorum, I. xxxviii.

⁴ Biblioth. Græc. vol. I. p. 111.

Egyptian and Pythagorean. Diogenes Laërtius relates⁵, after Aristotle, that Pythagoras wore garments of wool, because linen was then unknown in the country where he lived. But Apuleius⁶ informs us, that the Pythagoreans did not wear clothing of wool. “Quippe lana, segnissimi corporis excrementum, pecori detracta, jam inde Orphei et Pythagoræ scitis, profanus vestitus est. Sed enim mundissima lini seges, inter optimas fruges terræ exorta, non modo indutui et amictui sanctissimis Ægyptiorum sacerdotibus, sed opertui quoque in rebus sacris usurpatur.” It were easy to accumulate quotations; but we should learn no more from them.

It may not be superfluous to remark, that Pythagoras, though a man of first-rate genius, was extremely superstitious, and that he adopted the regimen of the Egyptian priests, which was founded on the nature of the climate they inhabited, and was in no wise suited to that of Greece.

Those who were initiated into these mysteries, ate nothing that had ever possessed life. So Euripides⁷, δι' ἀψύχου βορᾶς σίτοις καπήλιν, Ὀρφέα τ' ἄνακτ' ἔχων, βάκχευε: “Nourish yourselves only with those things which have not had life; and taking for your guide Orpheus, observe the Bacchic ceremonies.” Plutarch also observes⁸, that it was said that the ancient Orpheus abstained from all animal food.

LXXXIV. 220. Οἱ δὲ ὀδόντων. *Some for the teeth.* The toothache then was not quite so uncommon in Egypt as Professor Michaelis⁹ imagined.

LXXXV. 221. Τὸ θῆλυ γένος πᾶν τὸ ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων τούτων. *All the females of these families.* Οἰκεῖος, or Ionically, οἰκήιος, as well as οἰκέτης, is understood not only of the slaves, but also of the wife and children, and indeed of all the inmates of the house. Many examples of this are found in Herodotus.

As to the custom of covering the head and face with mud on the death of near relations, it had not been introduced into Egypt at the time of the death of the patriarch Jacob. His son Joseph threw himself upon the face of his father¹, and shed tears whilst embracing him. He afterwards ordered the medical men of his establishment to embalm him, and he mourned for him seventy days with all Egypt.

222. Ἐπεζωσμένοι. *And having fastened their garment with a girdle.* The women were accustomed to let down their garments, to display the bosom; but lest these should fall and expose more of their persons than

⁵ Diog. Laërt. VIII. xix. p. 504.

⁶ Apul. Apologia, p. 495. lin. ult.

⁷ Eurip. Hippolytus, 963.

⁸ Plutarch, Septem Sapient. Conviv.

p. 159, c.

⁹ Descr. de l'Arabie, par Niebuhr, p. 116.

¹ Genesis, L. 1—3.

they wished, they had them fastened round their middles with a girdle. This is what is meant by ἐπεζωσμέναι².

223. Ἐς τὴν ταρίχευσιν. *At the place where they embalm them.* The Egyptians took these means to preserve the body, because they believed that the soul remained in it as long as it subsisted, and that it did not pass into any other until the body was destroyed. “Ægyptii³ periti sapientia, condita diu servant cadavera, scilicet ut anima multo tempore perduret, et corpori sit obnoxia, nec cito ad alios transeat.”

Cassianus gives another reason for this custom, which appears probable, and is not incompatible with what I have before cited. He imagines⁴ that this method had been invented, because during the whole time of the inundation they could not bury the dead. But Herodotus says, it was done because it was not lawful⁵ to abandon the dead bodies, to be devoured by any animal. They did not bury them, lest they should be eaten by the worms; and they did not burn them, because they looked on fire as a voracious monster, which devours all that comes in its way.

As Herodotus has said nothing of the funeral ceremonies of the Egyptians, I have thought that it would not be unacceptable to the reader to find here the account given by Diodorus Siculus.

“The relations of the dead person⁶ fix the day of his obsequies, that the judges and all the friends of the deceased may assemble; and they appoint it, by declaring that he will pass the lake of his nome. The judges then repair to the spot, more than forty in number, and form a semicircle on the further side of the lake. A boat containing those who are to officiate in the ceremony then approaches, under the direction of a navigator, whom the Egyptians, in their language, call ‘Charon.’ It is said that Orpheus, having in his travels to Egypt witnessed this ceremony, took from it his fable of the passage into the infernal regions, imitating a part of the ceremonies and inventing the remainder. Before the coffin containing the corpse is placed within the boat, the law permits any person to accuse the dead: if it is proved that he has led a bad life, the judges condemn him, and he is excluded from the place of burial. If it appears that he has been unjustly accused, the law inflicts a severe punishment on the accuser. If no one accuses, or if the accuser is convicted of calumny, the relations take off the badges of mourning and pronounce the panegyric of the deceased, without speaking of his birth, as is done in Greece, for they think that all Egyptians are equally noble. They expatiate upon the manner in which he has been brought up and instructed from his infancy, upon his piety, his justice, his temperance, and his other virtues since he attained the age

² Wytttenbach, Select. Prin. Hist. p. 355.

³ Servius ad Æneid. III. 68. vol. II. p. 342.

⁴ Jo. Cassian. collat. XV. 3.

⁵ Herod. III. xvi.

⁶ Diod. Sic. I. xcii. vol. I. p. 102.

of manhood, and they pray the gods of the infernal regions to admit him into the abode of the pious. The people applaud and congratulate the defunct, who is about to pass a blissful eternity in the residence of the blessed. If any one has a tomb destined for his sepulture, his body is placed in it; if not, a chamber is constructed in his house, and his bier is placed close against the most solid part of the wall. They place in their houses those to whom sepulture has been denied, whether on account of the crimes of which they have been accused, or of debts which they have contracted; and it sometimes occurs that they afterwards receive honourable burial, because their descendants having become rich, pay their debts, or purchase absolution."

"The Egyptian priests say⁷ that Orpheus, in introducing the pains of the wicked in hell, and superadding the meadows of the blessed, only imitated their funeral ceremonies; that, according to their ancient institutions, Mercury, the conductor of the souls, having carried the body of Apis to a certain spot, committed it to him who wore the mask of Cerberus; and that Orpheus having imparted these customs to the Greeks, Homer, treading in his steps, adorned his poetry with them. 'Mercury,' says the poet⁸, with his rod in his hand, convoked the souls of those who were to follow him.' And a little after he adds, 'they crossed the Ocean, passed near Leucadia, entered by the gate of the Sun into the country of Dreams, and shortly arrived in the meadow of Asphodel, inhabited by souls which are the phantoms of the dead.'

"The poet gives the name of Ocean to the river, because the Egyptians, in their tongue, so called the Nile. By the gate of the Sun, is meant the city of Heliopolis. He thinks that the meadow and the feigned abode of the dead is the place bordering on the marsh of Acherusia near Memphis, where there are very beautiful meadows and marshes, and fields of the lotus. It is by following the track of Orpheus that he assigns this spot for the habitation of the dead, since the greater part of the Egyptian funerals were there celebrated, and especially those on the most magnificent scale; and the corpses were not deposited there till after they had passed the river and the Acherusian lake. The rest of the fables as to the infernal regions, which the Greeks have retailed, accord with the customs still observable in Egypt. The vessel which conveys the dead bodies is called Baris⁹, and an obolus is paid to the navigator, who is called, in the language of the country, Charon. It is said, that near this place are the temple of Hecate Tenebrosa, the gates of the Cocytus and of Lethe, closed with bars of brass, and those of Truth; and near the last a statue without a head, which is that of Justice."

These passages from Diodorus Siculus are the more curious, as they

⁷ Diod. Sic. I. xvi. vol. I. pp. 107, 108.

⁸ Homeri Odyss. XXIV. 1 et s.

⁹ Though all the Egyptian vessels

were properly called Baris, (Herod. II. xvi.) this name was particularly applied to the bark of Charon: see the Analect. Vet. Poet. Gr. vol. II. p. 81. No. 7.

show the origin of the Greek fables. The verses quoted from Homer show that he was no stranger to the immortality of the soul. But whence had he learned this doctrine? asks Madame Dacier, in her notes on the Odyssey. And she answers, that he found it in the theology of the Hebrews. However, it is clear that the Greeks had no knowledge of the Hebrews till the time of Alexander; and moreover, had the Greeks borrowed their doctrine from the Hebrews, it would not have been disfigured with such a mass of fables. How could she fail to perceive that the Greeks had borrowed them, as I have elsewhere observed, from the Egyptians?

LXXXVI. 224. Εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ κατέαται. *There are persons who sit at this very thing* (i. e. who devote themselves to this business). The word κατέαται, though a general term, applies more particularly to those who exercise the arts termed by the Latins 'artes sellulariæ.' [The Sancroft MS. reads κατατετάχεται, 'have been appointed,' which reading was preferred by Larcher among others.]

225. Τοῦ οὐκ ὀσιον ποιεῦμαι τὸ οὐνομα ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ πρήγματι ὀνομάζειν. *Whose name I do not deem it right to utter on such (so trivial) an occasion.* This must doubtless have been the image of some divinity, probably Osiris. Such is the opinion of Athenagoras. "Not only," says he¹, "do they show the burying-place of Osiris, but also his embalmed remains." In evidence of which, he cites this passage of Herodotus. It is known that Isis carried every where with her the body of her husband, from which we may conclude that she had had it embalmed.

226. Εὐτελεστέρην. *Less expensive.* The embalming² in the first method costs a talent of silver, or £219 of English money; in the second, twenty minæ, or £73; and the last, but a trifle.

227. Τὰ δὲ ἐγχέοντες φάρμακα. *Partly by infusing drugs.* I at first imagined that Herodotus meant that they drew out the brains through the nostrils, and then substituted aromatics in their place; and the remark of M. Rouelle confirmed me in this opinion; that skilful chemist having found aromatic drugs in the heads³ of several mummies. If Herodotus does not mean that here, thought I, he certainly mentions it no where else; and it is scarcely probable that he would omit so essential a part of the embalming. But I was mistaken. Τὰ μὲν, τὰ δὲ, manifestly refer to ἐξάγουσι τὸν ἐγκέφαλον. It was impossible entirely to empty the cranium by the instrument described; they drew from it what they could, and the injected dissolvents removed the rest. The Greek phrase can be understood no otherwise. It is true, that by reading it in this way we do not find that Herodotus has said any thing of embalming the head; but he may have forgotten this

¹ Athenag. Leg. pro Christ. § xxv. p. 115.

² Diod. Sic. I. xci. vol. I. p. 101.

³ Mém. de l'Acad. des Sciences, année 1750, p. 143.

point, however essential, as he manifestly has several others which relate to the process of embalming.

[The brains were taken out, according to our author, with a crooked iron. But no iron instruments of any kind, we believe, have been found in the ancient Egyptian tombs. Bronze instruments, however, of the form described are met with in abundance ⁴.]

228. Λίθῳ Αἰθιοπικῷ ὁξέϊ παρασχίσαντες. *Making an incision with a sharp Ethiopic stone.* "The body being ⁵ stretched on the ground, the scribe traces on the left flank all that is to be cut. He who is to make the incision, cuts with an Ethiopian stone as much flesh as the law ordains. That done, he flies with all speed, and the assistants throw stones after him, loading him with curses, as if they would charge the crime on him. In fact, they consider as odious every one who does violence to a body of the same nature as their own, or who wounds, or does it the least harm."

[The Ethiopic stone was probably a volcanic product, perhaps obsidian or volcanic glass. The use of so primitive an instrument shows the antiquity of the custom.]

229. Τὴν κοιλίην. *The intestines.* Herodotus does not say what was done with these intestines, after they had been cleansed and steeped in palm-wine. Porphyry shall supply this deficiency ⁶. "When they embalm the body of a person of quality, they draw from it the intestines, and place them in a chest; and amongst other ceremonies rendered to the dead, they take the chest, and one of the embalmers, invoking the sun on behalf of the dead man, addresses him in the following words, which Euphantus has translated from his mother tongue: 'O! sun, sovereign lord, and you all ye gods, who have given life to men, receive me, and permit me to reside with the eternal gods. During all the time that I lived, I was constant in worshipping the gods which I had received from my fathers; I have always honoured those who engendered this body; I have killed no one; I have broken no trust, nor done any other evil. If I have committed any other fault in my life, either in eating or in drinking, it was not for myself, but for these things' (i. e. the bowels). The embalmer, on finishing these words, showed the chest containing the intestines; it was then thrown into the river. As to the rest of the body, when it was cleansed, they embalmed it."

[The words κοιλίη and νηδύς appear to be indiscriminately used to express either the lower cavity of the body or its contents. Our author exemplifies the indistinctness arising from this double confusion. In this passage he says, ἐξ ὧν εἶλον τὴν κοιλίην πᾶσαν—ἔπειτα τὴν νηδύν πλήσαντες: and in the next paragraph he interchanges the terms, ἐν ὧν ἔπλησαν τὴν κοιλίην—οὔτε ἐξελόντες τὴν νηδύν.]

⁴ Minutoli, Reise, &c. Append. p. 195.

⁶ Porphyr. de Abstin. ab Esu Animal.

⁵ Diod. Sic. I. xci. vol. I. pp. 101, 102. IV. x. p. 329.

230. Ταριχέουσιν λίτρῳ. *They pickle it (the dead body) with natron.* What our author here calls λίτρον, is not nitre, though nitre was so called by the later Greeks, but 'natron,' that is to say⁷, a fixed alkali, which readily unites with lymphatic, oily, or greasy liquids. The Egyptian embalmers employed natron to carry off the lymphatic liquids and the fat, and to separate them from the solid and fibrous parts. The intention of covering the body with this species of salt was to dry it, which must have been the first operation. It should seem, therefore, that Herodotus has not related the mode of embalming in proper order. Had they begun by filling the body with myrrh and aromatic substances before salting it, the natron acting upon the balsamic ingredients, and forming with their oils a soluble soapy matter, and consequently very likely to be carried off by the ablutions, would thus have destroyed the greater part of the aromatic substances. Add to this, that Diodorus Siculus relates⁸, that myrrh and cinnamon were the last ingredients used in the embalming, and he makes no mention of the natron.

[Natron is the Hydro-carbonate of Soda, found incrusting the hollows of the Desert near Egypt, and elsewhere. It is better known in commerce by the name of Trona.]

231. Κατελίσσουσι πᾶν τὸ σῶμα σινδόνης βυσσίνης τελαμῷσι κατατετμημένοισι. *They wrap the whole body round with bandages of byssine cloth.* "The mummy"⁹ preserved in the cabinet of Ste. G  nevi  ve, and those which are in the cabinet of the C  lestins, have two kinds of bandages: the body and members are each separately enfolded in bandages of cloth covered with resin or bitumen, and they are so closely united as to form but one mass. This has doubtless led some writers to imagine that the whole thickness was the flesh of the embalmed. There are other bands of cloth without any bituminous matter, which envelope the whole body, the two arms being crossed upon the stomach, and the legs close together. These mummies are completely swathed by these bands, or by this last bandage, in the same manner that children were formerly swathed. These bandages are of a yellowish tinge, especially those of the mummy in the cabinet of Ste. Genevi  ve, and are absolutely free from resinous matter. We may, therefore, conclude, that these bands have been covered with gum only. Herodotus has omitted to mention the use of the first bandage, which was employed to keep the resinous matter in contact with the surface of the body; and perhaps having seen merely the swathed mummies, he described only the second bandage."

There appears to me to exist scarcely a doubt, that cotton and the

⁷ All that I say here concerning the embalming is borrowed from an excellent memoir on the subject by M. Rouelle, which may be found in the Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences for the year

1750, p. 123, &c.

⁸ Diod. Sic. I. xci. vol. I. p. 102.

⁹ M  m. de l'Acad. des Sciences, ann  e 1750, p. 135.

byssus are the same. M. Rouelle furnishes one proof of it. "All the cloths of mummies," says he¹, "without resinous matter, which I have examined, are of cotton; all the strips with which the bodies of birds that have been embalmed are decorated, to give them a more elegant form, are likewise of cotton." Greaves, however, asserts², that the bandages which enveloped the mummies were of linen; but he possibly might not have examined them with so much care as M. Rouelle.

I have remarked the same thing in the mummies preserved in the British Museum, which I examined in 1752 with the late Dr. Maty.

To these proofs may be added the following, which appears to me no less conclusive. I find it in Julius Pollux. "The byssus," says he³, "is among the Indians a kind of linen. In Egypt, on a certain shrub is found a species of wool, of which cloth is made, which considerably resembles linen cloth, but that the texture is more substantial. On this shrub grows a fruit much like a nut: this fruit has three divisions; when it is ripe, it separates; they then draw from it a substance resembling wool." The ancients sometimes gave to this down the name of wool of the trees⁴, or linen of the trees, or of wood. "Superior pars⁵ Ægypti in Arabiam vergens gignit fruticem, quem aliqui gossipion vocant, plures xylon, et ideo lina inde facta xylina. Parvus est, similemque barbatae nucis defert fructum, cujus ex interiore bombyce lanugo netur. Nec ulla sunt eis candore mollitiave præferenda." We also read in Arrian: "The Indians make use of linen garments⁶, as Nearchus says; I mean that kind of linen which is gathered from trees, and of which I have before spoken." Garments of cotton were very agreeable to the Egyptian priests, as we find in Pliny, immediately after the passage just quoted. "Vestes inde sacerdotibus Ægypti gratissimæ." The initiated also wore garments of cotton. "In⁷ ipso ædis sacræ meditullio, ante deæ simulacrum constitutum tribunal ligneum jussus superstiti, byssina quidem, sed floride depicta veste conspicuus." As cotton was little known to the Greeks, it is not astonishing that they should confound it with linen. There is every reason to believe that Herodotus (II. xxxvii.) and Plutarch⁸ are mistaken, in asserting that the garments of the Egyptian priests were of linen. If they meant the linen that grows on trees, they should have mentioned it, to obviate all doubt.

To this it may be added, that, had the byssus been linen, it is remarkable that Pausanias, who ought to have known what linen was⁹, should say that it grew in no part of Greece except Elis.

[The long-contended question whether the byssus of the Egyptians

¹ Mém. de l'Acad. des Sciences, année 1750, p. 150.

² Greaves's Miscellaneous Works, vol. I. p. 68.

³ Pollucis Onomast. VII. xvii. § lxxv. vol. II. p. 174.

⁴ Theophrastus calls these shrubs,

ἐριοφόρα δένδρα, trees bearing wool. Hist. Plant. IV. p. 53.

⁵ Plin. Hist. Nat. XIX. i. vol. II. p. 156.

⁶ Arrian. Indic. XVI. i. p. 582.

⁷ Apul. Metamorph. XI. p. 388. lin. 9.

⁸ Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 352, c.

⁹ Pausan. V. v. p. 384.

was linen or cotton cloth is now completely set at rest. The fibres of flax and of cotton viewed through a good microscope are respectively so well characterized, and are so different from each other, that it is impossible to confound them. A great many specimens of mummy-cloth examined by practised observers, Mr. Bauer, Dr. Ure¹, and Mr. Thompson², have all led to the same conclusion: the mummy-cloth was linen; generally coarse, but in some instances of surprising fineness.]

232. Ὑποχρίοντες τῷ κόμμι. *Smearing it with gum.* This is gum Arabic³, called also [by the French] gum of Senegal. It is obtained from the acacia [Mimosa Nilotica]⁴, a tree very common in Upper Egypt, where it is known by the name of 'sunt,' as it is in Arabia Petræa by that of 'cyala.' Strabo⁵ calls this tree the thorn of the Thebais, and remarks that it produces gum.

LXXXVII. 233. Τὰς προκειμένας ἡμέρας. *The prescribed time.* That is to say, seventy days, as we have seen in a preceding paragraph (I. xxxvi.). It appears that the mourning both began and ended with this process. The mourning for a king was seventy-two days⁶; that for Joseph was seventy days⁷.

234. Ὡστε ἄμα ἐωυτῇ τὴν νηδὺν ἐξάγει. *So that it brings away with it the intestines.* M. Rouelle⁸, a competent judge of these matters, affirms, that the juice of the cedar-tree, being merely a balsam or species of soft resin, cannot consume the viscera. Nevertheless, Dioscorides remarks⁹, that this juice possesses a septic quality as to living bodies, and that it preserves dead ones. Hence some have called it, the life of the dead. The same author adds, that it destroys clothes and skins, by excessively drying and heating them.

This was the true reason why the cedria was the life of the dead, and death to the living, as M. Rouelle remarks after Pliny. If this juice had really the latter quality which Dioscorides ascribes to it, then there is no transposition in the process described by Herodotus. The cedria was injected for the purpose of destroying the viscera, and the body was salted for the purpose of carrying away the fat and the lymphatic juices.

[The cedria was a resinous fluid or liquid pitch, or, as some will have it, oil of turpentine¹, to which the viscera adhered and were thus carried off. Our author says nothing of their destruction, which, indeed, could not have been effected by such means.]

LXXXVIII. 235. Συρμαίη. *Surmaia.* The signification of this

¹ Philosophy of Manufactures, p. 83.

² Philosoph. Mag. 1834, vol. V. p. 355.

³ Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript. vol. XXIII. Hist. p. 124.

⁴ Pococke's Description of the East, vol. I. p. 69.

⁵ Strabo, XVII. p. 1163, A.

⁶ Diod. Sic. I. lxxii. vol. I. p. 83.

⁷ Genesis, L. 3.

⁸ Mém. de l'Acad. 1750, p. 139.

⁹ Dioscor. I. cv. p. 56.

¹ Minutoli, Append. p. 197.

word is very doubtful. According to some authors it was a cathartic potion, composed of salt and water, but we are not informed of what species of salt. The Scholiast of Aristophanes² thinks that it was the juice of a plant, which he does not name, but which was used by the Egyptians as a cathartic; and I am the more disposed to believe this, as the cassia was a tree indigenous to Egypt, and senna grows spontaneously in the Thebais.

A little further on we shall find this name used for the horse-radish, which I do not conceive to possess a detersive property.

XC. 236. Οἱ ἱερεῖς τοῦ Νείλου. *The priests of the Nile.* The Egyptians worshipped the Nile; temples were raised in honour of it; there was a most magnificent one at Nilopolis³, a city of the province of Arcadia in Egypt, and there is little doubt that there were others elsewhere. At least we may conclude, from this passage of Herodotus, that there must have been priests assigned to it in all the cities on the borders of the river, and to all appearance some kind of worship must have been rendered to it in those cities. With regard to this worship, the reader may refer to what is said by M. Jablonski, who seems to have exhausted the subject⁴.

M. De Voltaire thinks⁵, that about 2000 years before our era, there was a custom of drowning in the Nile a young maiden, with the view of obtaining an abundant overflow; and in evidence of this, he cites Herodotus. But this particular is found in no ancient author whatever; and all that we have ever heard of it is from certain Arabian writers, who are very liable to suspicion.

The story, as found in Kalkasenda⁶, is as follows: "Abdol-Rahman relates, that when the Mussulmen became masters of Egypt, the inhabitants of that kingdom came to Amru, and told him, that, according to a tradition, the Nile overflowed only when, about the twelfth of the month Bouna, they drowned a young virgin in the river. Amru not permitting this sacrifice, for two months the Nile did not rise. Upon which he wrote to Omar, who addressed a letter to the Nile, in which he said, 'If you refuse voluntarily and spontaneously to overflow, know that there is a victorious deity who can force you to do it; and in the mean time we earnestly pray of God to make you overflow.' Amru threw this letter into the Nile, and the next day the waters rose sixteen feet."

XCI. 237. Χέμμις. *Chemmis.* The Egyptians called this city⁷

² Schol. Aristoph. ad Pac. 1253.

³ Stephan. de Urb. in voce Νεῖλος. [This author speaks of a city called Nilus, which was probably the Nilopolis of Ptolemy (IV. v.) situate in the Heracliotic Nome. Stephanus says nothing of the province Arcadia; but Eustathius

(ad Dion. Perieg. 251.) states that the Egyptian Heptapolis was, in after-times, called Arcadia.]

⁴ Panth. Ægypt. II. iv. § i. p. 171.

⁵ Philos. de l'Histoire, p. 197.

⁶ Appendix to Shaw's Travels, p. 57.

⁷ Diod. Sic. I. xviii. vol. I. p. 21.

Chemmo; Chemmis being merely the same word with a Greek termination. It is the same as Panopolis. Diodorus Siculus informs us, and we find in Plutarch⁸, that Pan and the Satyrs formerly inhabited the environs of Chemmis; a tradition, to all appearance, founded on the circumstance of the worship of Pan having commenced in that city. It was very ancient, but I will scarcely venture to affirm that it was founded by Ikhmin, son of Misraim, as both Leo Africanus⁹ and Vansleb assert, on the authority of some Arabian authors. Its modern name, however, is Akhmim, or Ikhmim. M. Jablonski remarks, that it was the custom of the Copts¹ to sound a vowel before every word beginning with a consonant [or rather, the Arab language requires a vowel-sound before double consonants]. By cutting off this vowel, the word approaches very nearly to the ancient name. Some remains of antiquity² are still seen at Akhmim, and amongst others the ruins of three temples. Dr. Pococke conjectures, though on very slight grounds, that the first was dedicated to Pan, the second to the Sun, and the third to Perseus. The stones of them are very large, and ornamented with hieroglyphics. At a certain part of this city are also observed several columns of red granite, which induced this learned traveller to believe that some building of importance formerly stood there.

238. Νηός τε ἐνι, καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐν αὐτῷ ἐνέστηκε τοῦ Περσέος. *There is a temple within, and in it stands a statue of Perseus.* This is said of the sacred precinct surrounding the temple. The temples of the ancients differed considerably from ours. They were surrounded by walls. Within this enclosure were a fountain, a grove, and a temple properly so called³.

[The Greek temples were surrounded by walls, inclosing the τέμενος, or demesne. But the propyla, colonnades, and rows of sphinxes surrounding or conducting to the Egyptian temples, served to enhance architectural effect, and not to inclose the temples.]

239. Διὰ πάσης ἀγωνίης ἔχοντα. *Which of all games are the most excellent.* The Greek, I think, can be taken in no other sense than that I have given to it. Other examples may be found in the same author⁴: εὐδοκιμέοντι διὰ πάντων τῶν βασιλῆων, “the most esteemed of all the kings⁵.” Διὰ πάντων φασμάτων ἄξια θωυμάσαι, “of all prodigies the most worthy of admiration.”

[Schweighäuser’s translation of this sentence, ‘containing all kinds of games,’ is much preferable. See his note on the passage.]

240. Χλαίνας. *Mantles.* The χλαῖνα was properly a winter garment, though there were some of a lighter construction. Those which were given as prizes at Chemmis, where the climate was very hot, must

⁸ Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 356, D.

vol. I. pp. 77, 78.

⁹ In Descr. Africæ, I. 724. ex ed. Elzevirii.

³ See notes 294 and 331 of the preceding book.

¹ Panth. Ægypt. II. vii. p. 294.

⁴ Herod. VI. lxiii.

² Pococke’s Description of the East,

⁵ Idem, VIII. xxxvii.

have been of that description. The prizes varied according to the difference of the games, or the places where they were celebrated. At Pellene in Achaia, the *χλαῖνα* was the first prize in the Theoxenia, a festival celebrated in honour of Mercury and Apollo. See the Scholiast of Pindar on the following verse ⁶:

Καὶ ψυχρᾶν ἐνδια-
νὸν φάρμακον αὐρᾶν
Πελλάνῃ φέρε.

“He received for his prize, at Pellene, a defence against the severity of winter:” that is to say, the *χλαῖνα*, or mantle.

Ἐκ δὲ Πελλάνας, ἐπεισσύμενοι
Νῶτον μαλακαῖσι κρόκαις ⁷.

“At Pellene, they were covered with a soft mantle.”

They afterwards gave, at the Theoxenia celebrated at Pellene ⁸, money instead of mantles.

241. Δέρματα. *Skins*. “The ancients,” says a manuscript Scholiast on Homer, preserved in the Library at Leyden, “gave skins for prizes.” And this custom is still better proved by the following verses of that author ⁹:

Οὐχ ἱερήϊον, οὐδὲ βοειήν
Ἄρνύσθην, ἃ, τε ποσσὶν ἀέθλια γίνεται ἀνδρῶν.

“It was not to gain an animal or a neat’s hide, as at the public games.”

242. Τὴν Γοργοῦς κεφαλὴν. *The Gorgon’s head*. The fable of the Gorgon is universally known; but there is another on the same subject, with which perhaps few are acquainted.

“Alexander of Myndus ¹ relates, in the second book of his History of Beasts, that there is in Libya a certain animal which the Nomadian Libyans call Gorgon. Its breath is so pestilential, that it kills all those who come in its way; but, according to others, it is not its breath, but its hideous appearance that overcomes them. The same author adds, that in the Jugurthan war some of the soldiers of Marius, taking this animal for a wild sheep, rushed upon it with their swords, hoping to kill it. The Gorgon then, shaking off the hair which covered its eyes, killed them on the spot by a look. The like befel many others. At length, having learned from the people of the country the nature of this animal, snares were laid for him, and they killed him from a distance with arrows. The skin of the Gorgon and the expedition of Marius are proofs of the truth of this story.”

This fabulous animal, in all probability, gave rise to the Greek fable of the Gorgon; or perhaps that might be founded on the account of Procles of Carthage, which appeared very probable to Pausanias. The

⁶ Pindar. Olymp. IX. 146.

⁷ Idem, Nem. x. 82.

⁸ Pausan. VII. xxvii. p. 595.

⁹ Homer. Iliad. XXII. 159.

¹ Athen. Deipnos. V. xx. p. 221, B.

deserts of Libya, says he², have always abounded in monsters which pass all belief; and amongst them, there have been wild men and wild women. He himself had seen one of these savages, which had been transported to Rome. He suspects that Medusa was one of these women, who, having come out from the forests, extended her excursion as far as the lake Tritonis, committing great devastation in the surrounding country, until Perseus effected her destruction. See also the dissertation on the Gorgons, by M. l'Abbé Massieu³.

XCII. 243. *Γυναικὶ μιῇ ἕκαστος.* *They have only one wife a-piece.* Diodorus Siculus remarks⁴, that in Egypt every man married as many wives as he chose; but it appears to me that we may reconcile the seeming contradiction between these two authors, by supposing that Herodotus speaks of the actual custom, and Diodorus of the licence given by law. The law permitted polygamy, but there were many reasons to restrain individuals from exercising that right. The existing usage in Turkey authorizes this presumption. The Mahometan law, says Lady Wortley Montague⁵, permits each Mussulman to have four wives; but there is perhaps scarcely an example of this privilege being exercised in its full extent. If a Turk marries a woman of quality, he must not think of any other; she would not allow it. All that he can do, is to keep as many concubines as he pleases; but then he dares not introduce them into the residence of his wife: women of another class are not less jealous of their rights; and though polygamy is permitted in Turkey, there are perhaps few countries where it is less practised. This is confirmed by M. Niebuhr⁶, who says, that polygamy is not so generally practised in the East, as is believed in Europe. There are few men of the middling classes who have more than one wife, and many persons of distinction confine themselves to one for their whole lives.

But perhaps the accounts of these two historians may be reconciled in a still more simple manner. Herodotus speaks here only of those who inhabited the marshy districts of Egypt; and Diodorus probably of those who lived in the upper part.

The Egyptian priests⁷ had but one wife each. Among the Hebrews, the high-priests⁸ could marry but one wife, and it was necessary that she should be a virgin.

244. *Τὰ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι λωτόν.* *Which the Egyptians call lotus.* The lotus⁹ grows in the fields watered by the Nile; its stalk resembles that of the bean; it puts forth a small white flower like the lily; it produces several flowers crowding one above the other, which close up,

² Pausan. II. xxi. p. 159.

³ Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. tom. III. p. 51.

⁴ Diod. Sic. I. lxxx. p. 91.

⁵ Letter to the Countess of Mar, from

Adrianople.

⁶ Description de l'Arabie, p. 65.

⁷ Diod. Sic. I. lxxx. p. 91.

⁸ Leviticus, XXI. 13.

⁹ Dioscorides, IV. cxiv. p. 287.

and sink their heads under water when the sun sets; but at sun-rise they raise up their heads and expand. It afterwards puts forth a large denticulated head like that of the poppy, but which bears a much larger quantity of seed. At length it withers, and the seed is formed. The Egyptians gather the heads of the lotus and heap them together, that their husks may rot; they afterwards wash them in the Nile, that the husks may separate from the fruit or seed; they then dry the seed in the sun, and make bread of it. The root of this plant is in form like the quince, having a dark-brown shell like that of the chestnut. The substance of this root is white, and good to eat, either raw or cooked; but it is best boiled in water, or heated on the coals; it then tastes like the yolk of an egg. As to the seed of the lotus, it is smaller and more mealy than that of the bean.

M. Savary says on this subject, "The lotus is a species of *Nymphaea*¹ peculiar to Egypt, which grows in the rivulets and on the borders of the lakes. There are two kinds, one of which bears a white flower, the other a pale blue. The calyx of the lotus opens like that of a large tulip, shedding an agreeable odour like that of the lily. The first sort has a round root, like a potato. The inhabitants of the borders of the lake Menzaleh use it for food. The rivulets near Damietta are covered with this majestic flower, which rises two feet above the water.

245. Ἐδωδίμη. *Well-flavoured*. This, as well as what follows, must be referred to the root. Stephens thinks² that it relates to the fruit of the lotus, which is in the centre of the plant; and he founds this conjecture on the assertion made further on (IV. clxxvii.) that the fruit of the lotus is sweet. But here the aquatic plant is spoken of, and in the passage referred to, the tree of the same name.

It may be objected that τὸ ἐκ τοῦ μέσου τοῦ λωτοῦ being in the neuter, ἐὸν στρογγύλον, which is likewise neuter, should relate to it, rather than to ῥίζα which immediately precedes, because the latter word is feminine. To this I answer, that the change of the gender is very common amongst the Greeks and the Latins, who understand χρῆμα. Father Vigerus³, in his Idioms of the Greek language, furnishes many examples of it.

246. Ὁ καρπὸς ἐν ἄλλῃ κάλυκι παραφυομένη ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης γίνεται. *The fruit grows up from the root in a separate calyx*. Hesychius explains κάλυξ by βλάστημα. I have therefore not hesitated to translate it 'a stalk.' All is then clear and consistent; and the term ἄλλη supposes that there were other stalks; those, for instance, that supported the leaves.

The figure of the Lotus Ægyptia, in Prosper Alpinus, (de Plantis Exoticis, p. 213.) and that of the Colocassia Strongylorrhiza, (ibid. p. 237.) give a clear idea of what Herodotus says, viz. that the fruit

¹ Lettres sur l'Égypte, p. 8, note 9.

voc. ἐγγλύσσει, p. 798.

² Index in Thesaurum Ling. Græc. in

³ Viger. de Idiot. vol. I. § xvii. note.

grows on a stalk which issues from the root, and grows near another stalk.

247. Τρώγεται δὲ καὶ ἀπαλὰ ταῦτα καὶ αῖα. *They are eaten both fresh and dried.* The Greek phrase is said of things that are eaten raw. Τρωκτοῖσιν is explained by Galen⁴ by these words, ὠμοῖς ἐσθιομένοις, of things eaten raw.

[The two species of nymphæa described by Herodotus, and common in Egypt, are, first, the nymphæa Nilotica, which is here called the lotus. Its root, which the Greeks called κόρσιον⁵, is still eaten. The other species is the nymphæa Nelumbo (of Linnæus), or sacred lotus, which adorned the heads of Isis and Osiris. It is also the sacred flower of the Hindoos, on which Brahma is represented sitting. The seeds of the nelumbo, the eatable parts alluded to by our author, are supposed to have been the κύαμοι Αἰγυπτιακοὶ of the Greeks⁶.]

248. Τὴν βύβλον. *The byblus.* The plant which Herodotus calls the byblos is the papyrus. Pliny⁷, who copies Theophrastus with little variation, gives the following account of this plant: "The papyrus grows in the marshy parts of Egypt, or in the stagnant waters left by the inundation of the Nile, when they are not more than two cubits deep. The root is tortuous, and about the thickness of a man's arm; the stem is triangular, and does not exceed ten cubits in height. It diminishes towards the top, and terminates in a point. The top, which is shaped like a thyrsus, contains no seed, and serves only, in the absence of flowers, to make crowns for the gods. The inhabitants use the root instead of wood, not only to burn, but to manufacture various articles. Of the stem of the papyrus interwoven, boats are made; and from the bark or rind, sails, mats, garments, bed-coverings, and cordage. They also chew this plant⁸, either cooked or raw, and swallow the juice. It comes from Syria, from the neighbourhood of a lake where the odoriferous cane is found. King Antigonus made use of this papyrus for the cordage of his vessels. It has lately been discovered, that the papyrus grows in the Euphrates, not far from Babylon, and that paper is also made from it."

This plant abounded in the Sebennyitic nome: "Cum in Sebennytico saltem ejus nomo nonnisi charta nascatur." The Saitic nome also produced it plentifully: "Post hanc⁹ Saitica (charta) ab oppido ubi maxima fertilitas."

This plant was very common in Egypt, and it is therefore natural to suppose, that Herodotus ate of it during his long residence in that country. His evidence is therefore to be preferred to that of Theophrastus, who, having never been in Egypt, could not know so well as

⁴ Galeni Gloss. in Hippocr. p. 580.

⁵ Theophrastus, IV. x.

⁶ Sprengel, Geschichte der Botanik. vol. I. p. 28.

⁷ Plin. Hist. Nat. XIII. xi. vol. I.

p. 690.—Theophrast. Hist. Plant. IV. p. 54.

⁸ Theophr. p. 372.

⁹ Plin. Hist. Nat. XIII. ii. vol. I.

p. 690.

Herodotus, whether the lower part of the papyrus was really eaten or merely chewed: and it is certainly to be preferred to that of M. De Pauw, who asserts¹, that the ancients mistook the sugar-cane for the papyrus.

“The byblus,” says Strabo², “grows in lakes and marshes, and rises to the height of ten feet. Its stem is bare till towards the top, where it is covered with a kind of down. . . . The byblus does not grow in any great quantity in this part, (the neighbourhood of Alexandria,) for it is not cultivated; but it is found in considerable quantities towards the lower part of the Delta³. There are two species of it: one of an inferior quality; the other, which is better, and termed hieratic, i. e. fit for sacred purposes. Some of those who wished to increase the public revenue, have practised the same device with regard to this plant, which the Jews employed with the date and balsam trees. They did not suffer it to grow in many places, and its scarcity enhancing its price, they augmented the revenues of the state at the expense of the public, who suffered greatly.”

[To this spirit of monopoly perhaps it is attributable that the papyrus is now rare in Egypt. Forskal did not find it there; nor the French expedition. Bruce⁴, though more fortunate, never saw it in more than one or two places in that country. It is probable that the words βύβλος and papyrus, were originally derived by the Greeks and Latins respectively, from the same Egyptian word, the name of the plant. It is worthy of remark that the Latin name for a book, *liber*, was also that of a vegetable rind, and that the German word *buch* (and consequently the English, book) is apparently derived from *buche*, the beech-tree, the white bark of which probably served as paper.]

249. Ἐν κλιβάνῳ διαφανεῖ. *In a red-hot oven.* M. Wesseling has very satisfactorily proved in his note, that διαφανής signifies ‘red-hot.’ To the examples which he quotes, may be added the following from Homer’s *Odyssey*⁵, where, speaking of the stake which Ulysses heated to thrust into the eye of Polyphemus, the poet says, διεφαίνετο δ’ αἰνῶς, ‘it was very red.’ This expression involves an ellipsis. We must understand ἐκ πυρὸς, as our author has expressed himself further on (IV. lxxiii).

250. Οἱ δὲ τινες αὐτῶν ζῶσι ἀπὸ τῶν ἰχθύων μούνων. *Some of them live on fish alone.* Although the priests⁶ ate no fish, there was, nevertheless, a prodigious consumption of that food in the interior of the country; and the greater, as the sacred animals were fed on it⁷. The canals of the Nile, the lakes, and the two seas furnished fish in great abundance; and they were easily preserved with salt, which is found in

¹ Recherches, &c. III. p. 168.

² Strabo, XVII. p. 1151, A.

³ Id. ibid. B.

⁴ Travels, vol. VII. p. 115.

⁵ Hom. *Odys.* IX. 379.

⁶ See above, xxxvii.

⁷ Above, lxv.

large quantities in Egypt. When the Egyptians entered into commercial intercourse with foreigners, the fishery became an object of increased importance. That of the lake Moëris alone produced a talent⁸ (219*l.*) a day during the six months that the waters were low, and a third of that amount daily during the other six months. At the present day, a great trade is carried on with Egypt in salted fish, which is sold at⁹ Constantinople, throughout Syria, and in the island of Cyprus.

XCIII. 251. Ἡγέονται δὲ οἱ ἔρσενες. *The males lead the way.* "The copulation¹ of oviparous fish is still less perceptible; which has led many to believe that the females became pregnant merely by swallowing the semen. The following is a fact which is frequently witnessed. At the spawning season the females follow the males, and strike them with their mouths under the belly, which occasions them to shed their seed more promptly and in greater abundance. At the time of production, on the contrary, the males follow the females, and swallow the greater part of the eggs as fast as they are laid, and those eggs which they do not swallow become fish."

"The female fish² scatter their eggs; the males swallow the greater part of them: a considerable portion is destroyed in the water; but those which fall into convenient places, and are preserved, ultimately produce fish. Were all the eggs productive, each species of fish would be in prodigious and inconvenient abundance. Of those even which escape, the greater part are not productive; none come to life but those on which the male, in following the female, has shed his seed."

252. Ἀνακάπτουσι. *They gulp it.* See the preceding note, in which Aristotle justly denies that the females conceive in this manner. Κάπτειν and ἀνακάπτειν signify to eat greedily, to devour. Hence, the round machine³ placed on the necks of slaves, which prevented them from raising their hands to their mouths, and consequently from eating, was called πανσικάπη.]

XCIV. 253. Ἀλείφατι δὲ χρέωνται ἀπὸ τῶν σιλλικυπρίων τοῦ καρπού, τὸ καλεῦσι μὲν Αἰγύπτιοι κίκι. *They use oil made from the fruit of the sillicypria, which the Egyptians call kiki.* "Proximum⁴ (Oleum) fit e cici, arbore in Ægypto copiosa: alii crotonem, alii trixin, alii sesamum sylvestre appellant: ibique non pridem. Et in Hispania repente provenit altitudine Oleæ, caule ferulaceo, folio vitium, semine uvarum gracilium pallidarumque. Nostri eam ricinum vocant a similitudine seminis. Coquitur id in aqua, innatansque oleum tollitur. At in

⁸ See below, cxlix.

⁹ Mém. Nouv. des Missions du Levant, tom. VI. p. 229.

¹ Aristot. Hist. An. V. v. p. 836, A, B.

² Ibid. VI. xiii. p. 869, C, D.

³ Jul. Pol. Onomast. VII. iv. § xx.

vol. II. p. 699.

⁴ Plin. Hist. Nat. XV. vii. vol. I.

p. 736.

Ægypto, ubi abundat, sine igne et aqua sale aspersum exprimitur, cibus fœdum, lucernis utile."

The plant which furnishes this oil is called 'ricinus,' a name originating in the resemblance of its grain to the tick, an insect which the Latins call 'ricinus.' In Egypt, the olive-tree, and consequently olive oil, was very scarce: when that country became commercial, the article was imported from Judea and from Greece. We know that Plato⁵ supplied the expenses of his travels in Egypt by selling his oil there. See also lix. note 160.

Although since the time of Plato vast quantities of oil have been imported into Egypt, I could scarcely believe, even on the testimony of M. Savary⁶, that Amru, Omar's general, found 12,000 venders of vegetable oil in Alexandria, when he took that city. This doubt excited my curiosity to refer to the Arabian author quoted by M. Savary; and I was very much surprised to find in the Latin translation⁷ of him by Erpenius, '12,000 olitores vendentes olus viride.' It is certainly very singular, that M. Savary should take 'olitores' for oil-merchants, and 'olus' for oil: it is a kind of mistake on which I will not trust myself to make a remark. [The name *σιλλικύπριον* given by Herodotus to the Palma Christi, is manifestly a corruption of *σέσελι κύπριον*⁸.]

XCV. 254. *Περὶ ταύτην ἵστησι τὸ ἀμφίβληστρον.* *Over this (his bed) he places the net.* More convenient modes of defence were afterwards adopted. The Greeks called these nets *κωνωπεῖον*, from *κώνωψ*, which signifies a gnat. The Latins had borrowed from the Greeks the word 'conopeum.' The ancient Scholiast of Juvenal explains this very clearly on the 80th verse of the 6th satire:

Ut testudineo tibi, Lentule, conopeo

Hoc est, linum tenuissimum maculis variatum. Quia Latine conopeum 'culicare' dicunt. [Hence the word Canopy.]

"As in this country," says M. Maillet⁹, "there are neither rains nor fogs to fear, the beds are placed every evening upon the terraces or flat roofs. . . . The mosquitoes rarely rise so high. . . . Nevertheless, as a further precaution, persons of any distinction have a tent erected on these terraces, from the centre of which hangs a kind of pavilion or screen of fine muslin, or of gauze, which reaches to the ground."

XCVI. 255. *Τὰ πλοῖά σφι ἔστι ἐκ τῆς ἀκάνθης ποιούμενα.* *Their ships are made of Acacia.* There are many species of this tree, as may be seen in Dioscorides and elsewhere. The acanthus, or thorn, of which Herodotus here speaks, greatly resembles the lotus of the island

⁵ Plutarch. in Solon. p. 79, E.

⁶ Lettres sur l'Égypte, p. 27.

⁷ Historia Saracenica Arabice cum Latinâ interpretatione Th. Erpenii, Lugd.

Bat. 1625. fol. I. iii. p. 30.

⁸ Dioscorides, IV.

⁹ Descr. de l'Égypte, tom. II. p. 134.

of Cercina ; it must not, however, be confounded with that plant, as has been done by Servius ¹, who says : “ Acanthos arbor est in Ægypto, semper frondens ut oliva et laurus : et Acanthos dicta, quia spinis plena est. Abundat hac etiam Cercina insula.” Now the island of Cercina does not abound in the acanthus, but in the lotus. It is an island of the lesser Syrtis, where the lotus grows in great plenty. The thorn of Egypt was a large tree, of which, according to Theophrastus ², beams of 12 cubits in length were made. “ Nec minus ³ spina celebratur in eadem gente, duntaxat nigra, quoniam incorrupta etiam in aquis durat, ob id utilissima navium costis. Candida facile putrescit. Aculeus spinarum et in foliis. Manat et gummi ex ea.” This is the acacia.

256. Γόμφοις. *Bolts or pegs.* Γόμφος signifies a peg, bolt, rivet, or nail, as may be seen in Homer ⁴. Ζυγά are beams laid across. ‘Transtra’ has the same meaning with the Latins. Ἐν ᾧ ἐπάκτωσαν cannot mean ‘inferciunt ;’ because it is not here meant that the intervals were stopped up with byblus, instead of tow or oakum ; but that the whole mass was fastened together ; and this is what is meant by the verb ἐμπακτόω. Eustathius ⁵ very clearly interprets this, κατασφαλίζονται.

The Arabians ⁶ have still a sort of small vessel, which they call ‘trankis,’ the planks of which are not nailed, but tied, and, as it were, sewed together.

257. Τὴν βάρην. *The baris.* We read in Ammonius ⁷, that this sort of vessel was in use among the Egyptians ; but the Scholiast of Æschylus ⁸ says, that this was the name of the ships in Persia, and that they derived it from the city of Baris.

[The word Bari (the s being a Greek addition) was derived from *ba*, a palm-branch, and *iri*, to make ⁹. In the river Lena, in Siberia, a contrivance is used for towing vessels down a stream by means of the current and against the wind, which is an improvement on the Egyptian method described by Herodotus. Some hurdles fastened with a rope to the bow of the vessel, are loaded with stones till they sink to a depth unaffected by the wind, and where the current is more rapid than towards the surface. The vessel is thus towed by the force of the lower current.]

XCVII. 258. Ἔστι δὲ οὐκ οὗτος. *But that, however, is not, &c.* Those, says the historian, who, in the time of the overflow of the Nile, wish to travel from Naucratis to Memphis, pass by the Pyramids. The reason is obvious : at those times, the current of the canals being rapid, and it

¹ Servius ad Georgic. II. 119.

² Theophr. Hist. Plant. IV. iii. p. 303. ex edit. Bodæi van Stapel.

³ Plin. Hist. Nat. XIII. ix. vol. I. p. 688 ; et XXIV. xii. vol. II. p. 343.

⁴ Homeri Odyss. V. 248.

⁵ Eustath. ad Homeri Odyss. V. p. 203.

p. 1532, lin. 58.

⁶ Descr. de l'Arabie, par Niebuhr, p. 265.

⁷ Ammon. de Differentiâ Vocum, p. 29.

⁸ Æschyl. Pers. 553. Schol.

⁹ Champollion, L'Eg. s. l. Phar. II.

being impossible to tow the boats by horses, the navigation of them becomes impracticable. But when the waters have retired, the canal is easily ascended as far as the point of the Delta, and the town of Cercasorum. This is the navigation usually performed, that is to say, when the Nile keeps within its banks; the other is only resorted to at the time of the overflow.

259. Κερκάσωρον πόλιν. *The town of Cercasorum.* Herodotus describes in plain terms the situation of this town. "Egypt," he says¹, "stretching from the sea, extends towards the middle of the land, as far as the town of Cercasorum, where the Nile divides itself into two branches; one of which goes to Pelusium, and the other to Canopus." Again, he says², a little further on: "As far as Cercasorum, the Nile has but one channel; but below that town it separates into three branches." We gather from this description, that Cercasorum was a little above the point of the Delta, without however being able exactly to ascertain whether it was on the eastern bank towards Arabia, or on the western towards Libya. Strabo, however, does away this difficulty. "When you ascend the Nile," says he³, "that part of Egypt which lies on the right is called Libya; that on the left, Arabia: Cercasorum is in Libya."

260. Ἡ μὲν Ἀνθυλλα ἐοῦσα λογίμη πόλις. *Anthylla, which is a notable city.* This appears to be the same town as Gynæcopolis [now Selamún]; but I think M. D'Anville should not have placed it on the Canopic channel, since we learn from Herodotus, that when the Nile had overflowed, the road to it lay over the plain. The excellence of its wine, which even exceeded that of Marea⁴, afterwards gave it celebrity.

XCVIII. 261. Ἐς ὑποδήματα ἐξαίρετος δίδεται τοῦ αἰεὶ βασιλεύοντος Αἰγύπτου τῇ γυναικί. *Was selected to be given as shoe-money to the wife of the reigning king of Egypt.* Athenæus says that this revenue was assigned to the queens of Egypt and of Persia for their girdles. Athenæus meant to speak only of the queens of Persia, who were also queens of Egypt after the conquest of Cambyses.

262. Τοῦ Φθίου. *Of Phthia.* The Greek is equivocal. Gronovius translates 'Archander, son of Phthius, grandson of Achæus.' Pausanias, however, I think, secures us from the possibility of mistake. "Archander," says he⁵, "and Architeles, son of Achæus, went from Phthiotis to Argos. On their arrival, they became sons-in-law of Danaus, Architeles having married Automate and Archander Scæa." And this is the reason why Herodotus calls him 'Phthius,' which I have rendered 'of Phthia.'

¹ Herod. II. xv.

² Id. II. xvii.

³ Strabo, XVII. p. 1160, A, B.

⁴ Athen. Deipnos. I. xxv. p. 33, F.

⁵ Pausan. VII. i. p. 522, sub finem.

XCIX. 263. Ἀπογεφυρῶσαι καὶ τὴν Μέμφιν. *He embanked even the ground on which Memphis stands.* It appears to me that ἀπογεφυρῶσαι may very well signify to erect a bank or causeway, as γεφυρόω is sometimes taken in this sense⁶. Ὁ αὐτὸς Ἀθηναίοις ἀξιώσασιν, ἐκ τῶν Δράκοντος καὶ Σόλωνος νόμους ἐπισυνέταξεν, χειμάσας εἰς Ἀθήνας καὶ μνηθεὶς τὰ Ἐλευσίνια, καὶ γεφυρώσας Ἐλευσίνα κατακλυσθεῖσαν ὑπὸ Κηφισσοῦ ποταμοῦ. “The Athenians having requested laws of Adrian, he gave them a code compiled from those of Solon and of Draco. He passed the winter at Athens, initiated himself into the Eleusinian mysteries, and caused a bank or dike to be erected at Eleusis, which was inundated by the waters of the Cephissus.” The word ἀπογεφυρῶσαι has misled the learned and ingenious M. Goguet, who⁷ has made use of it to prove that Menes had constructed a bridge over a branch of the Nile.

“It is very extraordinary⁸,” says Dr. Pococke, “that the situation of Memphis should not be well known, which was so great and famous a city, and for so long a time the capital of Egypt; but as many of the best materials of it might be carried to Alexandria, and afterwards when such large cities were built near it as Cairo, and those about it, it is no wonder that all the materials should be carried away to places so near and so well frequented; and the city being in this manner levelled, and the Nile overflowing the old ruins, it may be easily accounted for, how every thing has been buried or covered over, as if no such place had ever been. There are two distances mentioned by Strabo⁹, in order to fix the situation of Memphis; he says it was about eleven miles from the Delta¹, and five from the height on which the pyramids were built, which appear to be the pyramids of Gize². Diodorus³ says, that it was fifteen miles from the pyramids; which seems to be a mistake. Strabo speaks also of Memphis as near Babylon; so that probably it was situated on the Nile, about the middle, between the pyramids of Gize and Sacara; so that I conjecture this city was about Mocanan and Metrahenny, which are in the road from Cairo to Faiume⁴, on the west side of the Nile, and rather nearer to the pyramids of Sacara than to those of Gize; for at Mocanan I saw some heaps of rubbish, but much greater about Metrahenny, and a great number of grottos cut in the opposite hills, on the east side of the river, which might be the sepulchres of the common people of Memphis, as those on the western hills

⁶ Euseb. in Chronico, p. 81, lin. 30.

⁷ De l'Origine des Loix, tom. I. p. 272.

⁸ Pococke's Description of the East, vol. I. p. 39.

⁹ Strabo, XVII. p. 1660, c; 1161, b.

¹ The text of Strabo says, 3 schoeni. Supposing the schoenus to be 40 stadia, and 8 stadia to make a mile, as was reckoned in the time of that author, that would make 15 miles; and Pliny reckons

as much. And what convinces me that this is an error of the press in Pococke is, that immediately afterwards he values the 40 stadia of Strabo at five miles.

² Strabo says 40 stadia, which at 8 stadia per mile, make five miles.

³ 120 stadia. See Diod. Sic. I. lxiii. p. 72.

⁴ Feïum in M. D'Anville. [Ph-ïom means, in Coptic, the water or sea.]

were probably for the most part the burial-places of their deities, their kings, their great people, and their descendants. I observed also a large bank to the south of Metrahenny, running towards Sacara, which may be the rampart mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, as a defence to the city⁵, not only against the overflowing of the Nile, but also against an enemy; and therefore must be different from that mentioned by Herodotus⁶, as twelve miles and a half south of Memphis, by which the course of the river was turned, and consequently at that distance could not well be said to be a defence to the city. Pliny is still more plain⁷, and says, that the pyramids were between Memphis and Delta, not four miles from the river, and six from Memphis; which fixes this city about the place I mention.

“There is another circumstance in the situation of this city, that there were large lakes to the north and west of it, both as a defence, and probably also to supply some part of the city with water; and I saw several such lakes to the north and west of Metrahenny. It is also very remarkable, that Menes, the first king of Egypt, according to Herodotus, turned the course of the Nile, which ran under the western hills, and made it pass in the middle between them and the eastern hills, and built the city where the river first run: it is not improbable that Calig Al-Heram, that is, the canal of the pyramids, and the western canal some miles beyond Metrahenny, over which there is a large bridge, and which at present runs under the hills, may, at least in some parts, be the ancient bed of the Nile; and from this account we have, the city of Memphis seems to have extended from the old canal to the new one, and some part of it to have reached as far as the hills; for the Serapium is mentioned in a very sandy place⁸, and consequently towards the hills where the Nile does not overflow, for I found the country sandy in some parts for near a mile from the hills. The palace of the kings also was on high ground, extending down to the lower parts of the city, where there were lakes and groves adjoining to it; and I saw near Sacara a sort of wood of the acacia-tree; this and Dendera being the only places in Egypt where I saw wood grow as without art: and it is possible this wood may be some remains of the ancient groves about Memphis. The city being, according to some authors, above eighteen miles round⁹, it might very well take up the whole space between the river and the hills, which I take not to be above four or five miles; but what fixes the situation of Memphis to this part is Pliny's account, who says that the pyramids were between Memphis and the Delta.”

⁵ Diod. Sic. I. l. vol. I. p. 60.

⁶ It appears to me that it is the same bank; the distance assigned by Herodotus induces me to lean towards the opinion of M. D'Anville. Yet, as this city was 150 stadia in circumference, one of its extremities might reach to Metra-

henny, and the other to the spot mentioned by M. D'Anville.

⁷ Hist. Nat. XXXVI. xii.

⁸ Strabo, XVII. p. 807, edit. Paris.

⁹ The circumference of this city was 150 stadia. See Diod. Sic. I. l. p. 60.

[The researches made by the learned men who accompanied the French expedition to Egypt, and by the numerous accomplished travellers who have since visited that country, have completely established the conjecture of Pococke. The villages of Monyet Rahíneh (vulgarly abridged into Miet Rahíneh), and Mokhanán are both comprised in the site of Memphis, the ruins of which are now traceable over a plain three leagues in extent. Among these remains of ancient greatness, are, as will be seen further on, some of the monuments mentioned by Herodotus.]

According to Plutarch¹, the name of Memphis signified *ὄρμος ἀγαθῶν*, or Station of the Good. He appears to have had in view the name Mannofré sometimes given to that city; the sacred name of which was Mam-Phthah², the abode of Phthah or Vulcan, whose temple, the *Ἡφαίστειον*, was there erected, as our author informs us, by Menes. The popular name Mefi or Memfi, whence the Greeks made Memphis, was probably a corruption of either of the foregoing³. Some of the principal monuments of Memphis were so far preserved in the 11th century, as to excite the special wonder of Abd-allatif⁴. Its site still bears the name of Mimf.]

264. *Τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον ῥέεθρον ἀποξηράναι. Dried up the ancient arm of the river.* If we are to believe M. Savary, "this channel is not unknown⁵; it is traced across the desert, and passes to the west of the lakes of Natron. Petrified wood, masts, sail-yards, and remains of ships which formerly navigated it, still serve to indicate its course. The Arabians give to this channel, now nearly filled up, the name of Bahr bela ma, the sea without water." M. Savary appears to me nearer the mark than M. D'Anville⁶.

[It is ridiculous to suppose that the Nile ever flowed through the valley called the Bahr bela ma, or Waterless River. The petrified trees found in various parts of the desert carry us back to the time of a great geological revolution. The masts and remains of ships existed only in the writer's imagination. If the Nile had flowed into that valley westward of the hills, there would have been no need of the embankment made by Menes, whose object was to gain from the river the plain at the eastern foot of the Libyan hills. On this point, Rennell⁷ sagaciously observes, 'It appears very clearly that the Nile in ancient times ran through the plain of Mummies, near Sakkara; and thence along the foot of the rising ground on which the pyramids of Gize stand; and, finally, in the line of the canal of Beheirah, into the bay of Abukier or Canopus.' The angle of the river where Menes began his embankment was that near which now stands the village of Dajúr.]

¹ Plut. de Is. et Osir. p. 417.

² Champoll. Gramm. Eg. pp. 153, 7.

³ Jablonski, Voc. Eg. p. 137. Wilkinson, Manners, &c. I. p. 175. Champol. l'Eg. sous les Phar. I. p. 363.

⁴ Encycl. Metrop. art. Egypt.

⁵ Lettres sur l'Egypte, &c. p. 12.

⁶ D'Anville, Mém. sur l'Egypte, p. 75.

⁷ Geogr. of Herod. p. 500.

265. Τῷ Μῆνι τούτῳ τῷ πρώτῳ γενομένῳ βασιλεῖ. *This Menes, who was the first king.* Diodorus Siculus agrees with Herodotus⁸, that Menes was the first king who reigned in Egypt; but they do not agree as to the name of the founder of Memphis. Herodotus says that it was Menes, and Diodorus that it was Uchoreus⁹, the eighth descendant from Osmandyas. It may be that Menes began to build Memphis, that that city in its origin may have been unimportant, and that it may have continued in a state of mediocrity until the reign of Uchoreus, who may have enlarged it, and made a royal city of it, which may have obtained for him the title of founder of the city¹.

[On one of the walls of the Ramsesseion, or temple of Ramses at Thebes, is represented a procession of priests carrying the statues of the ancient kings: the leader in the procession bears a statue on which is the name Mnei. The name Menes or Μίνης (the Mineus of Josephus²) is interpreted by Eratosthenes³ to mean Διόνιος; now, as this title is derived from Διὸς, so Mnei evidently comes from Amn or Ammon⁴. According to Herodotus, the reign of Menes must have commenced above 12,000 years before the Christian era, and consequently more than 8000 years before the creation of the world, according to the chronological system commonly received. Larcher confesses⁵ his inability to reduce the Greek historian into an accordance with the Mosaic chronology, with which the statements of Diodorus Siculus⁶ are also irreconcilable. The difficulties connected with the chronology of ancient Egypt shall be fully considered further on.]

C. 266. Ἐν τοσαύτῃσι γενεῇσι ἀνθρώπων. *In so many generations of men.* It is clear that Herodotus does not here mean generations properly so called, but merely successions.

[This is erroneous. Larcher entered more perfectly into the views of his author, when, in his volume of Chronology⁷, he wrote as follows: "Did these princes succeed from father to son, or did the crown pass to collateral branches, or into new families? This question is decided by Herodotus in cxlii. When, in this paragraph, he estimates the 341 generations at 11,340 years, he gives us clearly to understand that he speaks of generations, and not of successions.]

267. Ὀκτωκαίδεκα Αἰθίοπες. *Eighteen Ethiopians.* This circumstance of the eighteen Ethiopian kings appears to prove, that the throne of Egypt was not always hereditary. And what seems to confirm this

⁸ Diod. Sic. I. xlv. vol. I. p. 54.

⁹ Ibid. p. 60.

¹ Eusebius, (Canon, p. 26.) Syncellus, p. 152. and the Scholiast of Statius, Thebaid, IV. 737, p. 458, attributed the foundation of this city to Epaphus; and the same Syncellus, p. 148, to Apis, son of Phoroneus.

² Antiq. Jud. VIII. vi. § ii.

³ Syncellus, p. 91.

⁴ Rosellini, Monumenti Istorici, I. p. 123.

⁵ Traduction d'Hérodote, tom. VII. p. 83.

⁶ Diod. Sic. I. xlv.

⁷ Traduction d'Hérodote, tom. VII. p. 83.

is, that several authors worthy of credit, and who had made curious researches as to this country, inform us that the king was elected. Synesius even gives an account of the formalities observed on the occasion⁸.

But if we admit that a sort of elective ceremony took place, might it not resemble that which occurs on the inauguration of our monarchs? We know that the prelate who officiates at the coronation, asks the people, whether they will have such a one for king; but it would be a very false conclusion to draw from this circumstance, that the crown is now, or ever was, elective in France. [Let it be observed, that conquest as well as election might interrupt the course of hereditary succession.]

268. Νίτωκρις. *Nitocris*. In this name some traces of that of Minerva may be perceived, who, according to Plato⁹, was called by the Egyptians, Neith. Eratosthenes¹ interprets Nitocris, Minerva Victorious. [And such is, in fact, the meaning of Neitōkr, as the name is read on the monuments².]

269. Ἐς οἶκημα σποδοῦ πλέον. *In a chamber filled with cinders*. Was this with the intention of suffocating herself, that she might escape from the vengeance of the Egyptians, who would perhaps have put her to death in some more cruel manner? Or did she only wish to conceal herself?

This difficulty appears to be done away by a variation suggested by an anonymous author, who, speaking of Nitocris, thus expresses himself: ἐαυτὴν δὲ εἰς οἶκημά τι, σποδοῦ πλήρης, ἐνέβαλεν. If this reading be preferred, we shall then have, 'she rushed into her apartment covered over with ashes, for the purpose of escaping from the vengeance of the people.' So humiliating a situation for a queen might well calm the rage of the people, and even affect them. [The obvious sense of the passage is, that she destroyed herself to escape the vengeance of the people. Suffocation by hot ashes was a common mode of punishment in the east³.]

CI. 270. [Πλὴν ἐνὸς τοῦ ἐσχάτου αὐτῶν Μοίριος. *Except Mœris alone, who was the last of them*. Of these 330 kings who succeeded Menes, not one, says our author, did any thing remarkable, except Mœris, who was the last of the 330. Herodotus undoubtedly misunderstood and perverted the information received by him; and conceiving Mœris to have lived 900 years before his own time, (see above II. xiii.) he transported into this period whatever was most remarkable in the Egyptian records, so as to constitute it, as it were, the period of history⁴.

Mœris (the Mê-re or Me-ph-re of the monuments, whose name is

⁸ Synes. de Provid. p. 94.

⁹ Plato, in Timæo, vol. III. p. 21.

¹ Eusebius, Chron. p. 21.

² Champol. Gram. Eg. p. 136. Ja-

blonski, Voc. Eg. 162.

³ See Ctesias, xlvi. li. lii.—2 Maccabees, XIII. 5—8.

⁴ Syncellus, p. 96.

justly translated by Eratosthenes into Ἡλιόδωρος) is the same as the Thutmes IV. of the 18th dynasty of Manetho⁵. His age is variously assigned to the middle of the 15th or 16th century before our era. A statue of Mœris, wanting the head, but having the name (Thutmes) and surname (Mêre) inscribed on it, was discovered in Nubia by the Tuscan expedition, and is now in the museum of Florence.]

CII. 271. Σέσωστρις. *Sesostris*. "This prince lived somewhat less than a century before the siege of Troy, and was nearly contemporary with Hercules, the son of Alcmena. He ascended the throne after the 330 kings previously mentioned, and of whom Mœris was the last. This Mœris had been dead about 900 years⁶, when Herodotus visited Egypt. From the siege of Troy to the time of Herodotus⁷, was about 800 years; and from the time of Hercules to that of the same historian, about 900." WESSELING.

Diodorus Siculus⁸ makes this prince posterior to Mœris by seven generations; but Herodotus, who was considerably antecedent to that historian, and who made the most laborious researches, especially concerning Egypt, is more worthy of credit than Diodorus, who frequently only compiles from the accounts of those who preceded him.

Tacitus⁹ calls him Rhamses. Scaliger¹ remarks that he had two other names, Ramesses and Ægyptus; but he relies entirely on the authority of Manethon, which is good for nothing. He is called Ramestis on an obelisk, of which we find a description in Ammianus Marcellinus², Ramesses and Rampses by Josephus, Sesoôsis and Sesonchis in Diodorus Siculus, and Sesosis in some MSS. of Pliny. (XXXVI. xi.)

In my Chronological Canon, I have placed him in the year 3358 of the Julian period, 1356 before the common era, that is to say, 88 years before the taking of Troy.

[Herodotus does not say that Sesostris was the immediate successor of Mœris. It seems to be now established that the Sesostris of Herodotus is no other than the Sesoôsis of Diodorus, and that he is the same as Ramses III. with whom the 18th dynasty ended, according to Rosellini, in the year 1474 B.C.³ The great length of his reign is proved by a stele in a private collection in Leghorn, whereon is recorded a death which took place in the 62nd year of Ramses III.⁴ The sculptured monuments of Egypt and Nubia are covered with the achievements of this great king. At Thebes especially, in the ruins of Karnac and Medinat Abu, the victories recorded on the walls are chiefly his⁵.

⁵ Champollion, Lettre au Duc de Blacas, &c. p. 79; Rosellini, Mon. Ist., &c. I. p. 232. and III. p. 169, &c.

⁶ Herod. II. xiii.

⁷ Id. ibid. cxlv.

⁸ Diod. Sic. I. liii. vol. I. p. 62.

⁹ Tacit. Annal. II. lx.

¹ Ad Eusebii Chronic. a. 534.

² Amm. Marcell. XVII. iv. p. 126.

³ Rosellini, Mon. Ist. I. 256.

⁴ Id. ibid. p. 265.

⁵ Descr. de l'Égypte, II. p. 60.

272. Πλοίοισι μακροῖσι. *With long vessels.* Four hundred in number, as Diodorus Siculus relates⁶, who adds, that Sesostris was the first king of Egypt who had long vessels built. This prince was not present in person in this expedition: he contented himself with sending a fleet, which took possession of the islands in the Red Sea, and which subdued that part of the continent bordering on the sea as far as India.

273. Πᾶν ἔθνος τὸ ἐμποδὼν καταστρεφόμενος. *Subverting every nation in his way.* Diodorus Siculus⁷ is more precise: "Sesostris," says that historian, "having departed in person with a land force, subjugated all Asia. He invaded not only the countries of which Alexander afterwards took possession, but others into which the Macedonian prince never penetrated. He even passed the Ganges, and overran the whole of India to the ocean, and the country of the Scythians as far as the Tanais, which separates Europe from Asia. It is said that it was on this occasion that certain Egyptians, left on the border of the Palus Mæotis, founded the nation of the Colchi."

274. Αἰδοῖα γυναικὸς προσενέγραφε. *He added to the inscription the distinguishing mark of the female sex.* Diodorus says⁸, that in those countries where the people had bravely defended themselves, he engraved upon the columns the male organ of generation.

[In those barbarous times, when the bodies of those slain in battle were mutilated in order to obtain a trophy⁹ (as is now done in Abyssinia), the same trophy would naturally be sculptured on monuments commemorating victories. The substitution of the female for the male organ added insult to triumph.]

CIII. 275. Τούς τε Σκύθας κατεστρέψατο καὶ τοὺς Θρήικας. *He overthrew the Scythians and the Thracians.* According to another tradition, handed down by Valerius Flaccus, the Getæ, the bravest and the most just of the Thracians¹⁰, beat Sesostris; and it was, no doubt, for the purpose of covering his retreat that this prince left part of his troops in Colchis:

Cunabula gentis¹

Colchidos hic ortusque tuens: ut prima Sesostris

Intulerit rex bella Getis; ut clade suorum

Territus, hos Thebas, patriumque reducat ad amnem,

Phasidis hos imponat agris, Colchosque vocari

Imperet.

276. Εἴτε ἀποδασάμενος τῆς ἐωυτοῦ στρατιῆς μέρος. *Whether having detached a portion of his army.* Pliny affirms², on what authority I know not, that Sesostris was defeated by the Colchians:

⁶ Diod. Sic. I. lv. vol. I. p. 64.

⁷ Id. ibid.

⁸ Id. ibid. p. 65.

⁹ 1 Sam. XVIII. 25; 2 Sam. III. 14. p. 614. lin. 5.

¹⁰ Herod. IV. xciii.

¹ Valerius Flaccus, Argonaut. V. 418.

² Plin. Hist. Nat. XXXIII. iii. vol. II.

“Jam regnauerat in Colchis Salauces et Esubopes, qui terram virginem nactus, plurimum argenti aurique eruisse dicitur in Suanorum gente, et alioqui velleribus aureis inclyto regno. Sed et illius aureæ cameræ, argenteæ trabes narrantur, et columnæ, atque parastaticæ, victo Sesostre, Ægypti Rege, tam superbo, ut prodatur annis quibusque sorte reges singulos e subjectis jungere ad currum solitus, atque ita triumphare.”

CIV. 277. Μελάγχροές εἰσι καὶ οὐλότριχες. *They have black skins and crisped hair.* This passage is so positive, that I cannot conceive why Mr. Browne should explain it by ‘a tint somewhat deeper than that of the Greeks³.’ The epithet ‘atrati,’ given by Ammianus Marcellinus, favours my explanation, rather than that of Mr. Browne: but this epithet is not the only one; I give the entire passage⁴: “Homines autem Ægyptii plerique subfusci sunt et atrati.” ‘The greater part of the Egyptians are of a deep colour bordering on black.’ This writer speaks of the Egyptians of his own time. He lived about 800 years after Herodotus. Egypt, subject in the time of our historian to the Persians, became afterwards so to the Greeks and to the Romans. The mixture of these various nations had changed the natural colour of the people. They were no longer absolutely black, but ‘subfusci,’ bordering on it. Mr. Browne endeavours to support his opinion by the colour of the mummies; but he should prove that the mummies were of an age anterior to Herodotus, or at least prior to the time when this mixture of the Egyptians with their conquerors had affected their complexion. The portion of a mummy, preserved in the cabinet of Ste. Gèneviève, authorizes me to suggest this question. It consists of the foot, the leg, and half the thigh of an infant of two or three years old; the surface is quite black, and so smooth, that it may be compared to a fine Chinese varnish. This mummy decides the question.

Moreover, Herodotus, speaking of the dove which came from Egypt into the country of the Dodonæi, and which, in fact, was a woman, adds⁵: When the Dodonæi tell us that the dove was black, they give us to understand that the woman was Egyptian.

[The paintings and sculptured figures preserved on the monuments of Egypt, together with a careful study of the mummies, prove completely that the Egyptians were not negroes. They had regular features and a swarthy red complexion like the Nubians of the present day⁶. It is probable, however, that blacks were always numerous in Egypt in the servile classes, and that the Greeks being acquainted with the negro race chiefly through Egypt, were prone to suppose that whatever dark-coloured nations they met with, had issued from that country.

The blackness of the mummies referred to by Larcher, and their

³ A new Journey into Upper and Lower Egypt, vol. I. p. 242.

⁴ Amm. Marcell. XXII. xvi. p. 268.

⁵ Herod. II. lvii.

⁶ Prichard's Researches, I. p. 363.

shining surface, are attributable to the pitch or resinous matter with which they were covered.]

278. Μοῦνοι πάντων ἀνθρώπων Κόλχοι, καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Αἰθίοπες περιτάμνονται ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τὰ αἰδοῖα. *The Colchians, Egyptians, and Ethiopians are the only people with whom the practice of circumcision is original.* I recollect to have read somewhere, and I think it was in some of the Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions, that the Colchi were a remnant of the ten tribes of Israel, transported into that country by Salmanasar. But it appears to me, that this notion of the emigration of the ten tribes is very remote from the truth. 1. In the war supposed to have caused it, a vast multitude perished. 2. The principal inhabitants only, and those whose influence would be likely to excite tumults, were removed to distant provinces; the people were left to cultivate the soil. 3. The former were transported to Media, Assyria, and Mesopotamia⁷. How then came a colony of Israelites in Colchis? If indeed they ever were in that country, the probability is, that they would have abandoned it when Cyrus permitted the Jews to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem. The edict of this prince was as much directed to the Israelites as to the tribes of Judah. But what sets this question entirely at rest is, that the Colchi were black, and had woolly hair, as Herodotus tells us. St. Jerome and Sophronius, cited by Bochart⁸, call Colchis the second Ethiopia; and Sophronius, in his life of St. Andrew, informs us, that towards the mouth of the Apsarus, and on the banks of the Phasis, there were Ethiopians: now the Hebrews bore not the slightest resemblance to these people.

Herodotus is not the only author who maintains this opinion. Pindar⁹ had before him named these people Κελαινῶπεις, that is, 'with black faces.' On which the Scholiast remarks, (p. 237, col. 2.) that being originally from Egypt, they were black, μελανόχροες. Apollonius Rhodius also says, "From Egypt¹ came forth one who, trusting to the courage and number of his troops, overran the whole of Europe and Asia. He founded in those countries a great number of towns, some of which are still inhabited, and others are not; for many centuries have elapsed since that time. Æa still remains; its inhabitants are the descendants of those who originally established it." The Scholiast of Apollonius informs us, that the conqueror mentioned in these verses is Sesonchis, that is to say, Sesostris²; that he founded the city of Æa, and that the Colchi are a colony of Egyptians.

But if, on the one hand, this people preserved the practice of circumcision; on the other, they lost that of embalming. The difficulty of procuring the necessary aromatics may have been the cause of this. Their vicinity to the Scythians induced them afterwards to adopt the

⁷ 2 Kings, XVII. 6, & XVIII. 11.

⁸ Bochart, Geogr. Sacr. IV. xxxi. etc. p. 286.

⁹ Pindar, Pyth. IV. 377.

¹ Apollon. Rhodii Argonaut. IV. 272,

² Diodorus Siculus gives him the same name, I. liii. vol. I. p. 62.

practice of sewing up their dead bodies in skins, suspending them to a tree³, and thus suffering them to decay.

The author of the Argonautics says also, that the Colchi are not permitted to burn their dead bodies, nor to cover them with earth; but that they put them in untanned neats' hides, which they hang upon trees at a considerable distance from the city⁴. They borrowed this custom from the Scythians.

[Herodotus says, that the Colchians resembled the Egyptians in language also. This would seem to be conclusive; but as to the surmise that the Colchians were derived from the Egyptians because they were equally swarthy with them, it is of no weight, however repeated by authors. Yet the statement of Herodotus respecting the Colchian language is open to suspicion. The name *Æa* is not Egyptian, but rather a Pelasgian name.]

279. Φοίνικες δὲ καὶ Σύροι οἱ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ. *The Phœnicians, and the Syrians of Palestine.* A passage in Josephus has led Marsham to identify Sesac and Sesostris as one. However, what Josephus says, in this as well as in other passages⁵, is very equivocal. It is certain that the Jews were not the only people in the east who practised circumcision; the Ammonites, as well as the Arabs who inhabited Azotus and the other maritime towns of Palestine, had the same custom.

Bruce flatly contradicts the assertion of Herodotus⁶. 'It would be the grossest absurdity,' says he, 'to send Samson to bring, as tokens of his victory, so many foreskins or prepuces of the Philistines, if, as Herodotus says, the Philistines had been in the habit of cutting off their prepuces a thousand years before.' Now, there are only 157 years between the death of Sesostris and the time when Samson flourished. [The exploit in question⁷ was performed, not by Samson, but by David, who lived about half a century later.]

And, besides, Herodotus does not fix the time when this custom was introduced amongst the Phœnicians; perhaps he means only in his own days, or a short time previous to them. Mr. Bruce, in substituting the Philistines for the Phœnicians, in his quotation from Herodotus, gives us room to suspect that he believed them to be one and the same people; but he might have learned the contrary from Herodotus: "From Phœnicia⁸," says this historian, "the same peninsula extends along the Mediterranean by the Syria of Palestine and Egypt, where it terminates."

[Herodotus adds, that the Phœnicians and Syrians of Palestine acknowledged to have received the rite of circumcision from the Egyptians. By the Syrians of Palestine, Σύροι οἱ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ, he

³ Ælian. Var. Hist. IV. i. pp. 330, 331.

⁴ Apollon. Rhod. Argonaut. III. 204.

⁵ Joseph. Antiq. Jud. VIII. x. § iii. —Idem, contra Apion. I. xxii. p. 453.

⁶ Travels, &c. book V. xii.

⁷ 1 Sam. XVIII. 25-27; 2 Sam. III.

⁸ Herod. IV. xxxix.

means the Jews⁹, whom he does not appear to have recognised as an independent people.

Let it be observed that Σύροι is the name of the Syrians; Σύριοι of the Cappadocians or Leucosyri¹. The river Parthenius separating Bithynia from Paphlagonia is now called Parthin by the Greeks; by the Turks, Dolap. The ancient Thermodon is the Perme of the present day.]

280. Ἀρχαῖον γὰρ δὴ τι φαίνεται εἶν. *It would seem, in truth, to be a primitive custom.* The original signifies a custom which may be referred to the origin of a nation, or which has been established from the beginning. 'Institutum ab ipsa prima gentis origine susceptum.'

281. Ὀκότεροι παρὰ τῶν ἑτέρων ἐξέμαθον. *Which of them learned from the others.* It is very probable that Upper Egypt was peopled by the Ethiopians, and that the Egyptian customs bore a considerable affinity to those of Ethiopia. It is, therefore, equally probable, that circumcision originated with the Ethiopians, who were perhaps constrained to it by a regard for health. The ingenious author of the Philosophical Researches as to the Americans thinks, that both the Egyptians and the Abyssinians were obliged to circumcise², to protect themselves from a certain worm, which they would otherwise have been liable to in those climates.

[Bruce observes³, with his usual boldness and with justice at the same time: 'As so many nations contiguous to Egypt never received circumcision from it, it seems an invincible argument, that this was no endemial rite or custom among the Egyptians, and I have before observed, that it was of no use to this nation; as the reasons mentioned by Philo and the rest, of cleanliness and climate, are absolute dreams and now exploded.']

CV. 282. Λίνον μόνον οὗτοί τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐργάζονται κατὰ τὰ αὐτά. *They (the Colchians) alone make linen in the same manner as the Egyptians.* The Egyptians then had a peculiar method of manufacturing linen. Herodotus has before said (xxxv.) that in making cloth other nations worked the woof upwards, but that the Egyptians worked it downwards. It is probably to this mode that he now alludes.

283. Λῖνον δὲ τὸ μὲν Κολχικόν, ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Σαρδονικὸν κέκληται. *The Colchian linen is called by the Greeks, Sardonic.* The linen of Colchis, then, passed into Sardinia, and thence into Greece. This appears rather a roundabout way; but I can find no other reason for this appellation. Why was this kind of linen first taken to Sardinia? No author says any thing on the subject; which appears to me very extraordinary. I am inclined to think that there must be an error in the text, and that we must read Σαρδιανικὸν instead of Σαρδονικόν, 'linen

⁹ See Deuteron. XXVI. 5; Herod. III. v.

¹ Strabo, XVI. p. 1046.

² Recherches Philosophiques sur les Américains, tom. II.

³ Travels, &c. vol. V. p. 31.

of Sardis.' That city would be a convenient mart for this kind of merchandise. Linen was probably manufactured, or at least dyed, there: the dyes of Sardis were famous. We find in Hesychius⁴ Βάμμα Σαρδικαϊκόν, on which the reader may consult the various commentators. The linen of Sardis had also a high reputation, and was doubtless the same that was originally exported from Colchis. Pollux says⁵, that the linen of which fillets for the hair were made, must be of Egypt, or of Colchis, or of Carthage, or of Sardis. I must remark, however, that he immediately adds, that the Greeks give the name of Sardinian linen to that which comes from Colchis. But this error may be of very ancient date, and may have been in the copy of Herodotus used by Pollux.

Colchis formerly produced abundance of linen; and the prince of Mingrelia⁶, which forms part of the ancient Colchis, still pays to the Turks an annual tribute of 60,000 yards of linen made in the country.

[Ritter maintains, in a volume⁷ filled with theories founded on futile etymologies, that λίνον Σαρδονικόν is the same thing as Σινδών, which is derived from Sind, which is India; and that the Colchians were Indians. This is poor reasoning, but not worse than that manifested in the supposition that the linen of Colchis was called Sardonic because it was carried through Sardinia or through Sardes. No safe deductions can be made from mere resemblance of names. How ridiculous it would be to suggest that musk was so called because it was carried through Moscow? The names of manufactured articles are generally derived from the languages of the people who make or export them; thus we have the word *tuch* from the Germans; *twill* from the Arabs; *calico* and *gauze* from India. In like manner the word Sardonic was probably a Greek modification of a Colchian term.]

CVI. 284. 'Εν δὲ τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Συρίῃ αὐτὸς ὄρεον. *I have myself seen them, however, in the Syria of Palestine.* Had the country where Herodotus saw these pillars ever belonged to David or to Solomon, there is no doubt that those princes would have destroyed them, and consequently our historian could not have seen them. There is every appearance that in the time of Herodotus a country much more extensive was comprehended under the name of Palestine, than that which in the time of David and Solomon was understood by the same name; and that Herodotus here speaks of a country which had never owned the government of those princes. There is no reason why we should not suppose these pillars to have been in the territory of Ascalon, the attachment of which to paganism is on record. Now we learn from Herodotus, (I. cv.) that that town was in Palestine; and we find (III. v.) that the country from Jenyssus to Lake Serbonis was in

⁴ Hesych. voc. Βάμμα.

⁵ Jul. Poll. Onomast. V. iv. § xxvi. p. 487.

⁶ Voyage de Chardin, tom. I. p. 115.

⁷ Vorhalle Europ. Völkergesch. p. 48.

the Syria of Palestine. I greatly doubt whether this country ever belonged to David. But even had it formed part of his dominions, as it was a mere desert, a monument erected there by Sesostris might very well have escaped the vigilance of that religious prince.

[It is said that a sculptured representation of Rameses II. has been discovered on a rock near the mouth of the Nahr el Kelb (anciently the Lycus), a few miles N.E. of Beyrút. The Sesostris of Herodotus represents more than one historic personage⁸.]

285. [Μέγαθος πέμπτης σπιθαμῆς. *Four cubits and a half in size.* The expression 'the fifth span' differs widely in meaning from 'five spans.' The σπιθαμή or span being half a cubit, the fifth span is equal to four cubits and a half. Larcher errs, therefore, in this instance, along with all the preceding translators of Herodotus, in giving to the image of Sesostris the height of only five spans or palms⁹.]

286. Ὡμοῖσι τοῖσι ἐμοῖσι. *By the strength of my arm.* There appears to me no reason for reading with Diodorus¹, ὄπλοισι τοῖσι ἐμοῖσι. The following verse of Claudian² appears to be a translation from Herodotus:

Ast ego, quæ terras humeris pontumque subegi.

CVII. 287. Τὸν ἀδελφεὸν ἑωυτοῦ. *His brother.* He was called Armais, if we may believe what Manetho says³, who adds, that he is the same prince that the Greeks called Danaus.

[Larcher, in his Essay on the Chronology of Herodotus⁴, rejects the statement of Manetho, because he thinks that the emigration of Danaus to Greece took place two centuries before the time of Sesostris. Rosellini⁵, on the other hand, places that emigration under the successor of Ramses III. However obscure and doubtful Egyptian chronology may be, it is certain that Herodotus errs in it to an extent which can be accounted for only by supposing that he dealt arbitrarily with materials of Egyptian history for the sake of giving it a popular form.]

288. [Ἐν Δάφνησι τῇσι Πελουσίησι. *In the Pelusian Daphnæ.* This place was situate on the western bank of the Pelusiac arm of the Nile, about sixteen miles (according to the Itinerary of Antoninus) from Pelusium. It was probably at the southern extremity of the fortified lines fronting the eastern desert, and commencing at Pelusium; hence it was called the Pelusian Daphnæ⁶. Its site now bears the Arab name of Tel Dafnieh.]

289. Τοὺς δύο ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὴν ἐκτείναντα. *Killing two of them upon the blazing pile.* The account of Herodotus appears fabulous; the

⁸ This fact is here stated on the authority of Mr. Kenrick, (*The Egypt of Herodotus*, 1841, p. 137.) though the source of his information (if his reference be correct) is liable to suspicion.

⁹ See above, I. I. note 86, and Schweighäuser's note on this passage.

¹ Diod. Sic. I. lv.

² Claudian. Bell. Gildon. 114.

³ Josephus contra Apion. I. xv. vol. II. p. 447.

⁴ Trad. d'Hérod. tom. VII. p. 322.

⁵ Mon. Istor. tom. I. p. 301.

⁶ Mannert's Geographie, I. p. 492.

story is told by Diodorus in a much more natural manner. "Sesostris," says he⁷, "returning into Egypt after his grand expedition, stopped near Pelusium: whilst he was there, his brother laid snares for him at a repast to which he had invited him with his wife and children. When they had fallen asleep, he (the king's brother) placed, during the night, round the king's tent, a large quantity of dried reeds, which he had long had ready, and set fire to them. The flame suddenly appearing, the king's guards, who were overcome by wine, gave him but little assistance. The prince, raising his hands to Heaven, and making supplications to the gods for his own safety and that of his wife and children, succeeded in getting through the flames. Having escaped, contrary to all reasonable hope, he made to the gods the offerings mentioned above, and especially to Vulcan (Phthah), as if to him he owed his safety."

CVIII. 290. Ἐποιεῦν τε οὐκ ἐκόντες Αἴγυπτον . . . ἐνδεᾶ τούτων. *They involuntarily rendered Egypt unfit for these* (horses and chariots). According to M. Chassebœuf-Volney⁸, Sesostris was anterior to Moses. This prince, according to Herodotus, caused Egypt to be intersected with canals and ditches, so that it was impossible to travel in chariots. Thus M. Chassebœuf contradicts the Scriptures, which state, that Pharaoh pursued the Israelites with 600 chariots⁹.

But, unfortunately for M. Chassebœuf, his first position is false. The passage of the Red Sea was anterior by 175 years to the reign of Sesostris; that passage having taken place in the year 3183 of the Julian period, 1531 years before our era; and Sesostris having ascended the throne in the year 3358 of the Julian period, 1356 years before our era.

[Larcher built too confidently on the statements of Herodotus. Had he known how much is revealed by the monuments of Egypt, he would perhaps have hesitated to fix the age of Sesostris later than that of Moses. The pursuit of the Israelites was not *through* Egypt, but *from* Egypt, and could not therefore have been hindered by the canals.]

291. Πλατυτέροισι ἐχρέοντο τοῖσι πόμασι. *They used rather brackish water.* Hesychius¹ explains πλατὺ ὕδωρ by τὸ ἀλμυρόν. Plutarch likewise states², that the waters of the springs and the wells in Egypt were salt and bitter. Without these authorities, I should have thought that it had been merely that kind of water distinguished by the term hard, or water without flavour, but containing a neutral salt. The argument drawn from this quality of the water is very reasonable, and holds good to this day. Dr. Pococke remarks³, that throughout Egypt there are wells of brackish water. But this was not the only reason that induced Sesostris to cut the canals.

⁷ Diod. Sic. I. lvii. vol. I. p. 67.

⁸ Voyage en Syrie et en Egypte, tom. I. p. 41, note.

⁹ Exod. XIV. 7.

¹ Under the word πλατὺ.

² Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 367, B.

³ Pococke's Description, vol. I. p. 198.

Diodorus Siculus reports two others⁴: "Sesostris," says he, "cut throughout the country, from Memphis to the sea, a great number of canals running into the river, so that the Egyptians might transport their merchandise in an easy and convenient manner, to facilitate the internal commerce, and produce a greater abundance of all kinds of necessaries. But his principal reason was, to fortify the country against the incursions of an enemy by rendering the access difficult."

These two reasons appear very probable ones. At a time when the Egyptians, so far from carrying on commerce with strangers, abhorred them, Sesostris, like a wise prince, took measures for facilitating interior commerce, which afterwards led the way to foreign trade. The latter commenced in the time of Psammetichus, who favoured the Greeks; but it did not become extensive till after the foundation of Alexandria, and under the Ptolemies.

CIX. 292. Δοκέει δέ μοι ἐνθεῦτεν γεωμετρίη εὐρεθεῖσα. *This system, it appears to me, gave rise to the invention of geometry.* "Inventa⁵ enim hæc ars est, tempore quo Nilus, plus æquo crescens, confudit terminos possessionum, ad quos innovandos adhibiti sunt Philosophi, qui lineis diviserunt agros: inde geometrica dicitur."

Anticlides relates⁶, however, in the 2nd book of his life of Alexander the Great, that it was Mœris who invented the elements of this science, and that Pythagoras brought them to perfection. Plato⁷ refers the invention of it to a more distant period, and attributes it to Thoth, the Mercury of the Egyptians. This god also invented numbers, calculation, and astronomy. Iamblichus also refers the custom⁸ of measuring the land in Egypt to the time in which the reign of the gods is fixed, that is, in the most remote ages. We hear of admeasurement and division of the lands in this country before the arrival of Joseph⁹. Each person then had his own allotment. Sesostris was undoubtedly the first who regulated the taxes by the survey of the lands; but that circumstance of itself proves that the admeasurement was known before his time. St. Clement of Alexandria¹ also attributes the invention of this science to the Egyptians, but without determining the epoch.

293. Ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπανελθεῖν. *Which passed from that country into Greece.* Pamphyla² observes that Thales of Miletus learned geometry from the Egyptians, and brought the knowledge of it into Greece. "Thales Milesius³ ex septem illis sapientia memoratis viris facile præcipuus. Fuit enim geometricæ penes Graios primus repertor."

294. Πόλον, καὶ γνώμονα. *Of the pole, of the sun-dial, &c.* Wes-seling understands by πόλον a sun-dial; and he refers to a passage

⁴ Diod. Sic. I. lvii. vol. I. pp. 66, 67.

⁵ Servius ad Eclog. Virgil. III. 41.

⁶ Diog. Laërt. VIII. xi. vol. I. p. 497.

⁷ Plato in Phædro, vol. III. p. 274, c.

⁸ Vit. Pythagor. XXIX. p. 134.

⁹ Genesis, XLVII. 20.

¹ Clem. Alex. Strom. I. p. 361.

² Diog. Laërt. I. xxiv. vol. I. p. 16.

³ Apuleii Florida, p. 816.

of Julius Pollux⁴, who says, that what was called a clock, might also be called a pole. Τὸ δὲ καλούμενον ὠρολόγιον, ἤπου πόλον ἂν τις εἴποι.

I am sorry that I cannot coincide in opinion with so able a man. If πόλος means a sun-dial, what are we to understand by γνώμων? Can we conceive a sun-dial without either style or index? Herodotus very properly mentions the pole on this occasion, because he who would make a sun-dial ought to know the elevation of the pole, that he may place the style parallel to the axis of the globe.

This invention was then recent in Greece, since Suidas and Diogenes Laërtius⁵ attribute it to Anaximander, either as the inventor or the importer of it from the Babylonians. Now Anaximander was born, according to the same author, in the third year of the 42nd Olympiad.

[The πόλος was, properly speaking, the circle described in the heavens by a celestial body⁶. The expression διεξέρχεσθαι τὸν πόλον signified to complete the orbit or the circle of the heavens⁷. The artificial πόλος, here spoken of, was a concave dial on which the shadow was received and its course traced.]

295. Τὰ δώδεκα μέρη τῆς ἡμέρας. *The division of the day into twelve parts.* It appears from this passage, that in the time of Herodotus the day was divided into twelve parts. But we cannot thence conclude, that these twelve parts were denominated hours, as Leo Allatius and M. Wesseling believe. The time when the twenty-four parts of the day began to be distinguished by hours is not known; but it is certain that it was not very remote; and the passages quoted from Anacreon and Xenophon, to prove the contrary, are not to be understood as applying to what we call 'hours.'

1. In Anacreon, μεσονυκτίοις ποθ' ὥραις, Ode ιιι. signifies only the middle of the night, without reference to any particular hour. Νυκτὸς ἀμολγῶ in Homer, which signifies an advanced hour of the night, is explained by the Scholiast⁸, ἡ τοῦ μεσονυκτίου ὥρα, which is the expression of Anacreon.

2. The passage of Xenophon is not more decisive⁹: 'Ο μὲν ἥλιος φωτεινὸς ὦν τὰς τε ὥρας τῆς ἡμέρας ἡμῖν καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα σαφηνίζει, "the sun shows us by its light both the time of the day," &c. This is the true meaning, as the sequel sufficiently proves. 'Η δὲ νύξ, διὰ τὸ σκοτεινὴ εἶναι, ἀσαφεστέρα ἐστίν, ἄστρα ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ἀνέφηναν, ἃ ἡμῖν τὰς ὥρας τῆς νυκτὸς ἐμφανίζει. "The darkness rendering it impossible to see in the night, they have made the stars appear, which show us the time of the night." The expression is the same as in the former part of the paragraph. If the first is to be understood of the hours

⁴ Onomast. IX. v. § xlv. vol. II. 817, p. 739.
p. 1009.

⁵ Diog. Laërt. in Anaximandro, II. § ii.
p. 79.

⁶ Letronne, in the Journ. des Savans, § iv. pp. 225, 226.

⁷ Achill. Tat. Isag. in Arat. xviii.

⁸ Ad Homeri Odyss. IV. 841.

⁹ Xenoph. Memorab. Socrat. IV. iii.

indicated by a sun-dial, the latter should apply to a moon-dial: now it is known, that this latter instrument is of quite modern invention. That division of the day which has since been called an hour, was then termed *σημεῖον, στοιχεῖον*¹.

CX. 296. Βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ οὗτος μοῦνος Αἰγύπτιος, Αἰθιοπίης ἤρξε. *Sesostris is the only king of Egypt who ruled Ethiopia.* “Sesostris² having assembled his forces, marched against the first Ethiopians, I mean those who inhabit the south; and having conquered them, he obliged them to pay him tribute, in ebony, in gold, and in elephants’ teeth.”

[The banks of the Nile in Nubia are covered with the monuments of Amenoph III., the eighth king of the dynasty of which Ramses III. (Sesostris) was the fourteenth. One of the granite lions brought from Jebel Barkel, above Dongola, and now in the British Museum, is a monument of Amenoph, and has his name graven on it.]

297. Μνημόσυνα δὲ ἐλίπετο πρὸ τοῦ Ἡφαιστείου, ἀνδριάντας λιθίνους. *He left as monuments before the temple of Vulcan, stone statues.* Μνημόσυνον is a monument intended to perpetuate the memory of any remarkable occurrence. Diodorus Siculus³ also says: “He (Sesostris) placed in the temple of Vulcan at Memphis statues of himself and of his wife, 30 cubits in height, and of his children, 20 cubits high. Each statue was formed out of a single stone.”

[The monuments of Ramses III. are numerous in Egypt and Nubia; and as the representations of the kings on the Egyptian monuments are all portraits, and the features of this king appear to have been seized with singular felicity, the statues of Ramses III., or the Great, may be recognised in a moment. Among the chief ornaments of the Egyptian Saloon in the British Museum, and indeed one of the most interesting monuments in existence, is the colossal head of Ramses the Great, which was brought from Thebes. A colossal statue of the same prince was discovered, a few years ago, by Captain Caviglia in the ruins of Memphis. This is probably the very statue which stood before the temple of Phthah or Vulcan, and which Herodotus describes. The fallen colossus measures 37 feet in length, and with the legs, which have been broken off and lie buried in the rubbish, would perhaps rather exceed 45 feet⁴. A cast of the head of this colossus also may be seen at the British Museum, in the vestibule at the northern end of the Egyptian Saloon.]

298. Χρόνῳ μετέπειτα πολλῶ. *Long afterwards.* “The glory of this king increased⁵ with time, until many generations afterwards, when, Egypt having become subject to the Persians, and Darius the father of Xerxes ardently desiring to have his statue placed before that of Sesos-

¹ See Pollucis Onomast. I. vii. § lxxi. and lxxii. vol. I. p. 47.

² Diod. Sic. I. lv. p. 64.

³ Id. ibid. lvii. vol. I. p. 67.

⁴ Rosellini, Mem. Istor. III. p. 68.

⁵ Id. ibid. lviii. vol. I. p. 68.

tris, the high-priest opposed it, declaring, in the assembly of the priests, where the question was agitated, that Darius had not as yet surpassed the actions of that prince. Far from being irritated at the freedom of the high-priest, Darius was delighted with it, and said that he would endeavour to equal Sesostris, if he should live as long as that prince; at the same time requesting the high-priest to compare the actions they should both have performed at the same age, as from such comparison the best proof of the virtue of each might be drawn."

299. Δαρείον συγγνώμην ποιήσασθαι. *Darius pardoned.* We do not find from Herodotus that Darius ever visited Egypt; perhaps the conduct of the high-priest might have been reported to him. It would appear from a passage of Aristotle, that Darius attacked and conquered that country. "Darius," says he⁶, "would not turn his arms against Greece, till he had subdued Egypt: as soon as he had accomplished that, he attacked the Greeks." In that case, the priest of Vulcan may have opposed him in person. But the authority of Aristotle is of little weight compared with that of our historian. Perhaps in Aristotle we should read Xerxes, and not Darius.

CXI. 300. Τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ Φερῶν. *His son Pheron.* Eusebius calls him Pharaoh, and Diodorus Siculus⁷ Sesostris. If it be true, as we learn from other sources, that Pharaoh was a name common to all the kings of Egypt, (Pheron or Phouron as it is written in the ancient Coptic,) he may have been called Pharaoh Sesostris, as there was a Pharaoh Necho, Pharaoh Hophra, which are the Necho and Apries of our author. (clviii. and clxi.)—[Pharaoh, written Phrah in Hebrew, is not derived from the Coptic Ph-ouro, a king or chief, but from Ph-ra or Ph-re, the sun, which was the royal title⁸.]

301. Συναγαγεῖν τὰς γυναῖκας ἐς μίην πόλιν. *He assembled the women in one city.* Diodorus Siculus⁹ calls this city Hierebolos. This is perhaps a fault of the copyists. At all events, this historian relates the same fable, which he probably took from our author; and we may thence conclude that the corruption of morals had attained a dreadful pitch in Egypt. We need no longer wonder at the wise precaution¹ taken by Abraham on entering that country, or the excess of impudence manifested by the wife of Potiphar in her conduct to Joseph². [But we may well wonder to find such reflections suggested to Larcher by what he himself very justly calls a fable.]

CXII. 302. Τούτου δὲ ἐκδέξασθαι τὴν βασιληίην ἔλεγον ἄνδρα Μεμφίτην, τῷ οὐνομα Πρωτέα εἶναι. *He was succeeded in the empire by a native of Memphis whose name (in the Greek language) was Proteus.*

⁶ Aristot. Rhetoric. II. xx. p. 570, A.

⁷ Diod. Sic. I. lix. vol. I. p. 69.

⁸ Rosellini, Mon. Istor. tom. I. p. 117.

⁹ Diod. Sic. I. lix. vol. I. p. 69.

¹ Genesis, XII. 11, &c.

² Id. XXXIX. 7, &c.

After Pheron, whom Diodorus Siculus³ calls Sesostris, there was a long succession of kings who performed no remarkable action. Several generations afterwards, Amasis, or Amosis, as other authors write it, ascended the throne. This prince treated his subjects with great harshness, punished many of them contrary to the laws, and deprived many of their property. His tyranny was endured for some time, till Actisanes, king of Ethiopia, having entered Egypt, the Egyptians revolted, and placed Actisanes on the throne. This prince, during his whole reign, never suffered a malefactor to be put to death; he contented himself with cutting off their noses, and sending them afterwards to a town on the frontiers of Syria, which from its noseless inhabitants acquired the name of Rhinocolura. Mendes, an Egyptian, by some called Marrus, succeeded him. On the death of this prince an anarchy ensued, which lasted for five generations⁴; after which they elected for king a man of obscure birth, whom the Egyptians called Cetes⁵, and the Greeks Proteus. He lived at the time of the siege of Troy. With regard to what is reported of his wonderful knowledge of the winds, and his transformation into the form of an animal, of a tree, of fire, or any other object, the priests concur with what is commonly said of him. By assiduously frequenting astrologers, he became skilful in the knowledge of the winds; and the custom observed by the kings of Egypt induced the Greeks to imagine his metamorphosis. These princes have a practice of placing round their heads figures of lions, of bulls, and of serpents, as emblems of their dignity, sometimes also trees, or fire with perfumes, which served for ornament, and obtained the admiration of the people.

303. *Τυρίων στρατόπεδον.* *The camp of the Tyrians.* We shall see in cliv. the camp of the Ionians and of the Carians, and in Josephus⁶ the camp of the Jews.

304. *Τυνδάρεω.* *Of Tyndarus.* The genealogy of Tyndarus is as follows: Jupiter⁷, Lacedæmon, Amyclas, Cynortas, Œbalus, Tyndarus. Hippocoon⁸ drove away his brother Tyndarus. The children of Hippocoon having killed Œonus, son of Licymnius⁹, and friend of Hercules, that hero marched against them, defeated them in a great battle, killed a great number of them, and having taken possession of Sparta, restored Tyndarus, on the express condition that he should transmit the kingdom to his descendants.

CXIII. 305. *Ἀλέξανδρον ἀρπάσαντα Ἑλένην ἐκ Σπάρτης.* *Alexander having carried off Helen from Sparta.* “The taking of Troy

³ Diod. Sic. I. lx. &c. p. 69, &c.

⁴ Ibid. lxii. vol. I. p. 71.

⁵ This name gave rise to the fable that he was Neptune's herdsman; *κητος* in Greek signifying a marine animal, ‘Cetus, bellua marina.’

⁶ Antiq. Jud. XIV. viii. § ii. p. 696.

⁷ Pausan. III. i. p. 204.

⁸ Diod. Sic. IV. xxxiii. p. 278.

⁹ Licymnius was the brother of Alc-mene. Pausan. III. xv. p. 244.

occurred 1184 years before the Christian era, in the year 3530 of the Julian period. The last year of the siege of Troy was 1185 years before Christ, the year 3529 of the Julian era. Helen¹ says, in the Iliad, that this was the 20th year since she left her country, and came to Troy. Now the siege of Troy lasted ten years. It had then endured nine years. To these nine years add eleven, to make up the twenty that she remained in Troy; and we shall find that she was carried off by Paris or Alexander about the year 1204 or 1205 before Christ, the year 3510 or 3509 of the Julian era, according to the system of those who imagine that Paris carried her directly to Troy. She was very young when that happened. Theseus had before carried her off when she was unmarried, οὐ καθ' ὥραν, according to Hellanicus in Plutarch². She was then only ten years old, according to Diodorus Siculus³. Paris carried her off fifteen years afterwards, according to Thrasyllus⁴; who counts eleven years from the abduction of Helen by Theseus to the apotheosis of Hercules, and four years from that to the carrying-off of the same beauty by Paris. Helen, therefore, must have been forty-five years old at the time of the taking of Troy." This calculation of M. Bellanger is founded on the Chronology of Eusebius.

306. Ἐς τὸ Αἰγύπτιον πέλαγος. *In the sea of Egypt.* Herodotus gives this name not only to that part of the sea which washed the shores of Egypt, but also to that of the adjacent coasts. Strabo agrees with him: "The sea⁵," says he, "separates into two gulfs; that to the left is called the Euxine sea; the other comprises the sea of Egypt, of Pamphylia, and of Issus."

307. Τοῦ στόματος τούτου φύλακον τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Θῶνις. *The governor of this mouth of the Nile whose name was Thonis.* Some writers assert⁶ that Thonis was king of the Canopic branch, and that he was the inventor of medicine amongst the Egyptians. He treated Menelaus with great respect before he had seen Helen; but when he had seen her, he courted her, and would even have used violence to obtain her. Menelaus coming to the knowledge of this, slew him.

CXVI. 308. Ἐποίησε. *When he describes.* Precisely word for word; for in the Iliad he has thus described the wanderings of Alexander. Κατὰ is written Ionically for καθά; because to make a preposition of it which should govern πλάνην, as Portus contends in his Ionian Lexicon, appears to me too remote from the original. Ἐποίησε signifies, 'has described in verse.' Ἀναποδίζω means, 'I retrace my steps.'

309. Ἐπιμέμνηται δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν Διομήδεος ἀριστείῃ. *He makes mention of him in the book entitled the Feats of Diomedes.* The ancient gram-

¹ Iliad. XXIV. 765, 766.

² Plutarch. in Theseo, p. 14, E.

³ Diod. Sic. IV. lxiii. p. 307.

⁴ Clem. Alex. Stromat. I. p. 401.

⁵ Strabo, Geogr. II. p. 182, c, d.

⁶ Eustath. ad Odyss. IV. 228. p. 1493.

marians gave titles of this kind to the different books of Homer. For example, they entitled the first book the Anger of Achilles; the fifth, the Feats of Diomedes. I am the more inclined to suppress this quotation, as the title is that given to the fifth book, whilst the lines cited are taken from the sixth, verse 289 and following.

310. Θῶνος παράκοιτις. *Wife of Thonis*. Θῶνος is a syncope⁷ for Θώνιος, the nominative of which is Θώνις.

CXVII. 311. Τὰ Κύπρια ἔπεα. *The Cypriacs*. The subject of this poem was the Trojan war from the birth of Helen. Venus had caused her birth, to fulfil her promise to Paris of giving him a perfect beauty, and Jupiter⁸, by the advice of Momus, had been a consenting party, that the human race might be again destroyed by the Trojan war, which should arise out of this circumstance. As the author of the poem referred every event of the war to Venus, the goddess of Cyprus, the poem took its name from her. It does not, therefore, treat of amorous adventures, as Dacier appears to think, in his notes on Aristotle's Poetics. That philosopher applauds Homer⁹ for taking only one feature of the Trojan war, as the subject of his poem, namely, the anger of Achilles; and points out the difference between this plan, and that of those who have taken the whole life of a man, a long period of time, or an action comprising several distinct parts, as the authors of the Cypriacs and of the little Iliad have done.

Ælian, after Pindar, says¹, that Homer gave the Cypriacs to his daughter as a marriage-portion. The Pindar, thus mentioned, is probably some grammarian. Others attribute them to Hegesias² or to Stasinus; some to³ Dicæogenes, or some other poet, with as little foundation. It does not appear that Herodotus was acquainted with the author of them, or he would most likely have named him. St. Clement of Alexandria⁴ contents himself with mentioning the author of the Cypriacs, without giving him a name.

Athenæus has preserved⁵ thirteen verses of this poem, and Pseudo-Didymus six, in his commentary on the Iliad (I. 5).

Many critics, and amongst them Salmasius⁶, confound the Cypriacs and the little Iliad; but see the Dissertation of Ryckius⁷.

It would be very easy to compile a long list of works attributed to authors who had nothing to do with them; I will content myself with observing, that the poem on the taking of Œchalia has been attributed to Homer, though it is the work⁸ of Creophylus of Samos.

⁷ Eustath. ad Homeri Odyss. IV. 228. p. 1493. lin. 54, 55.

⁸ Schol. Homeri ad Iliad. I. 5.

⁹ Ars Poët. XXIII. p. 671, B. c.

¹ Ælian. Var. Hist. IX. xv. vol. II. p. 600.

² Athen. Deipnos. XV. viii. p. 682, E.

³ Aristot. Ars Poët. XVI. p. 664, D.

⁴ In Protreptico, p. 26.

⁵ Athen. XV. p. 682.

⁶ Exercit. Plin. in Solin. p. 598, col. 2.

⁷ De Primis Italiæ Colonis, X. p. 446.

See also Heyne's Excursus, I. ad Æneid. II. p. 279.

⁸ Callimachi Epigram. VI. Eustath. ad Iliad. II. vol. I. p. 331.

CXVIII. 312. Ἰδρυθεῖσαν τὴν στρατιήν. *The army being encamped.* This is not to be understood of a fortified camp, as we see in the Latin translation. The Greeks did not begin to fortify their camp till the tenth year of the war, and after the wrath of Achilles: previous to that circumstance, the valour of that hero had supplied the place of ramparts.

313. Ἔς ὃ ἐξεῖλον. *Until they had become, &c.* The preceding Greek mode of expression is peculiar to the Ionians, instead of ἕως οὗ. Gregory of Corinth⁹ very justly observes, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἕως οὗ, εἰς ὃ λέγουσιν. Ἡρόδοτος· 'ἐς ὃ ἐξεῖλον.' See also the learned note of Brunck on verse 89 of the Phœnissæ of Euripides.

It was decreed by fate, that the city of Troy should fall. Teucer, the son of Scamander, having departed from the isle of Crete, arrived in Asia, and named the country after himself Teucris, and the people Teucris. Dardanus, being driven from Samothracia by an inundation¹, repaired to a hill which was on the opposite shore. He wished to settle there; but Apollo dissuaded him from it, assuring him that whoever did so would be unfortunate. Dardanus therefore chose another hill, where he built a city, which he called Dardania. Having married Batia, the sister of Scamander, he had by her, Ilus and Erichthonius. Ilus died without children. Erichthonius had by Astyoche, daughter of Simois, Tros. Tros had by Callirrhœ, daughter of Scamander, Ilus and other children. Ilus being in Phrygia, the Oracle of Apollo, which he consulted, forbade him to inhabit the hill first mentioned, because it was consecrated to the goddess Atë, and that the same reason had prevented Dardanus from settling on it. Ilus, however, having obtained the victory in wrestling in Phrygia, had for his prize fifty boys and fifty young girls, whom he took with him. The king² also gave him a cow of various colours, according to the oracle, which commanded him to build a city wherever she should stop. When she had arrived on the hill of Atë, she lay down. Ilus therefore founded a city there, to which he gave the name of Ilion. Atë was a goddess inimical to mankind. The word signifies, 'damnum,' 'noxa' (mischief).

CXIX. 314. Λαβὼν δύο παιδία ἀνδρῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἔντομά σφεα ἐποίησε. *Taking two children of the natives, he sacrificed them.* This was, no doubt, to appease the winds. This kind of sacrifice was common in Greece, but odious in Egypt³:

Sanguine placastis ventos et virgine cæsâ.

Amyot, who had a very thorough knowledge of the Greek language, has made a singular mistake in this passage. He thus renders it: "For, Menelaus not being able to obtain favourable weather for set-

⁹ Gregorius de Dialectis, p. 223.

² Apollodor. III. xi. § iii. p. 207.

¹ Schol. Lycophr. ad Cassandr. 29.
p. 6. col. 2. lin. 9.

³ Virg. Æneid. II. 116.

ting sail, a most accursed and horrible expedient occurred to him, he took two little children of the country and castrated them; for which action, being hated by the Egyptians, he fled with his vessels to Libya.”.

315. Τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὅκου ἐτράπετο οὐκέτι εἶχον εἰπεῖν Αἰγύπτιοι. *Towards what quarter he next went, the Egyptians could not tell.* It appears that he disembarked in Phœnicia, before he reached Greece.

Menander of Pergamus⁴ speaks in his writings of the arrival of Paris in that country, which he fixes at the time when Hiram gave his daughter in marriage to Solomon. If this were so, we must refer the siege of Troy to a period 192 years subsequent to the epoch assigned by Eratosthenes and Apollodorus, whom Eusebius follows. But that writer is too recent; and his works being lost, we cannot attach any very great weight to them.

CXXI. 316. Ῥαμψίνιτον. *Rhampsinitus*. Diodorus Siculus⁵ calls him Rhemphis. He greatly injured his subjects by his avarice and his extortions. He amassed in gold and silver 400,000 talents, or more than 1200 millions,—an incredible sum.

317. Τὸν ἐργαζόμενον τάδε μηχανᾶσθαι. *The builder contrived as follows.* Pausanias⁶ relates a similar fable of Trophonius, whose cavern became afterwards so famous.

318. Τῶν ἀσκῶν ποδεῶνας. *The neck.* ‘Utrium petiolos.’ This term, which is here taken in its proper acceptation, must be understood figuratively in the oracle pronounced to Ægeus⁷:

Ἀσκοῦ με τὸν προὔχοντα μὴ λῦσαι πόδα.

[When skins are used as bottles or to carry liquids, the legs are naturally chosen for the orifices.]

319. Ἐπὶ λύμῃ πάντων ξυρῆσαι τὰς δεξιὰς παρηγίδας. *In derision he shaved their right cheeks.* Throughout the East, the most offensive insult that could be cast on a man was to cut off his beard. It was thus that⁸ Hanun, king of the Ammonites, treated David’s messengers. To avenge this insult, that wise and valiant prince sent an army against Hanun. Joab, who commanded it, conquered him, and took possession of his capital.

320. Ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστά. *Which I cannot believe.* Herodotus, as is here seen, did not implicitly believe all that the priests told him. See cxxii., and a hundred other passages in this work, which prove that our historian was not so credulous as he has sometimes been thought to be.

321. Ἀποταμόντα ἐν τῷ ὤμῳ τὴν χεῖρα. *Cutting off the arm at the*

⁴ Clem. Alex. Strom. I. p. 386. lin. ult. et 387; Tatian. Orat. ad Græc. lviii. p. 128.

⁵ Diod. Sic. I. lxii. p. 71. sub finem.

⁶ Pausan. IX. xxxvii. p. 785.

⁷ Euripid. Medea, 680.

⁸ 2 Sam. X. 4.

shoulder. The Greek word χεῖρ is often used to signify the arm and hand together. Palladius thus expresses himself in his Commentary on Hippocrates de Fracturis⁹: Δεῖ δὲ εἰδέναι ὅτι τὰ τῆς χειρὸς μέρη τρία εἰσίν. ὧν τὸ μὲν ἐν καλεῖται ὤμος· τὸ δὲ ἄλλο, ἄκρα χεῖρ· τὸ δὲ μέσον, πῆχυς. “It must be understood that the arm (χεῖρ) is composed of three parts; one of which is called the shoulder (ὤμος), the other, the hand (ἄκρα χεῖρ, verbatim, the extremity of the arm), that of the middle, the elbow (πῆχυς).” Galen is still more precise: “There is,” says he¹, “a certain analogy between the parts of the entire arm, τῆς χειρὸς ὅλης, and those of the scelos². The arm (βραχίων) answers in the χεῖρ to the thigh in the scelos, and the elbow to the tibia. The remaining part, the extremity of the arm, (ἄκρα χεῖρ, the hand,) has an analogy to the foot, and we have no particular word to express it. . . . It is therefore with reason that Hippocrates has said simply the foot, πούς, without adding the epithet ἄκρος, and that he has not simply said χεῖρ, but has joined to it the epithet ἄκρα (the extremity of the arm, or the hand).”

The same thing is clearly expressed in Demetrius Phalereus³: “As the arm, χεῖρ, is a certain whole, of which the different divisions, as the fingers and the elbow, are parts, each of these parts having a configuration peculiar to itself, and smaller parts belonging to it; so also may any sentence, which comprises one great whole, include many parts, each of which may be complete in itself.”

Homer also very frequently uses this word in the same sense⁴:

Νύξε δέ μιν κατὰ χεῖρα μέσην, ἀγκῶνος ἔνερθεν.

‘He wounded him in the middle of the arm, below the elbow.’

Κατὰ δ’ αἷμα νεουτάτου ἔρρεε χειρός⁵.

‘The blood flowed from his arm, freshly wounded.’ The proof that in this place χεῖρ signifies the arm, is, that in verse 529 he had said, Μηριόνης δουρὶ βραχίονα τύψεν, ‘Merion struck him with his spear in the arm.’ When the same poet wishes to indicate the hand, he often adds ἐπὶ καρπῷ. Ὁρχεῦντ’ ἀλλήλων ἐπὶ καρπῷ χεῖρας ἔχοντες⁶, ‘Saltabant alter alterius tenentes manus.’

322. Νεκροῦ προσφάτου. *Of the man newly dead.* The grammarians hold that πρόσφατος is used only in conjunction with νεκρός, to signify a man newly dead. Phrynichus⁷ confesses that he long hesitated on this point; but that at length he found it employed with another substan-

⁹ Palladius in lib. Hippocratis de Fracturis, p. 201, sect. vi. ex edit. Foësi.

¹ Galen. in Hippocr. de Fracturis, vol. V. p. 542. lin. 22.

² The scelos, σκέλος, comprises the thigh, the leg, and the foot.

³ Demet. Phaler. de Elocutione, p. 545.

⁴ Homeri Iliad. XI. 252.

⁵ Id. ibid. XIII. 539.

⁶ Id. ibid. XVIII. 594.

⁷ Phryn. Eclog. Dictionum Attic. p. 68.

tive in the *Andromeda* of Sophocles: Εὐρίσκετο δὲ Σοφοκλῆς ἐν τῇ Ἀνδρομέδᾳ τιθεὶς οὕτω

Μηδὲν φοβεῖσθαι προσφάτους ἐπιστολάς.

‘Do not fear recent orders.’

The *Andromeda* was a satirical piece.

CXXII. 323. Κεῖθι συγκυβεύειν τῇ Δήμητρι. *He there played at dice with Ceres.* M. Szathmari explains this as alluding to the years of plenty and of scarcity, which happened during the reign of this king. See his dissertation on the Pharaohs, printed at Franeker.

“The Egyptians considering the earth⁸ as the common receptacle of every thing that is born, give it the name of mother. The Greeks call it Demeter, a word nearly approaching to that meaning, though a little changed by lapse of time. They formerly called it Gemeter (mother earth): witness Orpheus, where we read, Γῆ μήτηρ πάντων Δημήτηρ πλουτοδότειρα, ‘Mother Earth, Demeter, who givest us all sorts of riches.’”

CXXIII. 324. Ὡς ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ ἀθάνατος. *That the soul of man is immortal.* Herodotus does not say, that the Egyptians were the first who believed in the immortality of the soul; but that they were the first who maintained that the soul, being immortal, passed after the dissolution of the body into that of some other animal. I do not doubt that the Egyptians always believed in the immortality of the soul. It would be easy to prove that Noah believed it. The dogma was, no doubt, handed down to his posterity. Misraim, his grandson, peopled Egypt; and thus the immortality of the soul was always known in that country. Mr. Bruce therefore was wrong in affirming, that the scarabæus⁹ could not be an emblem of the resurrection or immortality of the soul, “because, at the time when this emblem was invented, its immortality had not been an object of contemplation by mankind.” If the scarabæus has never been the emblem of immortality in Egypt, it certainly is not for the reason adduced by Bruce¹.

As to the dogma of the metempsychosis, Herodotus may be in the right. The tenet of immortality had gradually degenerated into that of the transmigration of the soul. The Indians claim this latter opinion as originating with them; and it is probable that Osiris or Sesostris, who conquered them, may have brought back the doctrine into Egypt. Much has been written on the subject, which still remains in the same obscurity, and is likely to remain so. The safer plan is to confess our ignorance.

⁸ Diod. Sic. I. xii. vol. I. p. 16.

Nile, book II. chap. vi. p. 127.

⁹ Travels to discover the source of the

¹ See Horus Apollo, I. x. xii; II. xli.

325. Τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ εἰσὶ οἱ Ἑλλήνων ἐχρήσαντο. *Some of the Greeks have adopted this opinion.* The immortality of the soul had long before been known in Greece; the poems of Homer clearly assume it. But it is not to this doctrine that Herodotus here alludes; he rather speaks of those philosophers who adopted the doctrine of the metempsychosis. Pherecydes of Syros is the first, according to Cicero, who advocated that of immortality: "Pherecydes² Syrius primus dixit animos esse hominum sempiternos." Tatian maintains, on the contrary³, that Pherecydes attacked the immortality of the soul, and that Aristotle inherited this opinion from him. The learned Wesseling has restored, with his usual ability, the text of Tatian, which had evidently been altered. Πυθαγόρας Εὐφορβος γεγενῆσθαι φησιν, τοῦ Φερεκύδου δόγματος κληρονόμος ἐστί· ὁ δὲ Ἀριστοτέλης τῆς ψυχῆς διαβάλλει τὴν ἀθανασίαν. 'Pythagoras says, that he was formerly Euphorbus. He is the inheritor of the dogma of Pherecydes. As to Aristotle, he attacked the immortality of the soul.'

The Gauls thought that the souls of men were immortal, and that they passed from the body of one man into that of another. The Druids endeavoured to instil this notion into their disciples. Cæsar positively affirms this in his Commentaries⁴, and his testimony is supported by that of Diodorus Siculus⁵, and also by Ammianus Marcellinus⁶.

The Gauls carried the matter so far, that on lending money, they required that it should be repaid them in the other world, so persuaded were they of the immortality of the soul. I should not hesitate, says Valerius Maximus⁷, from whom I have borrowed this trait, to pronounce them madmen, if the philosopher Pythagoras had not thought with them: "dicerem stultos, nisi idem Braccati sensissent, quod Palliatus Pythagoras sensit."

It is likely that the Druids derived this doctrine from the Greeks, and indeed this latter supposition is by no means improbable. The city of Marseilles, says Strabo⁸, excelled in philosophy and eloquence; the Gauls thence derived their knowledge: they acquired indeed such a partiality for the Greeks, that their contracts were drawn up in Greek. Alexander, surnamed Polyhistor, nevertheless contended that Pythagoras⁹ had borrowed his doctrine from the Gauls. This opinion is at variance with all probability; and as it is supported by no other writer, I do not think it necessary to dwell on it any longer.

CXXIV. 326. Χέοπα. *Cheops.* Diodorus Siculus here proceeds on different information. After Rhampsinitus, whom, as I have observed before, he calls Rhemphis, there were seven¹ kings who performed

² Cic. Tuscul. Disput. I. § xvi.

³ Tatian. Orat. ad Græcos, xli. pp. 88, 89.

⁴ Cæs. Comm. de Bel. Gal. VI. xv.

⁵ Diod. Sic. V. xxviii. p. 352.

⁶ Amm. Marcell. XV. ix. p. 75.

⁷ Valer. Max. II. vi. § x.

⁸ Strabo, Geogr. IV. p. 273, B.

⁹ Clem. Alex. Strom. I. p. 357, lin. 16.

¹ Diod. Sic. I. lxiii. vol. I. p. 72.

nothing worthy of notice. The eighth, whom he calls Chembes or Chemmis, or, according to some readings, Chemnis, is the Cheops of Herodotus.

It would be difficult to guess what could induce M. De Pauw to defend this prince, and to reject as a fable all that Herodotus relates of his despotic government²; as though despotism were not a malady incidental to kings in general, and as if they did not almost all endeavour to introduce it into their dominions. Egypt originally possessed good laws, which were doubtless observed for many ages, during which the people were happy; but the princes endeavoured by degrees to get rid of the restraint which those laws imposed on them, and at length succeeded in their object.

M. Voltaire was right in considering the pyramids as a proof of the slavery of the Egyptians, and he very justly remarks that the English could not be compelled to construct such edifices, though they are much more powerful than the Egyptians then were.

[The Cheops of Herodotus is the Suphis or Saophis of other writers. It is easy to perceive the identity of Suphis with Shupho, which latter name has been read in a royal cartouche in the tombs at Sakkara³. The name Saophis is explained by Eratosthenes⁴ to mean long-haired, *κομαστής*, and, in fact, Shupho signifies 'much hair.' This king's name has been found also cut on some of the stones of the pyramid erected by him; where it probably served to mark the date.]

327. Τῆς ὁδοῦ. *The causeway.* "The stones⁵ might be conveyed by the canal that runs about two miles north of the pyramids, and from thence part of the way by this extraordinary causeway; for at this time there is a causeway from that part extending about 1000 yards in length and 20 feet wide, built of hewn stone: the length of it agreeing so well with the account of Herodotus, is a strong confirmation that this causeway has been kept up ever since, though some of the materials of it may have been changed, all being now built with free-stone. It is strengthened on each side with semicircular buttresses, about 14 feet in diameter, and 30 feet apart; there are 61 of these buttresses, beginning from the north: 60 feet further, it turns to the west for a little way, then there is a bridge of about 12 arches, 20 feet wide, built on piers that are 10 feet wide. Above 100 yards further, there is such another bridge, beyond which the causeway continues about 100 yards to the south, ending about a mile from the pyramids where the ground is higher. The country over which the causeway is built being low, and the water lying on it a great while, seems to have been the reason for building this causeway at first, and for continuing to keep it in repair."

"If you want any other⁶ subject to satisfy your curiosity, you need

² Recherches Philosophiques sur les Egyptiens et les Chinois, tom. II. p. 73.

³ Rosellini, Mon. Istor. tom. I. p. 128.

⁴ Syncellus, p. 102.

⁵ Pococke's Description of the East, vol. I. p. 42.

⁶ Norden's Travels in Egypt and Nubia, vol. I. p. 80.

only approach some antique bridges, of which I have drawn the plans, the sections, and the profiles, and which are situated east by north of Gizeh, and north by west of the Pyramids. They are raised upon a plain every year overflowed at the time of the rising of the waters of the Nile, at about half a league from the mountains, and the same distance from the first pyramid. These bridges are two in number. The first extends north and south, and the second east and west. They know not at present the use of them. Their situation, in a tract of country that is not more exposed to the waters than the other plains, gives some surprise; and it is not possible to conceive the reason of their foundation, unless we suppose that there was formerly a calisch⁷ [khalij, i. e. canal] in that place. Their fabric and the inscriptions that we read on them show that they are the works of the Saracens⁸. That which extends from the north to the south has ten arches upon 241 feet in length and 20 feet 4 inches in breadth. Their height above the horizon is 22 feet. They are built with great free-stone, almost as soft as that of Bentheim. These two bridges, distant from each other 400 paces, have adjoining a wall of bricks in the manner of a mole, and which begins at each extremity of the two bridges, but terminates in nothing."

So wide a difference as 80 feet in the dimensions given by these travellers, induces me to think, that the bridge described by Norden is the second mentioned by Dr. Pococke, and of which he does not give the measurement.

328. *Αἱ πυραμίδες. The pyramids.* It will perhaps not be deemed superfluous to venture a word or two here as to the use for which the pyramids were designed.

1. Men wishing to gratify their vanity, usually left behind them some monuments which they hoped would keep them in remembrance. Mounds of earth were thrown up on their tombs, which perpetuated their names; these were sometimes raised on the borders of the sea, that they might serve as beacons to the mariners, and be seen at a distance. Some of these structures were of enormous dimensions: that erected on the tomb of Alyattes, king of Sardis⁹, was 6 stadia 2 plethra, that is to say, 598 fathoms 2 feet 10 inches, in circumference, and 13 plethra, that is, 204 fathoms 3 feet 9 inches, in width. It was formed of earth piled up, and banked up with stones. Gyges erected in honour of his mistress a monument so high, that it was seen all over the country enclosed by Mount Tmolus. It is therefore easy to con-

⁷ Herodotus in this paragraph speaks of a canal which conducted the waters of the Nile to the first pyramid, and which winding round it formed an island, on which it was situated.

⁸ The canal above mentioned proves that they had likewise built bridges.

These perhaps may have been repaired by the Saracens, which is all we can infer from Captain Norden's account; it will be seen by the quotation from Pococke, that the causeway itself had been repaired.

⁹ Herod. I. xciii.

ceive that the kings of Egypt may have formed the design of constructing for themselves monuments still more splendid.

2. When we recollect the peculiar care that was taken of corpses in Egypt; that they were embalmed at great expense of money, labour, and care; that they were placed in grottoes cut expressly in the rock, where some are found to this day; if we consider that these grottoes were cut with much labour, to receive the corpses of private individuals, what may we not expect from the pride of kings, ambitious to distinguish themselves from the multitudes they governed?

3. The ancients inform us, that these pyramids were used as sepulchres for the kings. If the founders of the two first were not placed within them, it was because, as we learn from Diodorus Siculus¹, they feared that the multitude, whom during their lives they had oppressed, would after their death force an entrance into the tomb, and tear their bodies in pieces. Strabo likewise says², that the pyramids were destined for the sepulture of the kings. Dr. Shaw asserts³, that the second and the third pyramid could not serve as burial-places for their authors, because they are absolutely closed up, and there is no entrance whatever. But suppose that the original entrance has been closed up with such art as wholly to conceal it; what then becomes of his dictum? "There are, at the sides," says Strabo, "about the middle, stones that may be moved; when this is done, a winding passage is found, which leads to the coffin."

4. If the Egyptians, in constructing these pyramids, had intended to transmit to the latest posterity the most striking features of their history and their most valuable discoveries in science, they would have engraved these things in a manner likely to resist the injuries of time. The hieroglyphics on the obelisks remain to this day, and others are seen on various monuments of the highest antiquity. Why then are there none upon the pyramids? If time has effaced them, how comes it to have spared those of the obelisks? But let us hear what Norden says.

That intelligent and inquiring traveller, after observing that there are no hieroglyphics on the pyramids, adds⁴: "Time could not have effaced them; for if they had put any there, they would not have committed them to a stone of sand, but to a hard one, which would have certainly preserved them to the present age. . . . The monuments and edifices where they were employed, are almost entirely covered with them."

5. It appears to me, from the very construction of the pyramids, that they never bore any. They should be entirely cased with marble; some of them are still partly so with polished marble, on which not the slightest indication of any characters or engravings appears. Add to

¹ Diod. Sic. I. lxiv. vol. I. pp. 73, 74. edit. 4to, p. 330.

² Strabo, XVII. p. 1161, c.

³ Shaw's Travels, vol. II. p. 152. 2nd

⁴ Norden's Travels in Egypt and

Nubia, vol. I. p. 94.

this, that Herodotus tells us, that there were figures of animals on the sides of the causeway, and on the pyramid which was at the extremity of the labyrinth⁵. These figures of animals I conjecture to have been hieroglyphics. As our historian has especially remarked this circumstance with regard to the causeway and this particular pyramid, is it likely that he would have omitted to mention it in describing the other pyramids?

[That the pyramids were tombs has been placed beyond doubt by discovery of sepulchral remains within them.]

329. Μηκός εἰσι πέντε στάδιοι· εὖρος δὲ, δέκα ὀργυιαί. *Five stadia long by ten orgyias wide.* The breadth of the causeway, according to Herodotus, exceeds Dr. Pococke's account by 36 feet, 2 inches, $8\frac{4}{6}$ lines.

The length agrees very well with Dr. Pococke's account; but in the breadth the difference is remarkable. It having been repaired, and the materials changed, as that learned traveller remarks, we may conclude, that for some unknown reason its breadth has been reduced. In fact, a causeway destined for the carriage of stones of so immense a size as those used in the construction of the pyramids could not have been so narrow as it is now.

Diodorus Siculus⁶ thought that this causeway did not exist in his time, but that it had been destroyed after the construction of the pyramids, because it was no longer useful. It should appear that his observation was defective; nor is this the only instance in which he appears to merit that reproach.

[The causeways at present existing in the plain of Gizeh were probably constructed by the Caliphs, on or near the site of the ancient causeway.]

330. Ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου. *At the hill.* "The pyramids⁷ are not situated in plains, but upon the rock that is at the foot of the high mountains which accompany the Nile in its course, and constitute these paration betwixt Egypt and Libya." "The rock⁸ not being throughout even, they have smoothed it by the chisel, as we discover in several places: and this artificial plain has a sloping on the north side, and on the east side; which favoured on the latter the making of divers causeways, that gave conveniency of transporting the materials necessary for the pyramids. This plain may have fourscore feet of perpendicular elevation above the horizon of the ground that is always overflowed by the Nile; and it is a Danish league in circumference."

[Herodotus says a little lower down (cxxxvii), that the hill on which the two greatest pyramids stand, has an elevation of 100 feet. In May, 1837, Colonel Howard Vyse found the base of the great pyramid to be 146 feet above the level of the Nile, the bed of which has risen

⁵ Herodot. II. cxlviii.

⁶ Diod. Sic. I. lxiii. vol. I. p. 73.

⁷ Norden's Travels, vol. I. p. 67.

⁸ Id. ibid. p. 71.

probably 30 feet since the time of Herodotus. The base of the second pyramid is about 33 feet higher.]

331. *Τῶν ὑπὸ γῆν οἰκημάτων.* *The subterranean chambers.* “The second pyramid⁹ has a fosse cut in the rock to the north and west of it, which is about 90 feet wide and 30 feet deep; there are small apartments cut from it into the rock, some of which are double. Over the doors, about 10 feet from the ground, are holes cut in the rocks, so as to let in the ends of stones, which I suppose were for the cover of a portico, being laid on pillars that might be before these apartments. Ten feet higher, are holes cut in like manner in the rock; so that they might have designed to make other apartments over these, cut likewise out of the rock, and to have a gallery before them as below.”

332. *Τὰς ἐποιέετο θήκας ἑωϋτῷ.* *Which he made as tombs for himself.* The passages and the sarcophagus have been discovered, and we can therefore no longer doubt that these pyramids were intended for the tombs of kings.

333. *Τῆς ἐστὶ παντακῇ μέτωπον ἕκαστον ὀκτὼ πλέθρα, ἐούσης τετραγώνου, καὶ ὕψος ἴσον.* *It is eight hundred feet wide on each face, being quadrangular, and of equal height.* Various authors differ very much in their accounts of the dimensions of this pyramid. Herodotus gives it eight plethra in breadth, that is to say, 800 feet; Strabo¹, a little more than a stadium (probably a stadium of 10 to the mile); Diodorus Siculus, seven plethra², or 700 feet; and Pliny³, 883 feet.

I will take occasion here to correct a singular error of Father Hardouin. Pliny, having said that the diameter of the pyramid from angle to angle is 883 feet, proceeds to its diameter at its summit, which he states to be 25 feet, ‘*latitudo a cacumine pedes 25.*’ Father Hardouin has changed this reading to ‘*altitudo a cacumine, pedes xv. S.;*’ that is to say, from the base to the summit, a height of 15,500 feet. A reading more absurd cannot possibly be imagined. According to this calculation, the pyramid was more than a league high; and as its diameter was equal to its height, it must have been a league wide also. Pliny however tells us, that at the base it was but 883 feet wide. Greaves⁴ allows it only 693 feet. Pococke and Norden do not mention its diameter. But as we learn from Herodotus that its height was the same, and as Norden says it is 500 feet high, we must conclude that he allows the same width to its base. According to Le Bruyn, the width of the great pyramid is 750 feet.

⁹ Pococke’s Description, vol. I. p. 45. What Dr. Pococke says of these fosses and the subterranean apartments, shows that he applies to the second pyramid that which is peculiar to the first. We do not find in Herodotus that any of these works were seen about the second. The same thing may be said of Mr.

Norden. See plates 50 and 52 of his first vol., where he gives the plan of four canals.

¹ Strabo, XVII. p. 1161, c.

² Diod. Sic. I. lxiii. vol. I. p. 72.

³ Plin. Hist. Nat. XXXVI. xii. p. 738, lin. 14.

⁴ Pyramidographia, p. 68.

The admeasurement of Diodorus Siculus approaches nearly to that of Greaves, a skilful mathematician ; but that of Le Bruyn comes the nearest to Herodotus.

“ Thus much then ⁵, in general, may be said in defence and vindication of errors and disagreements of this kind, that at present none of the sides of this pyramid are upon one exact level : for there is a descent in passing, from the entrance into it, all along by the eastern corner to the southern ; there is again an ascent from this to the western point ; whilst the sides which regard the w. and the n. have been greatly encroached upon by those large drifts of sand which the Etesian winds, during a long course of years, have brought with them. As, therefore, it will be difficult to find its true horizontal base or foundation ; it being likewise uncertain (which is the chief thing to be considered) how far these drifts of sand may have been accumulated above it ; all calculations of this kind must be very different and exceedingly precarious, owing to the position of the adjacent sands, and to other circumstances at the time, particularly when these observations were made.”

[It is impossible to allow Herodotus the praise of pains-taking accuracy which Larcher would claim for him. The width of the great pyramid is now ascertained to be 716 French ⁶, or 764 English feet ; its perpendicular height is but 450 English feet ⁷. It is probable that the dimension which guided its constructors was expressed in round numbers, and was 500 Egyptian cubits.

With respect to the measure given by Pliny, which affects so much the appearance of exactness, it has been well suggested, that the Roman naturalist probably learned the measures of the pyramids in great cubits, and that he confounded the spithamæ or half cubits with feet, a kind of confusion of which there are many examples. In fact, the side of the great pyramid is equal in length to $441\frac{1}{2}$ cubits of the Nilometer at Elephantine ⁸.]

CXXV. 334. Ἀναβαθμῶν τρόπον. *In the form of steps.* The text adds, ‘ which some call κρόσσαι, and others βωμίδες.’ The Bomides are small altars, or rather little pedestals. As to the Crossæ, see Wesseling’s notes. These steps are distinct layers of stones ; each ascending layer being kept within that which is beneath it. The various travellers differ greatly as to the number of these layers, as we see from M. Savary.

335. Τοιαύτην τὸ πρῶτον ἐπεὶ τε ἐποίησαν αὐτήν. *When they had once set one of these layers.* These pyramids were formed of different tiers of stone, each keeping within that below it, and thus diminishing towards the top ; so that each side of the pyramid presented a sort of

⁵ Shaw’s Travels, p. 414 ; of 2nd edition, 4to, p. 367.

⁶ Descr. de l’Egypte, I. p. 514.

⁷ Vyse, Operations in the Pyramids at Gizeh, II. p. 106.

⁸ Böckh, Metrol. Untersuch. p. 241.

staircase. On the first tier was erected a machine to raise the stones to that above it, and upon this another, and so on. By no other method perhaps could such enormous stones have been raised to so great a height; although the stupendous edifices of antiquity lead us to the conclusion, that mechanical science had, even in those remote ages, attained the highest perfection. When the pyramids were finished, they were cased with marble or some other material; so that they presented to the eye only a level slope. This coating was begun from the top, as reason would dictate. This was considered the finishing stroke of the work, and is described by Herodotus by the word *ἐκποιέω*.

336. *Ἐξεποιήθη δ' ὧν τὰ ἀνώτατα αὐτῆς πρῶτα.* *The top of it was therefore the first part finished.* The word *ἐκποιέω* signifies to finish, to make perfect, to ornament, to put the finishing stroke to any work. Herodotus speaks of the casing of the pyramid, and for this reason I have translated it as above.

This coating was of marble. M. Norden⁹ says, "One does not perceive the least mark to prove that it has been coated with marble; for though certain travellers have conjectured so, from seeing the summit of the second pyramid coated with granite, there is so little appearance of this, that we find not in the steps the least remains of granite or of marble, and which it would not have been possible to take away in such a manner as that none of it should have continued. It is true, that about this pyramid and about some others we perceive a great quantity of little pieces of granite and of white marble; but that does not appear to me to be a proof that the pyramids have been coated with them."

The same writer observes¹, in speaking of the second pyramid, that "its summit is coated on the four sides with granite, so well joined and so well polished, that the boldest man would not attempt to go up it."

Shaw goes further². "Neither does it appear," says he, "that either this, or any other of the three greater pyramids, was ever finished. . . . Neither were these steps, or little altars, as Herodotus calls them, to remain in the same condition, inasmuch as they were all of them to be so filled with prismatical stones, that each side of the pyramid, as in Cestius's at Rome, was to lie smooth and on a plane. Yet nothing of this kind appears to have been ever attempted in the lesser or in the greater of these pyramids; the latter of which likewise wants a great part of the point, where this filling-up was to commence."

This is very like giving Herodotus a flat contradiction. And yet we may infer, from the account of Pliny, that that naturalist agreed with Herodotus; 'for,' says he³, 'these pyramids are a little less than four

⁹ Norden's Travels, vol. I. p. 73.

of 2nd edition, 4to, p. 367.

¹ Id. *ibid.* p. 75.

³ Plin. Hist. Nat. XXXVI. xii.

² Shaw's Travels, vol. II. p. 146; and pp. 738, 739.

miles from the Nile, and 7050 paces from Memphis, near the village of Busiris, where are men accustomed to ascend them.'

If the steps had not been coated with marble, it would not be an astonishing feat to ascend to the top of the pyramids, and would not deserve remark. But what sets the question at rest, is, that Pliny, a few lines further on, says, "*est autem saxo naturali elaborata et lubrica*:" it is built with a natural and polished stone. M. Savary, however, obviates every difficulty: "It suffices," says he, (p. 194.) "to remark the remains of mortar found on many parts of the steps with the fragments of white marble, to show that it has originally been cased with that material." M. Maillet adduces⁴ the same reasons to prove that the pyramids were coated with marble.

337. *Γραμμάτων Αἰγυπτίων. In Egyptian characters.* Probably the ordinary character, and not hieroglyphics. As Norden⁵ saw no hieroglyphics on the pyramids, he imagined that they were built before the invention of that species of writing. But this does not appear to me a just consequence. Because Norden did not see the inscriptions mentioned by Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and Pliny, would he thence conclude that they never existed? He could infer with propriety no more than that if there ever were any such, they had been effaced by the time he travelled in Egypt in 1737. Vansleb⁶ had seen hieroglyphics on the pyramids in 1673: but we cannot rely very well on his account; it is more likely that they were some remains of those inscriptions of which the ancient historians speak. No one of the latter mentions that there were any hieroglyphics on the pyramids, and their construction shows that there could not have been any. Some of them were coated with marble, and the others were intended to be so. The summit of the first pyramid, which the travellers have generally denominated the second, is still cased with polished marble, on which not the slightest trace is visible of there ever having been any hieroglyphics. [Hieroglyphics have been found on some of the stones of the pyramids by Col. H. Vyse, but they appear to have been only builder's marks.]

338. *Συρμαίνην. Horse-radish.* I have explained this by 'horse-radish,' on the authority of Pliny the naturalist⁷: "*Aliqui prodiderunt in raphanos et allium ac cepas, mille sexcenta talenta erogata.*"

CXXVI. 339. *Τὴν θυγατέρα κατίσαντα ἐπ' οἰκήματος. To prostitute his daughter.* This story appears so horrible, that some have refused to give it credit; but yet in England, in the course of the last century, we find, that Mervin, Lord Audley, prostituted his wife to his own servant, in pure wantonness.

⁴ Description de l'Egypte, &c. tom. I. translation of Norden's Travels, vol. I. p. 290. p. 69.

⁵ Norden's Travels, vol. I. p. 69.

⁶ See Dr. Templeman's note in his

⁷ Plin. Hist. Nat. XXXVI. xii. vol. II.

p. 738. lin. 12.

Οἶκημα signified among the Athenians a place of prostitution, 'lupanar'.⁸ Εὐθύμαχον δὲ (θανάτῳ ἐζημιώσατε) διότι τὴν Ὀλυνθίαν παιδίσκην ἔστησεν ἐπ' οἰκήματος. 'You punished Euthymachus with death, because he prostituted a young girl of Olynthus in a public place.' Τούτου (nempe τοῦ ἐπιθυμεῖν τῶν ἀφροδισίων) τῶν ἀπολυσόντων μεστὰὶ μὲν αἱ ὁδοί, μεστὰ δὲ τὰ οἰκήματα.⁹ 'The streets and the places of prostitution abound with remedies for the pleasures of love.'

CXXVII. 340. Τὸν ἀδελφεὸν αὐτοῦ Χεφρῆνα. *His brother Chephren.* Diodorus Siculus remarks¹⁰, that there are some authors who affirm, that it was not his brother who succeeded him, but his son Chabryin, or Chabryen, according to another reading. Chephren and Chabryen seem to me the same word, a little differently written, according to a diversity of pronunciation.

[According to Manetho, Suphis or Shupho was succeeded by a king of the same name, Suphis II., called by Eratosthenes Sensaophis, which latter name seems to signify 'Brother of Suphis.' Rosellini¹ found in the tombs of Sakkara a royal name, which he thought might be read Sen-Shupho, but his interpretation of the hieroglyphics is in this instance disputed.]

341. Οἰκήματα ὑπὸ γῆν. *Subterranean apartments.* This is another proof that what Norden and Pococke call the first pyramid, is that which Herodotus terms the second.

342. Ἐν τῇ αὐτὸν λέγουσι κεῖσθαι Χέοπα. *In which (island), they say, Cheops lies buried.* Herodotus does not take upon himself to say that the body of Cheops was in this pyramid, [or rather within the circuit of the canal surrounding the pyramid.] We read in Diodorus Siculus², speaking of the first and of the second pyramids, "That although the kings had intended them for their sepulchres, it so happened that neither of them were buried in them. The people, indignant at the toil to which they had been subjected, and the violence and cruelty with which they had been treated on account of these buildings, threatened to force their bodies from their tombs, and tear them to pieces; for which reason these two kings desired their relations to bury them secretly in some unknown place."

343. Λίθον Αἰθιοπικοῦ ποικίλου. *Of speckled Ethiopian stone.* Herodotus says no more. I imagine it to be the stone which Pliny calls Pyropœcilos, and which I take to be granite. "Circa³ Syenen vero Thebaidis Syenites, quem ante Pyropœcilon vocabant."

It may be objected to this notion, that Herodotus asserting that this

⁸ Dinarch. adv. Demosth. p. 93. lin. 11.

⁹ Xenoph. Socratis Mem. II. ii. § iv. p. 83.

¹⁰ Diod. Sic. I. lxiv. vol. I. p. 73.

¹ Monumenti Istorici, I. p. 130 :

Vyse, Operations, &c. at Gizeh, I. p. 280.

² Diod. Sic. I. lxiv. vol. I. pp. 73, 74.

³ Plin. Hist. Natur. XXXVI. viii. vol. II. p. 735.

stone was Ethiopian, it could not come from Syene, a town of the Thebais. On this I may observe: 1. That it was almost impossible to bring from Ethiopia, properly so called, masses of stone of so vast a bulk; neither could they be transported by water, on account of the cataract. 2. Syene being on the frontiers of Ethiopia, as we learn from Strabo⁴, might, in language which is not very accurate, pass for a part of Ethiopia.

[From Syene is derived the name Syenite, given by modern mineralogists to a granitic rock without mica, and which may have been the speckled stone described by Herodotus. As to the epithet Ethiopic, it is more likely that it was given to a kind of rock abounding in or characteristic of Ethiopia, than that it meant stones actually brought from that country. When we speak of Syenitic rocks in Cornwall, we do not mean rocks brought from Syene.]

344. Μάλιστα ἐς ἑκατὸν πόδας ὑψηλοῦ. *About a hundred feet high.* "This plain," says Norden⁵, "may have about 80 feet of perpendicular elevation above the horizon of the ground that is covered by the waters of the Nile."

The difference between Herodotus and Norden is by no means surprising, as Norden seems merely to have judged of the height of this hill by guess.

[The elevation of the base of the great pyramid above the full Nile, in 1837, was 138 feet, to which 30 feet may be added for the rise of the river's bed since Herodotus, making the base of the great pyramid 168 feet above the river in his time. The base of the second pyramid is 33 feet higher.]

CXXVIII. 345. Οὐ θέλουσι ὀνομάζειν. *They are unwilling to name them.* This accounts for the disagreement amongst historians as to the names of the princes who constructed these pyramids. "Qui de iis⁶ scripserint, sunt Herodotus, Euhemerus, Duris Samius, Aristagoras, Dionysius, Artemidorus, Alexander Polyhistor, Butorides, Antisthenes, Demetrius, Demoteles, Apion. Inter eos omnes non constat a quibus factæ sint, justissimo casu oblitteratis tantæ vanitatis auctoribus."

The first, according to Manetho, was erected by Suphis⁷; according to others, by Armais⁸. This Armais was the brother of Sesostris. Amasis was, according to some historians⁹, the founder of the second pyramid, and Maro of the third.

346. [Τὰς πυραμίδας καλέουσι ποιμένος Φιλιτίωνος. *The pyramids they call from a shepherd named Philition.* Jablonski¹ suspects that in the name Philitis or Philition lurks the epithet Philistine; and that

⁴ Strabo, Geogr. XVII. p. 1171, v.

⁵ M. Norden here wishes us to understand that hill whose summit is level. *Travels in Egypt, &c.* vol. I. p. 71.

⁶ Plin. Hist. Nat. XXXVI. xii. vol. II.

p. 738.

⁷ Syncell. Chronograph. p. 56.

⁸ Diod. Sic. I. lxiv. vol. I. p. 75.

⁹ Id. ibid.

¹ Vocc. Ægypt. p. 346.

the founders of the great pyramids belonged to the Hyksos or shepherd kings, who are reported to have entered Egypt from the east². There is much likelihood in this conjecture.]

CXXIX. 347. [Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον, βασιλεῦσαι Αἰγύπτου Μυκερίνον ἔλεγον, Χέοπος παῖδα. *After him, Mycerinus, son of Cheops, they say, ruled Egypt.* Diodorus³ calls him Μεχερίνος, which name Zoëga⁴ explains from Coptic to mean tranquil, mild, so as to correspond to the epithet ἡπιος which Herodotus bestows on this king; but Africanus, who writes Μενχέρης, comes nearer to the true orthography. The name Men-kah-re inscribed on the coffin, found, as above related, in the third pyramid, signifies “a dedicated offering to the Sun⁵,” and is therefore correctly rendered by Eratosthenes into Ἡλιόδοτος⁶. The mode in which this name has been so satisfactorily determined, is of great importance both to the history of the pyramids and the history of hieroglyphics.]

348. Δίκας δὲ σφι δικαιοτάτας κρίνειν. *He administered justice most uprightly.* It appears from this passage, and from the remainder of the paragraph, that the kings often administered justice to their subjects in person. And yet M. De Pauw asserts, for what reason none but himself can conjecture, that the kings of Egypt⁷ never had the right of pronouncing judgment in a civil cause. See also clxxiii. where Amasis administers justice to his subjects.

CXXX. 349. Ἐν Σάϊ. *In Saïs.* Didymus, on the authority of Hesychius⁸, calls this city Mycerine; for Herodotus, he adds, says that Mycerinus reigned there. But it is to Memphis that Hesychius gives this name, which he elsewhere calls Mucerinæ.

CXXXII. 350. Οὐκ ὀνομαζόμενον θεὸν ὑπ’ ἐμεῦ ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ πρήγματι. *A god not to be named by me on such an occasion.* This god, it should seem, was Osiris. At least, this ceremony greatly resembles that which was performed in honour of that god. “They expose to view⁹, for four successive days, a golden ox covered with a housing of fine black linen, because of the grief of the goddess” (Isis).

351. [Μεταξὺ δὲ τῶν κερέων, ὁ τοῦ ἡλίου κύκλος μεμιμημένος ἔπεστι χρούσεος. *Between its horns is a circular plate of gold representing the Sun.* Creutzer has clearly shown¹ that sepulture within an image of a cow or heifer, had its origin in the history of Osiris, and that it was intended as a kind of apotheosis. In the tombs of Thebes, there is a

² Josephus, contra Apionem, I. xiv.

³ Diod. Sic. I. lxiv.

⁴ De Obeliscis, p. 415.

⁵ Vyse, Operations, &c. vol. II. p. 94, note.

⁶ Syncellus, p. 104.

⁷ Recherches Philosophiques sur les Egyptiens, &c. tom. ii. p. 291.

⁸ Hesych. voc. Μυκερίνα et Μουκερί-
ναι.

⁹ Plutarch. de Iside et Osiride, p. 366.

¹ Commentationes Herodoteæ, p. 127.

painted representation of a heifer resembling in all respects the image described by Herodotus ².]

CXXXIII. 352. Ἐνηβητήρια. *The most delicious places.* The Greek phrase implies retreats appropriated to voluptuousness, such as the 'Actæ' of the Sicilians, and the 'Maiumæ' of the Egyptians and the Syrians. Gregory, archbishop of Corinth, quotes this passage in his *Treatise de Dialectis* (p. 224).

353. Αἱ νύκτες ἡμέραι ποιεύμεναι. *Night being turned into day.* The good Mycerinus, no doubt, thought that if the night were made as light as day, that was to all intents and purposes to make a day of it, and thus he flattered himself he could give the lie to the oracle. That he passed the whole time in eating, drinking, and other diversions, without interruption, as Herodotus says, must not be understood literally.

CXXXIV. 354. Λίθον Αἰθιοπικοῦ. *Of stone of Ethiopia.* If Herodotus had here meant the same kind of stone as he had mentioned before (cxxvii.) he would have expressed himself in the same terms. Pliny, content to copy him, says, "Tertia minor³ prædictis, sed multo spectatior, Æthiopicis lapidibus assurgit." Diodorus Siculus is rather more precise. He tells us⁴ that this pyramid was of black stone, resembling the stone of Thebes; and Strabo⁵, that it was a hard black stone, very difficult to work. This in all probability is the same stone that is called Basalt, which was found in a mountain on the eastern side of the Nile, near Ethiopia⁶, and, according to Pliny, in Ethiopia. "Invenit⁷ eadem Ægyptus in Æthiopia quem vocant Basalten, ferrei coloris atque duritiæ." Its colour, and the great quantity of it found in Ethiopia, perhaps obtained for it, in the time of Herodotus, the name of Ethiopian stone.

The word Basalt is foreign to the Greek language. That of Basanitum, which we find in Ptolemy, is probably a corruption; perhaps, too, the Basalt might be confounded with touch-stone. Pliny reckons this stone amongst the marbles. He is mistaken, as well as many other ancient naturalists who coincide with him; for it does not effervesce on being exposed to an acid. The modern naturalists, much more accurate than those of antiquity, have ascertained this point.

The famous statue of the Nile, with sixteen children playing around it, the emblem of the increase of that river, was of basalt, that is to say, of the species of lava before spoken of. The Emperor Vespasian

² Deser. de l'Eg. Antiq. tom. II. p. 169.

³ Plin. Hist. Nat. XXXVI. xii. vol. II. p. 738.

⁴ Diod. Sic. I. lxiv. vol. I. p. 74.

⁵ Strabo, XXII. p. 1161, D.

⁶ Though this may in fact be the same mountain, Ptolemy distinguishes it by

different names; the mountain of Troy, that of Alabaster, that of Porphyry, that of Black-stone, and that of Basanitum. This last bordered on Ethiopia. Ptolem. Geogr. IV. p. 117.

⁷ Plin. Hist. Nat. XXXVI. vii. vol. II. p. 734.

placed it in the Temple of Peace at Rome. “Nunquam⁸ hic major repertus est quam in templo Pacis ab Imperatore Vespasiano Augusto dicatus: argumento Nili 16 liberis circa ludentibus, per quos totidem cubiti summi incrementi augentis se amnis intelliguntur.” This statue no longer exists. That which is still seen in the gardens of the Vatican, is perhaps a copy from it. It is of white marble, like that of the grand basin at the Tuileries. [The Ethiopic stone used in the third pyramid was black granite.]

355. Ἐς τὸ ἡμισυ. *Half way up.* “Each side of the base⁹ was three plethra wide. As to the height, as far as the fifteenth layer, it was¹ built of a black stone resembling that of Thebes, and was finished with stone like that of the other pyramids. If it is inferior in point of size to those before mentioned, it infinitely excels them in the costliness of its materials and exactness of workmanship. On the side towards the north is engraved the name of Mycerinus², the founder of it.” “Further on³, upon the summit of the hill, is seen the third pyramid; it is smaller than the two others, but it cost the most. From the base to about half its height it is of a black stone, brought from the distant mountains of Ethiopia, the same of which mortars are made. This stone being hard and difficult to work, every thing which is formed of it becomes exceedingly expensive.”

356. [Ἐείκοσι ποδῶν καταδέουσιν κῶλον ἕκαστον τριῶν πλέθρων, εἰούσης τετραγώνου. *Wanting twenty feet of three hundred on each side, the building being quadrangular.* This passage has been variously interpreted; but no mode of punctuation or interpretation can make it agree with the truth. The third pyramid is, not 280, but 354 feet wide at the base; its perpendicular height is 203 feet⁴. Pliny says of this pyramid⁵, “Tertia minor prædictis, sed multo spectatior, Æthiopicis lapidibus assurgit 362 pedibus inter angulos.” 362 Roman feet being equal to 351 English feet, Pliny’s statement is in this instance nearly correct: but it is possible also that by feet he means σπιθαμαὶ⁶, and that he speaks of the height of the inclined face of the pyramid.]

357. Ποδώπιος ἑταίρης γυναικός. *Of the courtesan Rhodopis.* “Some attribute this⁷ pyramid to Inaron⁸; others say that it is the tomb of the courtesan Rhodopis: the governors of some of the Nomi having

⁸ Plin. Hist. Nat. XXXVI. vii. vol. II. p. 734.

⁹ Diod. Sic. I. lxiv. vol. I. p. 74.

¹ Herodotus says, half way up. It therefore comprised 30 layers of stone. These layers were of 5 English feet each, as Dr. Pococke found. This gives for the height 150 English feet.

² Had any hieroglyphics been engraved on this pyramid, Diodorus would no doubt have mentioned them likewise. This is another proof that the pyramids

were not intended to transmit the history and sciences of the nation.

³ Strabo, XVII. p. 1161, c, d.

⁴ Hist. Nat. XXXVI. xii.

⁵ Vyse, Operations &c. in the Pyramids, vol. II. p. 94.

⁶ See above, note 333.

⁷ Diod. Sic. I. lxiv. vol. I. p. 75.

⁸ In different versions of Diodorus, we find the name of this king variously written, Inarus, Indron, Maron.

fallen in love with her, erected this pyramid at their common expense in the hope of thereby winning her favour."

"It is said⁹ that this pyramid was built by the lovers of the courtesan whom Sappho calls Doricha; she was the mistress of her (Sappho's) brother Charaxes, who carried to Naucratis the wine of Lesbos and made a traffic of it; others call her Rhodopis. It is said, that one day, whilst she was bathing, an eagle snatched one of her slippers from the hands of the attendant who held it, and carried it to Memphis. The king was engaged in administering justice; the eagle, soaring above his head, dropped the slipper into his bosom. The prince surprised at an event so singular, and at the smallness of the shoe, had all the country searched for the woman to whom it belonged. Being found at Naucratis, she was presented to the king, who made her his wife. When she died, she was placed in the sepulchre I have mentioned."

Achilles Tatius¹, in his romance of Clitophon and Leucippe, says, that near Tyre there was a small island, called by the Tyrians the tomb of Rhodopis.

358. Κατὰ Ἀμασιν βασιλεύοντα. *In the reign of Amasis.* Ælian supposes² that Rhodopis was the wife of Psammetichus; but as there is an interval of forty-seven years between the death of that prince and the accession of Amasis, we cannot say that that courtesan flourished under the first of these kings. Perizonius, in his notes on this passage of Ælian, suggests that there might be two women of this name; one who, from a courtesan, became the wife of Psammetichus; the other, who was a slave with Æsop, and flourished under Amasis. Ælian has, no doubt, borrowed this fable from Strabo, but neither of those authors mention two Rhodopises. What other authority Perizonius might have for this conjecture, does not appear.

359. Τοῦ Ἡφαιστοπόλιος. *Son of Hephæstopolis.* This is the name of a man, not of a city. Wesseling, in his note, cites names quite as remarkable; such as Agesipolis, Cratesipolis, &c. We have analogous forms in our own language.

360. Αἰσώπου τοῦ λογοποιουῦ. *Æsop the fabulist.* Λογοποιός signifies both a historian and a fabulist. It is taken in the former sense in cxliii. where our author speaks of the historian Hecataeus, and in Lucian³. Here it signifies fabulist. The reader may consult Suidas under the words λογοποιός and λογοποιῶν. Aristophanes⁴ calls the fables of Æsop λόγοι. Ὡς ἐν Αἰσώπου λόγοις ἐστὶν λεγόμενον δῆτι. 'As it is said in the fables of Æsop.' It appears to me that this was the peculiar and appropriate term. Seneca makes use of it,

⁹ Strabo, XVII. p. 1161, D; 1162, A.

¹ Achill. Tat. de Clitopontis et Leucippes Amoribus, II. xvii. p. 159.

² Ælian. Hist. Var. XIII. xxxiii. vol. II. p. 901, &c.

³ Lucian. de Macrob. X. vol. III. p. 214.

⁴ Aristoph. in Avibus, 651, and in Pace, 129.

although he wrote in Latin. "Non⁵ audeo te usque eo producere, ut fabellas quoque et Æsopeos logos solita tibi venustate connectas." Xenophon⁶ uses this word in the same sense; εἶτα οὐ λέγεις αὐτοῖς τὸν τοῦ κυνὸς λόγον; 'Why do you not relate to them the fable of the dog?' Antiphanes, a comic poet, in the piece entitled Νεανίσκοι, uses the word⁷ λογοποίημα, to signify a fable or fiction. 'Εγὼ τέως μὲν ῥόμην τὰς Γοργόνας εἶναί τι λογοποίημα. 'Up to this time, I had considered the Gorgons but as a mere fable.'

Demetrius Phalereus⁸ had made a collection of the fables of Æsop. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ λόγων Αἰσωπείων συναγωγαί. For so we must translate, and not with Meibomius, 'sed et orationum Æsopiarum collectiones.' Menage has omitted to correct this error in his notes.

Yet λόγος, opposed to μῦθος, means the truth, or rather the hidden meaning conveyed under the cloak of a fable. Ἰδιῶται μύθους ἀκούσαντες, ὧν τοὺς λόγους οὐκ ἐπίστανται, μέγα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς φρονοῦσι⁹. 'Ignorant persons hearing fables, the meaning of which they cannot interpret, puff themselves up.'

361. Ποινὴν τῆς Αἰσώπου ψυχῆς ἀνελέσθαι. *To require atonement for taking the life of Æsop.* Plutarch relates¹⁰, that Cræsus sent Æsop to the court of Periander, tyrant of Corinth, and to the Oracle at Delphi. On the testimony of so respectable an author, we can scarcely doubt that Æsop lived in the time of Cræsus, and at his court. According to Suidas¹, this fabulist was of Samos, or of Sardis; others say that he was of Mesembria, or of Cotyæum in Phrygia. He lived at the court of Cræsus, and was much esteemed by that prince. He perished at Delphi by an unjust death, the Delphians having precipitated him from the rock Hyampæa², towards the end of the fourth year of the 54th Olympiad. Hence the proverbial expression 'Æsop's blood³,' spoken of those who were unjustly put to death, and also of those who were guilty of crimes difficult to expiate; for the gods were much irritated against the Delphians for having unjustly put Æsop to death. He was⁴ anterior to Pythagoras, for he lived about the 40th Olympiad. He is said to have been the slave of Xanthus the Lydian, or of a certain Samian, named Iadmon, to whom Rhodopis of Thrace was likewise slave. Rhodopis was a celebrated courtesan, whom Charaxes, brother of Sappho, married, and by whom he had children. Plutarch relates⁵, that "Cræsus sent Æsop to

⁵ Seneca, Consolat. ad Polybium, xxvii. p. 219.

⁶ Xenoph. Memor. II. vii. § xiii. p. 121.

⁷ Athen. Deipnos. VI. i. p. 224, c, d.

⁸ Diog. Laërt. V. lxxx. p. 309.

⁹ Origen contra Celsum, I. p. 330, d.

¹⁰ Plutarch. in Convivio septem Sapientium, p. 150, A.

¹ Suidas, voc. Αἰσωπος, vol. I. p. 660.

² See my Essay on Chronology, xix.

³ Suidas, voc. Αἰσώπειον αἷμα.

⁴ Idem, voc. Αἰσωπος, vol. I. p. 660.

See also my Essay on Chronology, xix. and xxi.

⁵ Plutarch. de his qui serò à Numine puniuntur, p. 556, F.

Delphi, with a considerable quantity of gold, for the purpose of offering to the god a magnificent sacrifice, and distributing to each citizen of the place four minæ, or 15*l.* sterling. Having had, as it should seem, some difference with the Delphians, he made the sacrifice, but sent the money back to Sardis, looking on the inhabitants of Delphi as unworthy of the bounty of his prince. The Delphians, irritated by this conduct, with one accord accused him of sacrilege, and put him to death by precipitating him from Hyampæa. The god of Delphi, incensed at this action, rendered their land barren, and sent amongst them all sorts of terrible diseases. To obtain a remission of this scourge, they proclaimed at the grand festivals of Greece, that if any one would require of them satisfaction for the death of Æsop, they would make it. Three generations afterwards, a Samian, named Idmon, (the same Iadmon mentioned by Herodotus,) who was no relation of Æsop, but a descendant from those who had bought him at Samos, presented himself. The Delphians having given him satisfaction, were delivered from the evils with which they had been afflicted." The Athenians did themselves much honour by erecting a statue to Æsop.

Æsopo ingentem statuam posuere Attici;
 Servumque collocarunt æterna in basi,
 Patere honoris scirent ut cunctis viam,
 Nec generi tribui, sed virtuti, gloriam⁶.

This statue was the work of the celebrated Lysippus⁷; it was placed opposite to those of the seven wise men.

Ptolemy, son of Hephæstion, relates in the 6th book of his Remarkable Histories, "that Æsop⁸, having been killed by the Delphians, came to life again, and fought with the Greeks at the battle of Thermopylæ."

CXXXV. 362. Ἀνδρὸς Μιτυληναίου Χαράξου. *Charaxes, a man of Mitylene.* Sappho had two other brothers⁹, Eurygius and Larychus, or rather, Larichus, as it is written by Athenæus¹; the Dorians having a partiality for names terminating in 'ichos,' as Bosporichos.

363. Ἐλύθη χρημάτων μεγάλων. *She was redeemed at a great price.* We find in Athenæus², that the courtesan of Naucratis, who was beloved by Charaxes, and who was attacked in verse by Sappho, was named Doricha. He adds, that Herodotus calls her Rhodopis, because he was ignorant that Rhodopis, who made a present of those famous spits to the temple of Delphi, was a different person from this Doricha. But on what authority does Athenæus advance this fact? Strabo³ is of the same opinion as our author. Posidippus, in his Æthiopia, often makes

⁶ Phædr. Fabulæ, II. Epilog.

⁷ Analect. vet. Poet. Græc. vol. III. p. 45. No. 35.

⁸ Ptolem. Hephæst. Hist. ad Historiæ Poeticæ Scriptores antiquos, p. 333.

⁹ Suidas, voc. Σαπφώ.

¹ Athen. Deipnos. X. vi. p. 424. lin. ult.

² Id. XIII. vii. p. 596, B.

³ Strab. XVII. p. 1162, A.

mention of Doricha. The same writer has also composed an epigram on this Doricha, which Athenæus has preserved, but which is much more correctly given in that valuable collection, Brunck's *Analecta*⁴.

364. Ὡς ἂν εἶναι Ῥοδῶπιν. *For a woman of the condition of Rhodopis.* Valckenaer has explained this passage by the following of Ælian, παῖδα ὡραῖον, ὥς ἂν εἶναι Αἰγύπτιον⁵, 'a handsome child for an Egyptian;' and by the following from Cicero and from Cornelius Nepos: "Multæ etiam, ut in homine Romano, litteræ⁶;" 'he was very learned for a Roman.' "Satis exercitatum in dicendo, ut Thebanum scilicet⁷," 'at least for a Theban.' To these examples may be joined the following from Ælian, μόσχον ἐλέφαντος ὡραῖαν ὥς ἐκεῖνοι⁸, 'a young female elephant, as handsome as elephants ever are, handsome for an elephant.'

365. Ποιησαμένη ὀβελοὺς βουπόρους πολλοὺς σιδηρέους ἀπέπεμπε εἰς Δελφοὺς. *Getting a great number of iron ox-spits made, she sent them to Delphi.* "He⁹ who conducted us having shown us the spot where the steel spits of the courtesan Rhodopis had been placed, 'Was it not consistent,' said Diogenianus, indignantly, 'for the same city that had put Æsop to death, to assign to Rhodopis a place in which to deposit the tithe of the price of her prostitution?'" [This gift of iron spits made by one who had accumulated great wealth, may be taken as a proof of the high price of iron in those days.]

366. Οἱ καὶ νῦν ἔτι συννεύεται. *Which are still seen piled.* They no longer existed in the time of Plutarch. The Cicerone who exhibited the curiosities of Delphi, only showed him the place where they had been.

367. Ἀρχιδίκη. *Archidice.* "A young man¹ was in love with Archidice, a courtesan of Naucratis. She, proud of her charms, and difficult of access, sold her favours dearly. When a trifling present was made, she condescended a little, but very soon dismissed the lover. Not being able to obtain her favours, because he was not rich, he enjoyed her in a dream, and his love ceased immediately."

Some have confounded Archidice with a courtesan named Thonis, mentioned by Plutarch, imagining that the latter was her Egyptian name, because Plutarch relates a story of her somewhat similar to the above². But Thonis lived under Bocchoris, that is to say, at least two centuries before Archidice; for this latter acquired her celebrity only subsequently to Rhodopis, who lived under Amasis.

368. Ἐν μέλει Σαπφῶ πολλὰ κατεκερτόμησέ μιν. *Sappho attacked him bitterly in her songs.* The Greek has μιν, which may relate either

⁴ Vol. II. p. 51. No. 20.

⁵ Ælian, De Nat. An. IV. 54.

⁶ Cic. De Senect. iv.

⁷ Corn. Nep. in Epamin. XV. v. 2.

⁸ Ælian. De Nat. An. X. i. p. 545.

⁹ Plutarch. cur Pythia carmine desi-

erit respondere, p. 400, p.

¹ Ælian. Var. Hist. XII. lxiii. vol. II. p. 830, &c.

² Plutarch. Vit. Parall. in Demetrio, p. 901, D.

to Rhodopis or Charaxes. I have decided for the latter, because he is the governing subject of the sentence. However, as the Greeks do not always conform to these rules, we may be induced to refer it to Rhodopis, because we learn from Athenæus that she was attacked by the verses of Sappho. It is true that that author considers Doricha to have been the subject of Sappho's raillery; but although Athenæus says that Herodotus has mistaken her name, we incline to think it more likely that he is himself mistaken.

CXXXVI. 369. Αἰγύπτου βασιλέα Ἀσυχιν. *Asychis was king of Egypt.* Diodorus Siculus does not agree on this point with our author. He does not speak of Asychis who succeeded Mycerinus, nor of Anysis who succeeded Asychis; but he substitutes for them Bocchoris³, and adds, that long after this latter prince, Sabachus reigned in Egypt. But this is not all. The same historian relates, in another place⁴, that Tnephactus, father of Bocchoris, reigned also. Is he, then, the same with Mycerinus? I do not believe this. I rather think that Diodorus is mistaken in the period that he assigns to these princes, and that they were of the number of the 330 kings whom Herodotus does not name. The authority of Syncellus⁵, who affirms that Bocchoris, being conquered and made prisoner by Sabachus, was burned alive, has the less weight with me; as it does not at all agree with what Diodorus says of the mildness of that prince, who punished no one with death.

370. Μήτε ἄλλον μηδένα τῶν ἐωϋτοῦ ἀπογενόμενον θάψαι. *Nor that any of his family, happening to die, should receive burial.* Τῶν ἐωϋτοῦ is to be understood of his children; ἀπογενόμενον signifies 'being dead.' I remark this, because all the translators have been mistaken, except Wesseling and Valckenaer, who first discovered the error. Hesychius explains ἀπογενόμενοι by ἀποθανόντες, and we find in Hippocrates⁶ ἀπογενομένου τε εὐθέως, 'immediately after his death.' But where is the necessity of multiplying examples of a thing so clear?

371. Κοντῶ γὰρ ὑποτύπτοντες ἐς λίμνην. The text literally interpreted runs thus: *For sinking into the lake, under the mud, the flat extremity of their oars, they amassed all the mud that adhered to them, and made bricks of it. Such is the manner in which I was constructed.* Ὑποτύπτειν signifies, to place some flat object under another for the purpose of raising it. We shall find in the sequel other examples of it; one in III. cxxx.; another in VI. cxix.

Οἱ χῆνες ὑποτύπτοντες, ὥσπερ ταῖς ἄμαις,
 τοῖν ποδοῖν⁷.

'The geese raising it (the mud) with their feet, as with a trowel.' The

³ Diod. Sic. I. lxxv. vol. I. p. 75.

⁴ Id. ibid. xlv. p. 54.

⁵ Syncell. Chronograph. pp. 74, 184.

⁶ Hippocrat. Epidem. IV. xx. p. 757.

⁷ Aristoph. Aves, 1145.

reader may likewise consult the note of M. Hemsterhuis, as well as that of M. Brunck, on the above verse of Aristophanes.

CXXXVII. 372. Κτείνειν μὲν αὐτῶν οὐδένα ἐθέλειν. *He was unwilling to put any of them to death.* It is said, however, further on, (clii.) that he put to death Nechos, father of Psammetichus; but perhaps Nechos was of the royal family, and Sabachus might fear that he would deprive him of the crown. If we believe Syncellus⁸, he also caused Bocchoris to be burned alive: but I think that this last-named prince was long anterior to Sabachus; for the latter did not reign in Egypt till a great number of years afterwards, according to Diodorus Siculus⁹, who likewise places Bocchoris at a wrong period in my opinion. I think that he ought to be reckoned amongst the 330 kings who succeeded Menes, and of whom Herodotus has not thought proper to say any thing. But, however that may be, it was not he who cut off the noses of the malefactors, and formed the establishment of Rhinocolura, as M. De Pauw asserts¹. It is evident that he confounds him with Actisanes², another Ethiopian prince, who reigned in Egypt, and treated robbers in that manner. Strabo, whom M. De Pauw takes this opportunity of criticizing, does not mention the name of this prince, but we find it in Diodorus.

CXXXVIII. 373. Ἡ δὲ Βούβαστις ἐστὶ Ἀρτεμις. *But Bubastis is Diana.* Bubastis was a virgin; she presided over the parturition of women, and was the emblem of the moon. This resemblance to the Diana of the Greeks induced them to call her the Diana of the Egyptians. The resemblance, however, was not complete; she was not considered by the latter as the goddess of the mountains, the woods, and the chase. It was probably this difference which led Juvenal to say,

Oppida tota canem venerantur, nemo Dianam.—*Sat.* xv. 8.

374. Τῆς πόλιος μὲν ἐκκεχωσμένης ὑψοῦ. *The city having been raised, or heightened.* It was not only with Bubastis that this was done, but with all the cities and towns that were not built on hills. Sesostris, in the first instance, heightened or banked up these cities, and Sabachus raised them still higher. Sesostris, says Diodorus Siculus³, having raised considerable mounds of earth, where the site was not naturally sufficiently elevated, built cities on them, in order that, at the time of the increase of the Nile, both men and cattle might find in them a secure retreat. The ground being low⁴, says the same historian, and

⁸ Syncelli Chronograph. pp. 74, 184.

⁹ Diod. Sic. I. lxxv. vol. I. p. 75.

¹ Rech. Philos. sur les Egyptiens, &c. tom. II. p. 274.

² Diod. Sic. I. lx. vol. I. p. 69;

Strabo, XVI. p. 1102, B.

³ Diod. Sic. I. lvii. vol. I. p. 66.

⁴ Id. I. xxxvi. vol. I. p. 43.

the cities and towns being built on these artificial mounts, looked at a distance like the Cyclades.

375. Ἐς Ἑρμῆω ἱόν. *To the temple of Mercury.* The Egyptian Mercury was called Thoth or Theuth. Thoth, amongst the Egyptians, was the inventor of the sciences, over which, like the Greek Mercury, he presided: the Greeks called him in their language by the name of Hermes, or Mercury. They had given the name of Mercury likewise to Anubis, from some resemblance they had remarked between those two divinities. "It is not literally⁵ the dog that they honour under the name of Mercury; but his qualities, his vigilance, his good faith, his sagacity in distinguishing a friend from an enemy, which, to use the words of Plato, have rendered this animal a fit symbol of that god, who is the immediate patron of reason."

Servius also says, (on the *Æneid* III. 69) "Quia canino capite pingitur Anubis, hunc volunt esse Mercurium, ideo quia nihil est cane sagacius."

CXL. 376. Αὐτίς τὸν τυφλὸν ἄρχειν. *The blind man (Anysis) resumed the government.* Diodorus Siculus⁶ says, that after the departure of Sabachus, there was an anarchy of two years, which was followed by the reign of the twelve kings, who, at their common expense, constructed the Labyrinth.

377. Σιγῇ τοῦ Αἰθίοπος. *Unknown to Sabachus.* Thomas Magister very clearly explains this, under the word Σιγῇ. Τίθεται δὲ ἐνταῦθα (Ἡρόδοτος) τὸ σιγῇ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀγνοίας. 'Herodotus here uses the word Σιγῇ, in silence, instead of ἀγνοία, without the knowledge of.' Varinus Phavorinus⁷ says the same thing, and in the same terms, under the word κρύφα.

378. Ἀμυρταίου. *Amyrtæus.* Egypt⁸ having revolted under Artaxerxes Longimanus, and Inaros having been taken, Amyrtæus, who had made himself king, retired into the marshes: his son Pausiris reigned after him⁹. On the epoch of the retreat of this prince into the island of Elbo, see my Chronological Essay¹.

379. Ἔτεα ἐπὶ πλέω ἢ ἑπτακόσια. *During more than 700 years.* The late President Bouhier has endeavoured to prove² that between the time of Anysis and the flight of Amyrtæus to the marshes, there was a period of only 300 years. He thinks that the copyists of Herodotus have confounded the numeral letters HHH, which signify 300, with ΗΗΗ, which signify 700. M. Wesseling is of the same opinion; but the reasonings of these learned men have not had the effect of misleading the last editor of Herodotus, M. Borheck. He has admitted into the text

⁵ Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 355.

⁶ Diod. Sic. I. lxvi. vol. I. p. 76.

⁷ Pag. 321, sub finem.

⁸ Thucyd. I. cx. p. 71.

⁹ Herod. III. x.

¹ Traduction d'Hérod. tom. VII. p. 108.

² Rech. et Dissert. sur Hérod. VII. p. 70.

πεντακόσια, 500. I am not aware of the motives which have induced him to do so, as he has not accompanied his edition with notes. But before his edition appeared, I had made up my mind, from my own idea of the Chronology of Herodotus, to the number of 500. This opinion I have fully explained in my Essay on the Chronology of this historian.

CXLI. 380. Ἱερέα τοῦ Ἡφαίστου. *A priest of Vulcan.* “No king can reign³ in Egypt, unless he has a knowledge of sacred things. From whatever class a man may rise who attains the crown, he must immediately be initiated into the sacerdotal order.” “The kings,” says Plutarch⁴, “were taken from amongst the priests or the warriors; these two orders being distinguished, the one for their wisdom, the other for their valour. When a warrior was chosen for king, he was immediately admitted into the order of the priesthood, where a knowledge of the concealed philosophy was communicated to him by the priests. The priests⁵ had a right to censure the prince, to warn him from time to time, and to direct all his actions. They⁶ also fixed the hour of his walking out, of his bathing, and of his seeing his wife.”

381. Δωδέκα ἀρούρας. *Twelve aroure.* The aroura equalled the square of 100 cubits (see below, clxviii.), or, estimating the cubit at 20½ inches, it contained 3242 square yards, or about two-thirds of an acre.

Herodotus does not say that the pay of the general was no more than that of the soldier, as M. De Pauw gratuitously imputes to him⁷. When we say that the troops in France have but five sous a day, we understand it of the private soldier, and not of the officers, whose pay of course is proportioned to their rank.

382. Σαναχάριβον βασιλέα Ἀραβίων. *Sennacherib king of the Arabs.* The Arabs who lived beyond Jordan and in Arabia Petræa were under the king of Assyria. Josephus is mistaken⁸ when he accuses Herodotus of not having informed us that Sennacherib was king of Assyria; but perhaps that information was not to be found in the copy which he used.

383. Καπήλους. *Chapmen.* The Egyptians were divided into three classes⁹: the people of quality, who attained to honours, and occupied the distinguished posts; warriors, who also cultivated the earth; and lastly, labourers, who exercised the meaner employments. The first class comprised the priests, and to them indeed were allotted the highest places: the last, which must have been by far the most numerous, was still further subdivided¹, and hence Herodotus mentions (clxiii.) seven classes.

³ Plato in Politico, vol. II. p. 290, E.

⁴ Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 354.

⁵ Diod. Sic. I. lxx. vol. I. p. 80.

⁶ Id. ibid. p. 82.

⁷ Recherches Philosophiques sur les

Egyptiens, &c. sect. vii. p. 141.

⁸ Joseph. Antiq. Jud. X. i. § iv. vol. I. p. 513.

⁹ Diod. Sic. I. xxviii. vol. I. p. 33.

¹ Id. ibid. lxxiv. vol. I. p. 85.

384. Τοῖσι ἐναντίοις αὐτοῖσι ἐπιχυθέντας νυκτὸς μῦς ἀρουραίους κατὰ μὲν φαγέειν τοὺς φαρετρεῶνας αὐτῶν, κατὰ δὲ τὰ τόξα. *Field-rats pouring upon them at night, ate away their quivers and their bows.* The defeat of the army of Sennacherib is incontestable. The Egyptians attributed it to the protection of Vulcan, and the Jews to that of God, who sent into the camp of the Assyrians the exterminating angel. Where did this memorable event take place? Was it before Jerusalem, as almost all the interpreters of the sacred writings believe, or was it before Pelusium, as Herodotus says? for there can be no doubt that he has in view the same event that is related in the Scriptures.

It should seem, from the inspired volume, that Sennacherib advanced upon Egypt before directing his course to Jerusalem, and that he took all the places that opened him the way to it. Now had his first object been to seize on the states of Hezekiah, he would have advanced direct to Jerusalem. But leaving the road to this place, he lays siege to Lachis, which appears to be one of the keys of Judea on the side of Egypt, and which manifests his intention of entering this latter country. Whilst Sennacherib was himself employed in the siege of this place, he sent towards Jerusalem Rabsaces², or Rabshakeh, one of his generals, with an order to exhort Hezekiah to submission. "Lo, thou trustest in the staff of this broken reed, on Egypt; whereon if a man lean, it will go into his hand and pierce it; so is Pharaoh king of Egypt to all that trust in him." If Sennacherib had laid siege to Lachis after the conquest of Egypt, on his way to Jerusalem, as the interpreters of the Scriptures imagined, Rabshakeh would certainly have added, "The gods of the Egyptians have not been able to deliver them from my hand, and yet you trust in your god!" But the language of this general proves manifestly that Sennacherib had not yet conquered Egypt, and that he was on his march towards it when he sent him towards Jerusalem.

Rabshakeh returned to Sennacherib after executing the orders of that prince, who was then before Libnah³. Whilst he was laying siege to that place, he learned that Tharaca, (or, as our version spells it, Tirhakah,) king of Ethiopia, was coming to compel him to raise it; he then immediately sent back Rabshakeh to Jerusalem with threatening letters. Hezekiah having read them, humbled himself before God, the prophet comforted and encouraged him, and the destroying angel of the Lord smote in the camp of the Assyrians 185,000 men. It is clear, from this recital, that Sennacherib did not lose this vast portion of his army before Jerusalem, but whilst he was engaged in the siege of Libnah (or Lobna). But what city is it that was so called? There was one of this name in the tribe of Judah; but it could not be that, because in going from Syria to Judea it is before you come to Lachis. Had the sacred writer meant to speak of this place, he would have

² Isaiah xxxvi. 6, &c.

³ Id. xxvii. 8, 9. 14. 33. 36.

made Sennacherib attack it before Lachis, and not have made him begin with the latter, and then retrace his steps to lay siege to Libnah.

It should seem from considering the march of Sennacherib, as well as we can collect it from the Scriptures, that Libnah was the key of Egypt, into which that prince wished to penetrate. Now it is evident that Egypt could not be entered from the east, without passing Pelusium. It is therefore very probable that Libnah and Pelusium are the same. Were we acquainted with its Egyptian name, we should be better able to decide. Tineh, the name by which it is now known, is a modern word ; but what converts the probability almost into conviction, is, that Josephus says⁴ that Sennacherib was before Pelusium, and about to take the place, when he heard that Tarsice, king of Ethiopia, was coming to the assistance of the Egyptians. This account, which agrees very well with the Scriptures, and which is further confirmed by the testimony of Herodotus, shows, that the Libnah mentioned in this part of Scripture is the same with the Pelusium of Josephus and Herodotus.

CXLII. 385. Τοῦ Ἡφαίστου. *Of Vulcan.* The Greeks so denominated the Phthas (Phthah) of the Egyptians, as we find in Suidas : Φθαῖς ὁ Ἡφαιστος παρὰ Μερφίταις : ‘Vulcan is adored under the name of Phthas by the inhabitants of Memphis.’ “Secundus Vulcanus,” says Cicero⁵, “Nilo natus, Phthas, ut Ægyptii appellant.” He was the grand architect of all that we see. “The Egyptians,” says Iamblichus⁶, “call him Phthas, because he has formed every thing with the utmost art and nicety ; the Greeks, considering in him only the mechanic arts, have called him Vulcan.” According to the Egyptians, he was the father of all the gods, Ἡφαιστος ὁ τῶν θεῶν πατήρ, as we see on the obelisk of Ramesses, which Constantius conveyed to Rome⁷. He was that fire, or æther, of which all human souls are but an emanation, and to which they will be ultimately reunited. The Greeks, from not understanding this, thought it referred to artificial fire, of which they supposed Phthas the inventor. There are priests, however, says Diodorus Siculus⁸, who assert that Vulcan was the first king, and that he was the inventor of fire, which obtained for him the crown.

386. Μῆν τε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίας ἀνθρώπων γενεάς. *There had been three hundred and forty-one generations.* The priests of Egypt probably confounded generations with successions, as we find that brothers succeeded brothers, and foreigners sometimes ascended the throne. Herodotus says, there had been as many high-priests as kings, and he counts 341 kings ; and yet in the next paragraph he

⁴ Joseph. Antiq. Jud. X. i. § iv. vol. I. p. 159.
p. 512.

⁵ Cic. de Nat. Deorum, III. xxii.

⁶ Iamblich. de Myst. Ægypt. VIII. iii.

⁷ Amm. Marcell. XVII. iv. p. 126.

⁸ Diod. Sic. I. xiii. vol. I. p. 17.

asserts that there had been 345 pontiffs. There must be an error somewhere, which is perhaps attributable to the copyists.

387. Ἀρχιεῖας καὶ βασιλέας ἑκατέρους τοσούτους. *As many high-priests as kings.* This exact correspondence of the number of high-priests with that of the kings, which might be possible for a century or two, becomes impossible for a long course of ages. The Egyptian priests certainly abused the simplicity of Herodotus, and we can scarcely account for his want of penetration in not perceiving that the annals, which were read to him with so much importance, were of comparatively modern manufacture. Indeed, how could the Egyptians, who in the early ages were not acquainted with the hieroglyphics, and still less with the modern way of writing, possess annals so ancient? How, at a time when they had no knowledge of sculpture, could they have statues of their first kings and of their first pontiffs?

[If the rule of succession were the same for the high-priests as with the kings, then length of time would serve rather to establish than destroy the exact correspondence of the two series. Larcher having endeavoured, in the preceding note, to undermine the antiquity of the Egyptians by supposing that their list of kings does not imply so many generations, has recourse in this place to a different kind of argument, viz. that the Egyptians had not the art of writing in the earliest ages, and therefore could have no record of their first kings. But this rests on mere assumption. The Egyptians were certainly acquainted with hieroglyphics and the art of writing as early as the fourth dynasty or the erection of the pyramids of Shufo and Menkhare. Besides, the refusal to accept a list of kings not contemporaneously recorded in writing, is to sweep away at once all tradition, a severity which comes with a bad grace from a writer who believes in the mythic genealogies of the Greeks and receives them as history.]

388. Θεὸν ἀνθρωποειδέα οὐδένα γενέσθαι. *There was no god (in all that time) in a human character.* Diodorus Siculus, however, says, that besides the celestial gods, who had existed from eternity, the Egyptians had others who had been⁹ mortals, and who had been raised to this rank for their virtues, and the benefits they had bestowed on mankind. Varro, the most learned of the Romans, said¹, that it was useful to states that strong and courageous men should believe themselves descended from the gods, because when a man is persuaded of this, however false, he undertakes with more boldness and executes with more vigour, and is inspired with a confidence which is almost a pledge of success. Plutarch asserts², that the inhabitants of the Thebais acknowledge no god who had been a mortal; that they adored none but Cneph, who was immortal, and had had no beginning; and likewise that they were the only people of Egypt who did not contribute to the maintenance of the sacred animals.

⁹ Diod. Sic. I. xiii. vol. I. p. 117. p. 61.

¹ S. August. de Civitate Dei, III. iv. ² Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 359, D.

389. Τετράκις ἐξ ἡθέων τὸν ἥλιον ἀνατεῖλαι. *The sun had risen four times out of his ordinary course.* Thomas Magister says, ἡ ἐξ ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔξω τίθεται: 'The preposition ἐξ is likewise sometimes put for ἔξω.' He adduces, as a proof of it, this very passage from Herodotus: 'Ηρόδοτος ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τετράκις ἔλεγον ἐξ ἡθέων τὸν ἥλιον ἀνατεῖλαι ἡγουν, ἔξω τῆς συνηθείας, 'that is, out of his accustomed place.'

Ἡθεῖα signifies ordinary place, ordinary residence; Herodotus always takes it in this sense. Κιμμέριοι ἐξ ἡθέων ὑπὸ Σκυθέων τῶν Νομάδων ἐξαναστάντες. (I. xv.) When speaking of the sun's rising, ἡθεῖα can be understood only of the place where it usually rises on such a day of the year; when we speak of noon, it is the place where he is accustomed to be at that hour. This is what the common people have always understood—that class of people for whom historians in general, and our historian in particular, have written.

Whether then ἐξ ἡθέων is interpreted as 'contrary to custom,' or 'out of his usual place,' the sense will remain the same. Herodotus says, that the sun rose four times out of his usual place; of which irregularities two were more remarkable than the others, for he then rose where he now sets.

The Egyptians thought to exalt their nation by these fabulous miracles, to which Herodotus does not seem to have attached much credit. For my part, I consider them as gross fables, capable of imposing only on the most ignorant.

The Greeks had a story somewhat similar, which had perhaps been suggested by the Egyptian fable. Plato³ relates as one of the fables of the old time, that under the reign of Atreus, the sun and the stars had set where they usually rise.

[The only explanation of which this passage appears susceptible, is, that the Egyptian priests had some idea of the precession of the equinox, the discovery of which is attributed to Hipparchus. If they knew that the period elapsing between two successive vernal equinoxes differs from the period in which the sun makes the circuit of the heavens, they would easily perceive, that in the course of time that luminary would, at the corresponding month and day of the year, be at the opposite point of the heavens. Such a general inference (for we need not suppose that the Egyptian priests knew the exact amount of the precession), combined with the popular ideas respecting the antiquity of the nation, may have given rise to the fable mentioned by Herodotus. The sun rises 'out of his ordinary course' (by a very minute quantity) every day; but that he should twice set where he now rises, would require a period of nearly 39,000 years.]

CXLIII. 390. Ἐκαταίῳ τῷ λογοποιῷ. *The historian Hecataeus.* Ὁ

³ Plato in Politico, vol. II. p. 169, A.

λογοποιός. We have already met with this term in another sense (cxxxiv). Of the signification which it has here, I shall now adduce some examples. "Ενιοι δὲ τῶν λογοποιῶν λέγουσιν ὡς τὴν τῆς μητρὸς ἀδελφὴν ἔγημεν⁴: 'Some historians say that he married his maternal aunt.' Arrian calls this Hecataeus⁵ λογοποιός, and gives the same name to⁶ Herodotus. Harpocration says, λογοποιός, ὁ ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἱστορικὸς λεγόμενος. Ἰσοκράτης Βουσίριδι, καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ. 'Logopoios is what we call a historian. Isocrates, in his eulogium on Basiris, and Herodotus in his 2nd book.'

"Antiquity makes mention of several authors of the name of Hecataeus. He of whom our historian speaks was a historian of the city of Miletus, and son of Hegesander⁷. He was distinguished from Hecataeus of Abdera, &c. by the epithet Milesian, or of Miletus. He had travelled into Egypt, and elsewhere. We may suppose that he was born under the reign of Cyrus; for when the Ionians revolted from Darius, successor of Cambyses, Hecataeus was called on to assist at all their deliberations. Now in affairs of this importance and delicacy, it is usual to consult none but such as are of mature age, and capable of giving good advice. He could not therefore be younger than forty-five at the commencement of the 69th Olympiad. Suidas says he lived about the 65th Olympiad, and adds that Herodotus profited greatly by his writings. The most important of his works was his History, which related the most memorable events that had occurred in the different countries of Greece, but excluded all that had happened in other nations. Amongst many undoubted facts, it comprised some traditions very liable to suspicion. This work has not survived to our time. The style of it was clear, natural, and concise; periods, as well as figures and other ornaments, which have since become so prevalent amongst Greek writers, were wholly banished from it; at least, so we learn from Dionysius of Halicarnassus." BELLANGER.

391. Πίρωμιν ἐκ Πιρώμιος γενόμενον. *Man begotten of man.* Hecataeus was weak enough to pretend to trace his genealogy from a god by sixteen descents. The priests of Egypt, desirous of making him feel the absurdity of this vaunt, took him into the interior of the temple, and showed him a set of 345 statues. They told him that these statues represented the high-priests, Piromis descended from Piromis, who owed their origin neither to god nor hero.

M. Jablonski⁸ contends that our historian has confounded 'Pi-romi' (which he translates by καλὸς κάγαθός) with 'Pi-re-mei,' and that Pi-re-mei signifies 'one doing good.' But if the received acceptation of Pi-romi had been merely 'a man,' without reference to his moral

⁴ Xen. Cyropæd. VIII. v. § xiii. p. 352.
p. 530.

⁵ Arrian, de Exped. Alex. II. xvi. cxxxvii.
p. 151; V. vi. p. 352.

⁶ Id. ibid. III. xxx. p. 254; V. vi. Ægypt. p. 38.

⁷ Herod. V. xxxvi. cxxv.; VI.

⁸ Jablonski, Prolegomena ad Panth.

qualities, the term must have been of perpetual recurrence in the language, and could not have been mistaken by our historian. [Pi-romi, in Coptic, signified 'a man,' perhaps in a good sense, as in the sentence, 'Worth makes the man,' &c.]

CXLIV. 392. Τοιούτους ἐόντας. *Being such*, that is, being mere men. The meaning of the sentence is: the priests gave him to understand, that all those whose statues they showed him, so far from having been gods, were Piromis begotten by Piromis, that is, men begotten by men. I make this remark, because many have translated this passage, "They explained to him, that all these pontiffs, whose colossal statues they exhibited, had possessed these two qualities, that is, that they had been good and virtuous, &c."

[The Ionian term *colossus* originally meant simply a statue, and not a colossal statue. Being carried into peninsular Greece, together with the fame of certain statues exceeding the human size, it came into use as the appropriate name of such statues.]

393. Θεοὺς εἶναι τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἄρχοντας. *They were gods who had previously reigned in Egypt.* The reign of these gods will to the generality of readers appear fabulous. Nevertheless, Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, who mention it, however superstitious they may have been, would not have done so without adequate authority. And what better authority for any fact can be adduced, than the annals of a learned and enlightened nation? Almost all governments have been originally theocratical, they afterwards became monarchical or republican. In the theocracy, the priests only governed; and even in monarchies and in republics they retained a remarkable ascendancy. Why may not Egypt, for a long series of years, have been governed by priests? and may not this hierarchy have assumed the higher title of a theocracy?

Diodorus⁹ asserts that the reign of the gods and the heroes, or deified mortals, lasted little less than 18,000 years, and that up to the 180th Olympiad men had reigned for 15,000 years. The text of Diodorus is corrupt in this passage, but this is not the place to dilate on it.

394. Ὀρον. *Orus.* Plutarch relates¹ that Orus was so incensed against Isis for restoring Typhon to liberty, that he snatched the royal tiara from her forehead. But the same author says², in a fragment found in a MS. of the Earl of Oxford, and which is now in the British Museum, that Orus killed his mother, to avenge his father; and that one of the most ancient of the gods, having pronounced judgment on him, left him his blood and his marrow which he had received from his father, but condemned him to lose his flesh and fat which had been formed in his mother's womb.

Ὀρος has a Greek termination: the Egyptian form of the name was

⁹ Diod. Sic. I. xliv. vol. I. p. 53.

¹ Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 338, D.

² Fragmenta duo Plutarchi, p. 8. Londini, 1773. 8vo.

Or, as we find it written in Josephus³. Oros, it is true, has found its way into that author's text, but in the various readings we find Or.

395. *Τυφῶνα. Typhon.* Typhon was an evil genius, who seized the crown from his brother Osiris, and killed him. As he was fair and red-haired, the Egyptians avoided the company of persons of that complexion. In the times when men were sacrificed, those who had red hair were slaughtered on⁴ the sepulchre of Osiris, or burned alive⁵. Isis, the wife of Osiris, occasioned his death, according to Diodorus Siculus⁶; but Orus contented himself with driving her from the throne, if we prefer the testimony of Herodotus. Plutarch relates, that Orus⁷ gave battle to Typhon, and after several days fighting obtained the victory; and having taken him prisoner, he delivered him bound to Isis, who, instead of putting him to death, restored him to liberty. He was son of Saturn and of Rhea⁸ (according to a Greek version of the Egyptian mythology).

396. *"Οσιρις δέ ἐστι Διόνυσος κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν. Osiris is Bacchus, in the language of Greece.* Some have thought that by Osiris was meant the Nile, which fertilized the earth, typified by Isis⁹. But this name was given to the river, because they looked on its increase as the gift of Osiris, who was identical with the sun. "They call the Nile," says Plutarch¹, "an emanation of Osiris."

That Osiris was the same with the sun, we can scarcely doubt after the positive testimony of the ancients. "Nec² in occulto est, neque aliud esse Osirin quam Solem, nec Isin aliud esse quam Terram, ut diximus, Naturamve rerum. . . . Hinc Osirin Ægyptii, ut Solem esse asserant, quotiens hieroglyphicis litteris suis exprimere volunt, insculpunt sceptrum, inque eo speciem oculi exprimunt, et hoc signo Osirin monstrant; significantes hunc deum Solem esse, regalique potestate sublimem cuncta despicere: quia Solem Jovis oculum appellat antiquitas."

Diodorus Siculus says the same thing³. "The ancient Egyptians, struck with astonishment and admiration at the sight of heaven and the nature of the universe, thought that there were two eternal divinities antecedent to the others, the Sun and the Moon, which they call Osiris and Isis."

The Greeks would have it that Osiris was Bacchus, because there was a strong resemblance between the fables related of Bacchus, and the Egyptian traditions as to Osiris, and likewise between the ceremonies instituted in honour of those two divinities. Both Bacchus and Osiris had conquered India, another feature of identity. Some modern

³ Joseph. cont. Apion. vol. II. p. 460.

⁴ Diod. Sic. I. lxxxviii. vol. I. p. 99.

⁵ Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 380, D.

⁶ Diod. Sic. I. lxxxviii. vol. I. p. 99.

⁷ Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 380, D.

⁸ Id. ibid. p. 355, D. Those who would know more of Typhon, may con-

sult Jablonski's Pantheon Egyptiorum, vol. III. p. 40, &c.

⁹ Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 363, D.

¹ Id. ibid. p. 366, A.

² Macrobi. Saturn. I. xxi. p. 210.

³ Diod. Sic. I. xi. vol. I. p. 14.

inquirers have thought⁴ that Isuren, one of the three divinities whom the Indians still worship, is the same as the ancient Osiris; but the points of resemblance between them are too few, and the analogy strained. Bacchus was no other than the Sun, as Macrobius in his *Saturnalia* (I. xviii.) clearly shows.

The Egyptians represented Osiris by a sceptre with an eye, as we see in the passage above quoted from Macrobius. His name in Egyptian signified 'many-eyed.' "They represent their king and lord Osiris by a sceptre with an eye, and some⁵ interpret his name *πολύ-όφθαλμος*, that is to say, he who has many eyes; for in Egyptian, Os signifies many, and Iri, eye." This name (Osiris) explained in Greek signifies⁶, "who has many eyes; and with great aptness, for the sun darts his rays like a multitude of eyes on all sides, beholding both the sea and the land."

Osch, or Os, as the Greeks soften it down, signifies in Coptic 'much' or 'many,' and Iorh 'the pupil of the eye'.

The priests of that god, for this reason, wore caps covered with eyes. In the *Antiquités Egyptiennes*, we observe two figures⁸, which Count Caylus takes for ordinary Egyptians, without any peculiar character; but the eyes, with which their caps are spangled, show that they were designed for priests of Osiris.

CXLV. 397. *Κατὰ ἑξακόσια ἑτέα καὶ χίλια*. *About 1600 years*. The Greek text says 'about sixteen hundred years,' nor is any variation from this to be found in the MSS. But immediately afterwards, Herodotus says, that from Hercules to his time was only 900 years. Now, we know from Apollodorus⁹ and Diodorus Siculus¹, that there were but five generations between Bacchus and Hercules, which five generations cannot make, according to Herodotus's own mode of reckoning, more than about 160 years. It follows, therefore, that the period from Bacchus to Herodotus could be but 1060 years. This was also the opinion of Lydiat², of the late President Bouhier³, and of Wesseling. This reasoning appeared so convincing to M. Borheck, who has published at Lemgow an entire Greek edition of our historian, that he has not hesitated to admit it into his text.

[It is surprising how the mythic genealogies of Apollodorus could be mistaken for incontestable history.]

Herodotus is consistent with himself in reckoning back 900 years to Hercules. For he has told us (I. vii.) that there were three generations (or 100 years) between Hercules and Agron; the Heraclidæ ruled

⁴ Hist. du Christ. des Indes, VI. p. 430.

⁵ Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 354, F. et 355, A.

⁶ Diod. Sic. I. xi. vol. I. p. 14.

⁷ F. S. Schmidt de Sacerd. et Sacrif. Ægypt. p. 19, note.

⁸ Antiq. Egypt., &c. tom. III. p. 12; pl. 2. fig. 4, 5.

⁹ Apollod. II. i. ii. iii.

¹ Diod. Sic. IV. ii. vol. I. p. 247.

² Ad Marm. Arundel. p. 243.

³ Rech. et Dissert. sur Hérodote, XI. p. 124.

Lydia for 500 years; the Mermnadæ reigned 170 years, and from them to our historian 128 years elapsed, making altogether 898, or in round numbers 900 years⁴.]

398. Ἐκ Πηνελόπης γὰρ καὶ Ἑρμῆω λέγεται γενέσθαι ὁ Πάν. *Pan is said (by the Greeks) to be the offspring of Penelope and Mercury.* All the mythologists have spoken of this; to which may be added the following epigram from the Anthologia: "He⁵ takes his origin from Jupiter himself, witness the glory that is round his head; for Jupiter begat Mercury, and Mercury Pan." Observe that this glory placed over the head of a god, signified that he was descended from Jupiter. I will add the following verses from the Syrinx of Theocritus, on account of their singularity.

Οὐδενὸς εὐνάτειρα, Μακροπτολέμοιο δὲ μάτηρ,
Μαίας Ἀντιπέτροιο θεὸν τέκεν ἰθύντηρα.
Οὐχὶ Κεράσταν, ὃν ποκα θρέψατο ταυροπάτωρ,
Ἄλλ' οὐ Πιλιπὲς αἶθε πάρος φρένα Τέρμα σάκους.
Οὔνομ' Ὀλον.

"The wife of Outis, mother of Macroptolemus, bore him who governed the nurse of Antipetrus; I do not mean that Cerastes, whom formerly the daughter of the bull nourished, but him whose heart was burned by the edge of a shield, to which the letter 'Pi' is wanting. His name is Holon."

Or, to express the same thing less enigmatically: The wife of Ulysses, mother of Telemachus, brought into the world him who presides over the goats, the nurses of Jupiter; I do not speak of the shepherd Cerastes, whom formerly the bees nourished, but of him whose heart was set on fire by the nymph Pitus, and whose name is Pan.

It is well known, that when Polyphemus asked Ulysses his name, he answered, that he was called Outis (that is, nobody). Macroptolemus and Telemachus are equivalent in sense. The goat Amalthea suckled Jupiter. The poet calls this god Antipetrus, because Rhea gave to Saturn a stone instead of him. Cerastes is the same as Comates, who was nourished by bees⁶. The bees are called daughters of the bull, because it was thought that they bred in the putrid flesh of that animal. The edge of a shield is called in Greek ἵνυς; add to this P, and you will have Pitus, which was the name of a nymph beloved by Pan. Holon and Pan signify the same thing. This explanation is borrowed from the commentary of Claudius Salmasius⁷ on the Syrinx of Theocritus. This critic probably had taken it from some unedited scholiast.

CXLVIII. 399. Κροκοδείλων πόλιν. *The city of the crocodiles.* The

⁴ Niebuhr, Klein. Hist. Schriften, I. p. 196.

⁵ Antholog. sive Floril. div. Epigr. p. 336. Analect. vet. Poet. Græc. vol. III. p. 204. No. 262.

⁶ See Theocr. Idyll. vii. 84, 85.

⁷ Cl. Salmasii Inscr. vet. Explicatio; ejusdem ad Dosiada Aras, Theocriti Fistulam notæ, p. 210.

true name of this city is not known. In all probability it was derived from the word champsa, which in Egyptian signifies a crocodile, as Herodotus remarks⁸. This city is probably the same that, under the Ptolemies⁹, was called Arsinoë.

400. Θήκας αὐτόθι εἶναι τῶν ἱρῶν κροκοδείλων. *The coffins of the sacred crocodiles were there* (in the labyrinth). The sacred crocodiles were embalmed (lxix.) when they died, and placed in a consecrated chest. I cannot conceive what induced M. Rollin to say¹ that the sacred crocodiles were maintained in the subterranean apartments of the labyrinth. The Abbé Banier relates the same thing², though neither Herodotus, nor any of the French or Latin versions that I have consulted, speak of it. Besides, this would have been nearly impossible: that animal likes heat, and it is for this reason³ that he passes the greater part of the day on land, and the night in the water, which is then warmer than the air and the dew. How then could he live in a subterranean apartment, which is always cold?

401. Τὰ δὲ ἄνω. *But the chambers above.* An architect, if requested to draw a plan of the labyrinth from the description of Herodotus, I think, would be rather puzzled. Let us however endeavour to explain its different parts. I take M. Wytttenbach⁴ for my guide, persuaded that in following him I cannot go astray.

1. Αὐλαὶ κατάστεγοι are not covered buildings, but open courts, enclosed with walls. Each of these courts was decorated with a peristyle, and with a colonnade of white marble, αὐλὴ δὲ ἐκάστη περίστυλος λίθου λευκοῦ ἁρμοσμένου ταμάλιστα.

2. There were twelve buildings or palaces, equal in number to the courts. These, Herodotus calls τὰ στέγη.

3. Οἰκήματα are apartments or chambers, whether large or small. Οἶκημα has this signification in a thousand places. I content myself with the following instance (V. li.). Κλεομένης ἡσθεὶς τοῦ παιδίου τῇ παραινέσει, ἦϊε ἐς ἕτερον οἶκημα. 'Cleomenes, charmed with the advice of his grand-daughter, passed into another chamber.'

4. Ἐλιγμοὶ are winding passages that led from the courts into the buildings.

5. Παστὰς is the space behind the antæ, and equal to two-thirds of the distance between them. Vitruvius throws some light on the subject. "Quantum⁵ inter antas distat, ex eo tertia dempta spatium datur introrsus. Hic locus apud nonnullos προστάς, apud alios παστὰς nominatur." The 4th plate in Perrault's Vitruvius will perhaps give some idea of it.

The ἐλιγμοὶ and the παστάδες belong to the courts, the διέξοδοι to the buildings. The last are outlets from the buildings into the courts.

⁸ See note 192 of this book.

⁹ Strabo, XVII. p. 1165, D.

¹ Hist. Anc. tom. I. p. 16.

² Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. tom. V.

Hist. p. 248.

³ Herod. II. lxxviii.

⁴ Selecta Princ. Histor. &c. p. 355.

⁵ Vitruvius de Architecturâ, VI. x.

402. Ὅροφὴ δὲ πάντων τούτων λιθίνη. *The roofs of all these buildings are of stone.* The Abbé Banier⁶ accuses Herodotus of saying, that the halls were arched or vaulted. Herodotus makes no mention of vaulted roofs. Paul Lucas has remarked, in the remains of a building which he believes to be those of the labyrinth, that the roofs or ceilings were composed of immense slabs of marble which reached all across the rooms.

Historians do not agree as to the princes who constructed this labyrinth. Herodotus says it was executed by the twelve kings who reigned jointly and succeeded Sethos. Diodorus Siculus attributes it in one place⁷ to Mendes or Marrus, and in another⁸ to Menes or Menas, and again, elsewhere⁹, to the twelve kings. Pliny names¹ the prince who built it, Petesuccus; whilst Eusebius², as well as Julius Africanus³, thinks that it was the work of Lacharis, son of Sesostris.

From this diversity of opinions, some learned men have concluded that there were several labyrinths. If we were to admit as many as these writers have named princes, we should have six; three of them mentioned by Diodorus Siculus. These six labyrinths, however, were one and the same, as I shall endeavour to prove. To proceed with due order, I shall first show that there never was a labyrinth constructed by Menes; and next, that the labyrinths of Mendes, of Petesuccus, and of the twelve kings, are one and the same.

1. There was in Egypt only one king who bore the name of Menas, or Menes. 2. This was the first prince who reigned after the gods. 3. According to Diodorus Siculus, he ascended the throne 14,940 years before our era. 4. If this prince introduced⁴ the luxuries of the table, of beds, and of furniture, as the same historian says, we need not thence conclude, either that the tables were served with much delicacy, or that the furniture was very splendid. The arts, if at all known, were then but in their infancy. The Egyptians, up to that time, had led a pastoral life; they had lived in caves, like the Troglodytes, and subsisted only on the fruits which the earth spontaneously produces. Menas collected them in rude habitations, taught them to cultivate the earth, and propounded laws for their government. This is all we can infer from the passage of Diodorus. Now, I ask whether, at a time when science was unknown, when the arts were in their infancy, a pyramid or a labyrinth could be erected which should excite the admiration of posterity? 5. Menas having ascended the throne 14,940 years before our era, how was it possible that the labyrinth should remain entire during such a prodigious lapse of ages? 6. Menas had built it⁵ to perpetuate his gratitude to a crocodile which had saved his

⁶ Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript. vol. V. Hist. p. 248.

⁷ Diod. Sic. I. lxi. p. 70; xevii. p. 109.

⁸ Id. ibid. lxxxix. p. 100.

⁹ Id. ibid. lxvi. p. 76.

¹ Plin. Hist. Nat. XXXVI. xiii.

² Eusebii Chronic. I. p. 15.

³ Syncelli Chronograph. p. 60.

⁴ Diod. Sic. I. xlv. p. 54.

⁵ Id. ibid. lxxxix. p. 100.

life, when, pursued by his dogs, he had been obliged to seek refuge in the lake Mœris. But the lake Mœris was not then in existence; it was dug by the prince of the same name 2300 years subsequent to Menes; for Mœris was the seventy-fourth king after Menes, according to this same Diodorus, and began his reign only about the year 12,598 before our era. 7. In giving us the details of the life of Menes, this historian passes over in silence the construction of the labyrinth, though that would have been the place to mention it. 8. This very Diodorus⁶ speaks of the labyrinth of Mendes, without telling us where it was situated. Is it likely that this historian would have omitted so important a particular, if he had not mentioned it before? These reasons, taken together, convince me that the text of Diodorus must have been altered by the copyists. This point admitted, it is easy to restore it, by substituting Mendes for Menes.

I now go on to the second proposition—the labyrinth of Mendes is the same as that of the twelve kings.

1. The labyrinth of Mendes was less remarkable for the vastness of the work, than for the inimitable art with which it was constructed. Οὐχ⁷ οὕτω κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἔργων θαυμαστὸν, ὥς πρὸς τὴν φιλοτεχνίαν δυσμίμητον. If Strabo does not positively say the same thing, he at least gives us to understand as much by the magnificent description which he draws, and by adding, that this edifice equals the pyramids⁸. Herodotus, in speaking of the labyrinth of the twelve kings, in the paragraph now under consideration, goes still further. “I have seen this edifice,” says he⁹, “and found it beyond description. None of the Greek structures can be compared with it, either on the score of workmanship or of costliness: in both respects, they are far inferior to it. The temples of Ephesus and of Samos are, no doubt, worthy of admiration; but the pyramids surpass all expression, and there is not one of them that might not be advantageously compared to the most superb edifices of Greece; and the labyrinth excels even the pyramids.”

This, in the first instance, gives us reason to think that the labyrinth of Mendes and that of the twelve kings are the same.

2. The labyrinth of Mendes was situate, according to Diodorus Siculus¹, near the lake Mœris. Strabo, who admits no labyrinth but that of Mendes, and who enters into more minute details than any other historian, if we except Herodotus, tells us², that it was built at that place where the canal of the Nile runs into the lake Mœris. This particular mention of its site will always serve to identify it. Now this corresponds exactly with what Diodorus says of the labyrinth of the twelve kings. “These princes,” says he³, “having chosen in Libya a place near to which the canal runs into the lake Mœris, constructed

⁶ Diod. Sic. I. lxi. p. 70; xevii. 109.

⁷ Id. ibid. lxi. pp. 70, 71.

⁸ Strabo, XVII. p. 1165.

⁹ Herod. II. cxlviii.

¹ Diod. Sic. I. lxxxix. p. 100.

² Strabo, XVII. p. 1165.

³ Diod. Sic. I. lxvi. p. 76.

there a tomb of the most beautiful stones." Then follows a description of this monument, which nearly agrees with that of Strabo, except that the latter is more detailed.

If the labyrinth of Mendes in Diodorus Siculus corresponds, as far as he enters upon the subject, with the description which he gives of that of the twelve kings, and if this latter corresponds exactly with what Strabo says of that of Mendes, may we not fairly conclude that they are the same edifice?

3. Herodotus, who knew of no labyrinth but that of the twelve kings, tells us (in the present chapter) that it was built a little above lake Mœris. This agrees with what Diodorus relates of that of Mendes, and of that of the twelve kings, and with what Strabo says of that of Mendes. These historians must all, therefore, have had in view the same edifice.

4. If Herodotus adds that this labyrinth was near the city of the Crocodiles, Strabo tells us⁴, that that of Mendes was only 100 stadia distant from the city of Arsinoë, which was anciently called the city of the Crocodiles. This is another reason for concluding that the labyrinth of Mendes is that of the twelve kings.

5. Diodorus Siculus relates⁵, that Mendes had erected near the labyrinth a square pyramid. Strabo also, in speaking of the labyrinth of Mendes, mentions this pyramid⁶: "At the extremity of this building, which occupies more than a stadium, is a square pyramid, which serves for a tomb; each side of it is four plethra wide and as many high." And Herodotus, speaking of the labyrinth of the twelve kings, thus expresses himself: "At the angle where the labyrinth terminates, stands a pyramid of 50 orgyiaë, on which are engraved a great number of figures of animals." Now, though Strabo and Herodotus do not agree as to the dimensions of this pyramid, as one assigns to it 400 feet, and the other only 300, yet it must be allowed that the mention of this pyramid and its situation is a further proof of the identity of these labyrinths, and that in fact there is but one.

6. It is evident that Pliny knew of but one labyrinth, and that that was the one described by Herodotus, consequently the same mentioned by Diodorus Siculus and by Strabo. These are his words⁷: "Durat (labyrinthus) etiam nunc in Ægypto Heracleote nomo, qui primus factus est ante annos, ut tradunt, quater mille sexcentos, a Petesucco rege, sive Tithoë, quanquam Herodotus totum opus regum esse dicit, novissimique Psammetichi." This passage proves that there was but one labyrinth in Egypt, but that there was a doubt as to the prince who began it.

It may be objected that Pliny, placing this labyrinth in the Heracleotic nome, could not have had in view that which preceding writers

⁴ Strabo, XVII. p. 1165, D.

⁵ Diod. Sic. I. lxxxix. p. 100.

⁶ Strabo, XVII. p. 1165.

⁷ Plin. XXXVI. xiii. vol. II. p. 739.

have stated to be but a short distance from Arsinoë. To this I answer, that this nome being in Libya, and adjoining to the Nomos Arsinoites, might extend to the neighbourhood of Arsinoë.

It may be further asked, if there be but one labyrinth, how do all the writers happen to vary as to the prince who erected it. I answer, that Mendes may have begun it, Petesuccus continued, and the twelve kings have finished it. In fact, how would it be possible for these twelve kings, who according to Diodorus Siculus⁸ reigned only fifteen years, the last few of which were disturbed by civil war, have completed so vast an undertaking? That this historian travelled over the whole of Egypt cannot be proved, and it is therefore doubtful if he ever saw the labyrinth: he may have read in one historian that it was the work of Mendes, and in another that it was built by the twelve kings, and thence he may have concluded that there were two labyrinths.

I think we may now assume it as proved, 1. that there was but one labyrinth: 2. that it was situated in Libya, at that place where the canal from the Nile entered the lake Mœris: 3. that it was but a short distance from the city of the Crocodiles, since called Arsinoë: 4. that if the twelve kings did not, as Herodotus insinuates, perform this work from beginning to end, it was commenced by Mendes, continued by some other princes, and completed by the twelve kings who reigned conjointly and succeeded Sethos.

M. D'Anville⁹ supposes that there were two labyrinths, the one made by king Mendes in the Arsinoitic nome, and the other by the twelve kings in the Heracleotic. This skilful geographer has perhaps felt himself compelled to admit two labyrinths, because he considered the lake Mœris, which he takes to be the Bahr-Bathen, too distant from Arsinoë. But the Bahr-Bathen cannot be this lake, as I shall show in the next note. One mistake has thus occasioned another.

Considerable ruins are seen at Sennour; and M. Gibert supposes¹ that the labyrinth was situated there. This appears to me very probable; for this place, as was the labyrinth described by Strabo², is 30 or 40 stadia from the northern extremity of the canal, and 100 stadia from Arsinoë, now called Faiume.

CXLIX. 403. Ἡ Μοίριος καλεομένη λίμνη. *The lake called the lake of Mœris.* The greater part of the modern writers reproach the ancients with having given to the lake Mœris an incredible extent, and likewise with contradicting each other. M. D'Anville thinks that the lake Mœris described by Herodotus is not the same as that mentioned by Strabo. But I think he is mistaken.

We must distinguish the lake from the canal of communication. The

⁸ Diod. Sic. I. lxvi. p. 76.

¹ Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript. tom.

⁹ Mémoires sur l'Égypte ancienne et moderne, p. 159 et suiv.

XXVIII. p. 241.

² Strabo, XVII. p. 1665, A, D.

lake properly so called, or lake of Kerún, is the work of nature; the canal, that of art. The first has nothing very wonderful, the second is entitled to our admiration; the prodigious labour necessary to accomplish it indeed excites astonishment. Herodotus gives the name of lake Mœris to the whole: he says but little of the lake properly so called; but dwells particularly on that which has been dug by the hand of man, viz. the canal. Strabo, with much accuracy, distinguishes the lake from the canal; he calls the one *διώρυξ*, a canal, and the other *λίμνη*, a lake.

Having shown that the ancients agree among themselves as to this lake, let us proceed to its position.

The principal opinions on this point may be reduced to two; that of M. D'Anville, and that of M. Gibert. M. D'Anville thinks that the Bahr-Bathen answers to all the particulars given by Herodotus; M. Gibert, that the Bahr-Yusef agrees with these particulars. M. Gibert divides his memoir into two parts: in the first he refutes M. D'Anville; of this part, the following is an abstract.

The Bahr-Bathen runs from north to south; so does the lake Mœris; but this they do in common with all the other canals. Yet it cannot be the lake Mœris, for many reasons. 1. The lake Mœris extended³ towards the west into the interior along the mountain which is above Memphis, and communicated under ground, according to the people of the country, with the Syrtis of Libya. The Bahr-Bathen makes no elbow, does not extend into the interior, and cannot communicate with the Syrtis of Libya, both the Bahr-Yusef and the mountain of Libya being between them.

2. The Bahr-Bathen is much smaller in circumference than Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and Pliny, describe the lake. M. D'Anville thinks that we are to understand of its superficial capacity, what those writers say of its circumference; but these words of Herodotus⁴, *τὸ περίμετρον τῆς περιόδου*, and these of Diodorus Siculus⁵, *τὴν μὲν γὰρ περίμετρον αὐτῆς φασὶν ὑπάρχειν*, are not susceptible of that meaning.

3. The lake Mœris cannot be the Bahr-Bathen, because the first was near the city of the Crocodiles⁶, which has since been called Arsinoë⁷, and is now Fayume, from which the Bahr-Bathen is several leagues distant.

I will now proceed to the second part of M. Gibert's memoir, in which he establishes his own opinion.

The Bahr-Yusef appears to me to be the lake Mœris. 1. It goes from south to north, as Herodotus describes; but that alone will not suffice.

2. It makes an elbow to the west, extends into the interior along the

³ Herod. II. cl.

⁴ Idem, II. cxlix.

⁵ Diod. Sic. I. li. vol. I. p. 61.

⁶ Herod. II. cxlix.

⁷ Strabo, XVII. p. 1165, D.

mountain above Memphis, and may communicate with the Syrtis, if there be, as the people of the country asserted, a subterranean passage or outlet.

3. The Bahr-Yusef measures about thirty-two leagues from south to north, and its curve towards the lake of the Arsinoitic nome is from eight to nine leagues; by doubling which, we have from eighty to eighty-two leagues. This agrees very well with the circumference which both Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus assign to the lake Moëris: the 3600 stadia, or sixty schoeni, of these historians, make a little more than seventy-three leagues; which comes pretty near to it. If we could suppose the schoenus to contain a little more, it would bring us still nearer to the point; and we know that the schoenus varied greatly in different places.

4. At the entrance of the lake Moëris there were flood-gates: and at the place where these should be situated, we still find the ruins which the Arabs call 'Babain,' or the gates.

The canal begins at Hermopolis, now called Ashmunein, or rather below it, according to M. Norden's chart⁸; runs four leagues to the west, according to Granger; and then turning back, continues its course from south to north as far as Fayume. Diodorus Siculus speaks of a canal⁹ of communication eighty stadia in length, which make a little more than three leagues. It is evident that he means this part of the Bahr-Yusef which runs four leagues, or a little less, to the west, according to M. Norden, as this traveller places its commencement a little lower down, between Roda and Ashmunein; but I am of opinion that the learned Dane has altogether confused the matter.

Dr. Pococke's opinion¹ on the Bahr-Yusef approaches very nearly to the truth: he perceived that that was the canal of communication; but he thought that the lake of Kerne alone was the true Moëris, and in this he was mistaken. Browne² also thinks, that the Birk-el-Keroon is lake Moëris. But the opinions of these two learned men refute themselves. The latter, indeed, remarks justly, that the Birk-el-Keroon is not the work of art. Dr. Pococke thought himself the better authorized to decide that this is the true lake Moëris, as he perceived³ at the opposite extremity of this lake "a head of land setting out into the lake, in a semicircular figure, with white cliffs, and a height above," which he thought might be the lower part of the two pyramids, which rose forty-seven toises above the water. M. Gibert, who was unacquainted with the work of the learned Englishman, has completely refuted the reasons⁴ by which his opinion was enforced.

[The Birket-el-Kerún, the canal of Joseph, and neighbouring sites, are minutely described by Belzoni. The Kasr Kerún or Horned Castle

⁸ Pl. lxxix. vol. II.

⁹ Diod. Sic. I. 52. vol. I. p. 61.

¹ Pococke's Description, vol. I. p. 64.

² New Travels into Upper and Lower

Egypt, vol. I. p. 251.

³ Pococke's Description, vol. I. p. 65.

⁴ Mém. de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres, tom. XXVIII. p. 242.

owes its name to the four spouts or gutters projecting from the corners of the roof. Hence the lake is called Birket-el-Kerún.]

404. Δίκαιαί εἰσι στάδιον. *Make just a stadium.* Δίκαιος answers exactly to the word 'just' used in this sense in our language. Δίκαιον μέτρον τὸ ἴσον. 'Ηρόδοτος B.⁵ The Greeks give to this term a signification very similar, when they say δίκαιον ἄρμα, 'a chariot that advances with an equal motion.'

405. Τάλαντον ἀργυρίου. *A talent of silver.* The money⁶ produced by this fishery was applied to the queen's apparel and the perfumes of which she made use. The annual product was about £72,000. [In recent times the fishery of the lake has been farmed for thirteen purses, equal to about £84 a-year⁷.]

CL. 406. Ὡς ἐκδιδοῖ ἡ λίμνη αὕτη ὑπὸ γῆν. *That the lake itself issued under ground.* This canal or outlet must have been the work of nature. It appears to me that M. Wesseling is mistaken, when he says, that the mine constructed by the Assyrian robbers from their own house to the palace of Sardanapalus was an example ill calculated to elucidate the immense subterranean passage which joined the lake Mœris to the Syrtis. The object of Herodotus was only to show what became of the earth that was dug out, and not to compare the two labours.

CLI. 407. Κατασπείσειν. *To make libations.* "As the kings⁸ were themselves priests, they drank no wine previous to the time of Psammetichus; and if they sometimes made libations of this liquor to the gods, it was not that they considered this liquor agreeable to them, but because they looked on it as the blood of those gods who had formerly fought against them, and whose bodies, having mingled with the earth, had produced the vine."

CLII. 408. Τὸ χρηστήριον τῆς Λητοῦς. *The oracle of Latona.* This goddess⁹, one of the eight most ancient divinities of the Egyptians, was called Buto in the language of the country, and was particularly honoured in the town of that name. She had been the nurse of Apollo and Diana, i. e. Orus and Bubastis, and had preserved them from the fury of Typhon. The mus araneus or shrew-mouse was consecrated to her. Antoninus Liberalis¹⁰ informs us, that she took the form of that little animal, to escape from the persecutions of Typhon. Plutarch relates¹ that the Egyptians rendered divine honours to the shrew-mouse because it does not see; darkness being, according to them, more ancient than light.

⁵ Bekker, Anecdota, I. p. 90.

⁶ Diod. Sic. I. 52. vol. I. p. 62.

⁷ Laborde, in the *Révue Française*, 1829, p. 67.

⁸ Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 353, B.

⁹ Herod. II. clvi.

¹⁰ Ant. Liberal. Fab. XXVIII. p. 146.

¹ Plut. Sympos. IV. Probl. v. p. 670, B.

M. Jablonski perceives in the Latona of the Egyptians² some analogy to night, and conjectures that she was the symbol of the moon at the full.

409. Ἴωνες καὶ Κάραι. *Ionians and Carians.* Diodorus Siculus, omitting all these circumstances, merely says³, that Psammetichus took into his pay some Arabians, Carians, and Ionians, and that with these troops he defeated the eleven kings at Momemphis.

Polyænus relates the same story with some trifling variations. "The god Ammon," says he⁴, "had counselled Tementhes, who had consulted him, to provide himself a guard of cocks. Psammetichus having learned from Pigres, whom he kept with him, that the Carians were the first who had worn plumes on their helmets⁵, seized the meaning of the oracle. He took into his pay a large body of Carians, led them to Momemphis, and there having given battle, close to the temple of Isis, he obtained a victory."

This Tementhes was probably one of the eleven kings mentioned by Herodotus. It is with this as with many other facts related by the ancient writers, which are true in the main, but encumbered by superstition with various circumstances, not more in accordance with one another than they are with reason.

CLIII. 410. Πρὸς νότον. *On the south side.* Diodorus Siculus says⁶, that this prince built the eastern portico of the temple at Memphis.

CLIV. 411. Κατοίκησε ἐς Μέμφιν. *He settled them at Memphis.* We find the same thing in Diodorus Siculus⁷. Polyænus⁸ adds, that that part of the city of Memphis occupied by the Carians was called Caromemphites. I rather think, with Stephens the geographer⁹, that it was to the Carians established in that city that this name was given.

CLV. 412. Τεσσαράκοντα πηχέων. *Forty cubits.* That is to say, 60½ feet. As Herodotus does not give the dimensions of the interior of this chapel, we cannot estimate them. Supposing the block solid, it formed a cube of 216,000 feet, which, at 250 lbs. to the cubic foot, would weigh near 24,117 tons; an enormous weight, the idea of moving which may well astonish us¹.

[The παρωροφίς was the cornice, according to Letronne², who observes that, in Egyptian architecture, the cornice generally occupies a ninth of the whole height of the edifice.]

² Panth. Ægypt. III. iv. pars 2. p. 110.

³ Diod. Sic. I. lxvi. p. 77.

⁴ Polyæn. VII. Strateg. III. p. 609.

⁵ See Herod. I. clxxi.

⁶ Diod. Sic. I. lxvii. vol. I. p. 77.

⁷ Id. ibid.

⁸ Polyæn. Strateg. VII. iii. p. 610.

⁹ Steph. Byz. voc. Καρικόν, p. 358.

¹ See Caylus in Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. tom. XXXI. Hist. p. 35.

² Recherches pour servir à l'hist. de l'Eg. p. 80.

CLVI. 413. Νῆσος πλωτή. *Floating islands.* I do not know whether the isle of Chemmis has ever been a floating one: it may be doubted, especially after what our historian says. The Greeks pretended that Delos had been a floating island; I am persuaded, however, that the stories which they had heard from the Egyptians settled among them gave rise to this fable, and that they attributed to Delos, the birth-place of Apollo, what the Egyptians had told them of Chemmis, which had served as an asylum to their Apollo. A rock 2000 toises in length cannot float upon the waters; but the Greeks, who had a peculiar passion for the marvellous, overlooked these trifling inconsistencies.

Theophrastus³, Pliny⁴, and Seneca⁵, speak of floating islands; but of these, some are of pumice-stone, and others formed only of old roots of trees adhering together, which do not weigh so much as the column of water that supports them. These examples therefore do not contradict the known principles of hydrostatics.

414. Αἰσχύλος ὁ Εὐφορίωνος. *Æschylus, the son of Euphorion.* This is certainly in some piece which has not been handed down to us. Pausanias also says⁶, that Æschylus, son of Euphorion, first taught the Greeks the Egyptian notion, that Diana was the daughter of Ceres, and not of Latona. M. Jablonski thinks⁷ that Pausanias borrowed it from Herodotus, and M. Wesseling is of the same opinion; but he may have read it in Æschylus, or might himself have been acquainted with the religion of the Egyptians.

[The death of Æschylus is assigned by chronologists to the year 456 B.C., the very year in which Herodotus is said to have read his history at the Olympic games. Yet the passage of our author to which this note refers, was evidently written when the death of Æschylus was no longer a recent event, but when the poet might be considered as belonging to a former age. We must therefore either reject the account of Herodotus publicly reading his history at the time above stated, or else suppose that he subsequently altered it or added to it.]

CLVII. 415. Ψαμμίτιχος δὲ ἐβασίλευσε Αἰγύπτου τέσσερα καὶ πενήκοντα ἔτη. *Psammetichus reigned over Egypt fifty-four years.* The Egyptians revolted⁸ under Apries, his great-grandson, who was made prisoner, and afterwards strangled by Amasis. But Egypt having been conquered by the Persians under the son of Amasis was excited to revolt against them by a descendant of Psammetichus, of the same name. As Diodorus Siculus, from whom I take this fact, does not mention in what year it occurred, or how long that prince preserved the crown, and as no other author mentions it, I cannot give any positive opinion on the point; the same historian, however, relates an anecdote

³ Theophr. Hist. Plant. IV. fol. 59.

⁴ Plin. Hist. Nat. II. xcv. vol. I. p. 116.

⁵ Senec. Nat. Quæst. III. xxv. p. 727.

⁶ Paus. VIII. xxxvii. p. 676.

⁷ Panth. Ægypt. vol. III. iv. 4.

⁸ Herod. II. clxi.

dote of Psammetichus, which he dates in the first year of the 95th Olympiad.

Tamos⁹, satrap of Ionia, fearing the resentment of Artaxerxes, on account of his having favoured the younger Cyrus, took refuge with his wife and children in Egypt, at the court of Psammetichus, a descendant of the ancient Psammetichus, who was under considerable obligations to him. But that prince, forgetting the benefits he had received, and despising the rights of suppliants for hospitality, put him and all his children to death, that he might seize on his fleet and his riches.

416. "Αζωτον, τῆς Συρίας μεγάλην πόλιν. *Azotus, a considerable town of Syria.* Diodorus Siculus¹, speaking of an expedition of Psammetichus into Syria, relates that the Egyptians abandoned that prince, because he bestowed his confidence on foreigners. Herodotus also mentions that circumstance, (xxx.) but gives another reason for it. M. De Pauw concludes that the troops of Egypt² were not at the siege of this town; but on insufficient grounds, as Herodotus does not say at what time a part of those troops withdrew into Ethiopia. [Azotus, the Ashdod of Scripture³, was a city of the Philistines, between Ascalon and Ptolemais or Acre.]

CLVIII. 417. "Ος τῇ διώρυγι ἐπεχείρησε πρῶτος τῇ ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν φερούσῃ. *Who first set about digging the canal which leads into the Red Sea.* From the Pelusiac branch of the Nile⁴ a canal was formed which ran into the Arabian gulf or Red Sea. Necho, the son of Psammetichus, commenced it: Darius carried it on to a certain point; but discontinued it on hearing that if the isthmus were cut through, the whole of Egypt would be laid under water. It was explained to him, that the country lay lower than the level of the Red Sea. Ptolemy, however, subsequently finished it; and at proper places made flood-gates, which could be opened or shut as convenience required. This canal was called the river of Ptolemy; it enters the Red Sea at the town of Arsinoë. Strabo⁵ and Aristotle⁶ attribute the commencement of this canal to Sesostris: the geographer, however, in another part of his writings⁷, mentions the opinion of our historian.

[The course of this canal was well traced by the French during their occupation of Egypt⁸. Its whole length was about ninety miles. Patumos, near which place the canal passed, is the Pithom of Scripture⁹ (in Coptic, Pi-thoum) and is supposed to have been situate near the modern Belbeys, at the entrance of the valley leading to Suez¹. This canal being filled up with sand, was restored by Trajan; and

⁹ Diod. Sic. XIV. xxxv. vol. I. p. 670.

¹ Id. I. lxvii. vol. I. p. 77.

² Recherches Philos., &c. § ix. p. 328.

³ Joshua, xv. 47; Judith, ii. 28.

⁴ Diod. Sic. I. xxxiii. vol. I. p. 39.

⁵ Strabo, Geogr. I. p. 65, c; 66, A.

⁶ Aristot. Meteor. I. xiv. p. 548, E.

⁷ Strabo, XVII. p. 1157, A.

⁸ Descr. de l'Eg. Antiq. I. p. 133. & Etat Mod. I. p. 21 et s.

⁹ Exodus, I. 11.

¹ Mannert's Geogr. X. p. 506.

afterwards by Amru, under the Caliph Omar in the year 639 A.D., but in less than a century and a half it had again fallen to ruin.]

CLIX. 418. 'Εν Μαγδόλῳ. *Near Magdolum.* It was against Josiah, king of Judah, that this battle was fought. It did not happen near Magdolum (the Migdol of Scripture²), which is a town of lower Egypt, but near Mageddo. The resemblance of the names has misled Herodotus.

Herodotus contents himself with informing us, that Necho, having defeated Josiah at Mageddo, took the town of Cadytis. The Scriptures acquaint us with some³ particulars, which it may not be useless to call to mind. Necho was marching to attack Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and with this intention was coasting along the shore. Josiah king of Judah, who did not behold with indifference a powerful prince enter his dominions at the head of an army, marched against him, was defeated, and slain at Mageddo, or Megiddo. In all probability it was a force under some of the generals of Necho who laid siege to Cadytis and took it; for he himself continued his march, and took possession of the kingdom of Nebuchadnezzar as far as the Euphrates. On his return he stopped at Rebla, a town situate probably between Mageddo and Jerusalem, and there having learned that the Jews had proclaimed Jehoahaz, fourth son of Josiah, he sent for him, and as soon as he was come, he put him in confinement, repaired immediately to Jerusalem, and placed on the throne Jehoiakim, second son of Josiah, and having imposed a tribute of a talent of gold and a 100 talents of silver, he returned to his own kingdom, taking Jehoahaz with him, who died in Egypt. In the fourth year of the reign of Jehoiakim, he returned into the dominions of Nebuchadnezzar, and having laid siege to Charchemish or Circesium, as the Septuagint has it, he was completely routed by that prince⁴, who, extending his conquests from one country to another, entered Egypt, and subjugated it. This event occurred in the year 4107 of the Julian period, 607 years before our era. It is from this year probably that we should date the forty years of desolation which Egypt experienced, as foretold by the prophet Ezekiel⁵.

419. [Κάδυστιν πόλιν τῆς Συρίας εἰσὶν μεγάλην εἶλε. *He took Cadytis, which is a great city of Syria.* Commentators have differed much respecting the place here intended. Some have supposed it to be Gaza, others Gath; but the better opinion seems to be that the name Kadytis was but a corruption of 'Kods,' sacred or sanctified, an appellation given to Jerusalem, and which is still applied to that city by the Arabs.]

CLX. 420. Ξείροισι ἀγωνιστῆσι ἐκέλευον τὸν ἀγῶνα τιθέναι, ἡλείων

² Jeremiah, xlv. 14.

³ 2 Kings, xxiii, 29, 33, 34, 35;
2 Chronicles, xxxv. 20—23. xxxvi. 3 et s.

⁴ Jeremiah, xlv. 2.

⁵ Ezekiel, xxix. 13.

δὲ μὴδενὶ εἶναι ἀγωνίζεσθαι. *They bid them open the games for the competition of strangers, but not to allow any of the Eleans to contend in them.* Diodorus Siculus attributes this counsel⁶ to Amasis, Plutarch⁷ to a sophist, or rather to a philosopher, the philosophers having borne that name. If the answer of the king of Egypt, whoever he might be, were just, that of the Indian Iarchas appears to me equally so. "We Indians," says he⁸, "having learned from the Egyptians that the Eleans have established ten judges of the Olympic games, do not think that regulation judicious. They commit to chance a selection which ought to be made with the utmost prudence, and incur the risk of having a person by no means qualified for the office. But even if the Eleans, after having selected the most worthy men, should leave it to chance to fix on the ten Hellanodici, they would not be less deserving of censure. In fact, if these judges must be ten in number, if a greater number of worthy men are to be found, they are deprived of the honour which is due to them; and if there are not ten of that character, they admit those who do not deserve it. The Eleans would do better therefore not to limit the number, but to exercise the greatest strictness as to the character of those whom they elect."

The Eleans did not profit by the advice of the king of Egypt: but they cannot be reproached with having ever acted partially. When they were subject to Rome, the grandees of Rome sometimes wrote to them in favour of certain candidates, but the judges never opened those letters till the prize had been adjudged⁹.

CLXI. 421. Εὐδαιμονέστατος. *The most fortunate.* I do not know with what propriety Herodotus can call Apries the most happy or fortunate prince, εὐδαιμονέστατος, after Psammetichus; he who lost his crown, and was strangled by his subjects. Εὐδαίμων also signifies rich; but neither he, nor his grandfather Psammetichus, were the richest princes who had reigned in Egypt.

Perhaps Herodotus meant to say, that up to the period of the revolt, he had been the most fortunate of the kings of Egypt.

422. Ἐτεα πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι ἄρξας. *Having reigned five-and-twenty years.* He reigned but twenty-two, according to Diodorus Siculus¹, and only nineteen according to Syncellus², who, however, in another place³, ascribes to him thirty-four years.

CLXII. 423. Περιέθηκέ οἱ κυνέην. *Covered his head with a helmet.* The helmet was, in Egypt, the symbol of royalty (see cli.). Ἐπὶ βασιλῆϊ, 'for the purpose of putting him in possession of the crown.' The examples of the preposition ἐπὶ used in this sense are very common.

⁶ Diod. Sic. I. xc. vol. I. p. 106.

⁷ Plutarch. in Quæst. Plat. p. 1000, A.

⁸ Philostr. vit. Apoll. III. xxx. p. 121.

⁹ Dion Chrys. in Rhod. p. 344, c, d.

¹ Diod. Sic. I. lxxviii. vol. I. p. 78.

² Syncell. Chronograph. p. 75.

³ Id. ibid. p. 210.

Ἐπὶ βλάβῃ⁴, 'nocendi causâ,' in order to hurt; ἐπὶ λύμῃ⁵, for the purpose of insulting.

424. Τῷ οὐ κως ἀεκούσιον ἐγένετο τὸ ποιούμενον. *What was done did not befall him against his liking.* Diodorus Siculus relates⁶, that Amasis, so far from making an effort to lead back to their duty those who had abandoned Apries, according to the orders he had received from that prince, persuaded them to continue their rebellion, and joined in it.

425. Ἀπεματάϊσε. *Treated him in a contemptuous manner.* I thought that my readers would not be displeased with me for varying a little from the text in this passage. It is, literally, "Amasis being on horse-back, lifted up his thigh, broke wind, and told Patarbemis to carry that to Apries."

426. Ὑποκρίνεσθαι. *Amasis answered.* Homer often uses ὑποκρίνομαι to signify 'I answer,' and never ἀποκρίνομαι, which is found only in modern authors. Herodotus, a palpable imitator of the Prince of Poets, uses the same expression, and Thucydides also, in the same sense.

427. Οὐδένα χρόνον ἐπισχόντες. *Without losing time.* The phrase signifies 'incontinently,' 'without delay.' Μικρὸν ἐπισχόντα⁷, 'shortly.' Οὐ τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ ὅτιοῦν εἰ φάγοι, μικρὸν ἐπισχόντα διεφθείρε. 'If beasts of burden eat ever so little of it, they die shortly afterwards.'

CLXIII. 428. Μωμέμφι. *At Momemphis.* This battle, according to Diodorus Siculus⁸, took place near Marea. Momemphis was near the lake Mareotis, and upon that lake was this town. M. Rollin, faithful to Du Ryer's translation, has written Memphis for Momemphis⁹; a moment's reflection would have guarded him from this error. For this it would have sufficed only to take a glance at the position of Apries. This prince sends an army against the Cyreneans; this army is beaten. The troops impute the misfortune to him, revolt and place the crown on the head of Amasis, whom he had sent to appease them. It is clear that all this took place whilst the army was on its return from Cyrenaica. Apries, indignant at the conduct of Amasis, sends Patarbemis, a lord of his court, with orders to bring in the rebel. Amasis answers that he is on the point of marching against him. Patarbemis returns with this message; and Apries cuts off his ears. The Egyptians, who had hitherto remained faithful, now revolt. He sets out from Sais with his mercenaries, and encounters Amasis near Momemphis. Now this town is on the road from Sais to Cyrenaica; and Memphis, above the point of the Delta, is a long way from it.

⁴ Xenoph. Mem. Socr. IV. ii. xix. p. 214.

⁵ Herod. II. cxxi.

⁶ Diod. Sic. I. lxxviii. vol. I. p. 69.

⁷ Theophrast. Hist. Plant. IV. fol. 49,

B.

⁸ Diod. Sic. I. lxxviii. vol. I. p. 79.

⁹ Histoire Ancienne, tom. I. p. 94.

Jeremiah¹ also speaks of the auxiliary troops of Apries (Hophra), in whom he placed his confidence. [Memphis, now called Menouf, stood on the canal which anciently connected the Canopic branch of the Nile with lake Mareotis².]

CLXIV. 429. Ἔστι δὲ Αἰγυπτίων ἑπτὰ γένη. *The Egyptians are divided into seven castes.* The Egyptians, according to Diodorus Siculus, were divided into three classes; and Strabo³, who names these three classes, the priests, the warriors, and the cultivators, includes amongst the latter the mechanics. But Diodorus⁴, in another place, reckons five classes, priests, soldiers, shepherds, labourers, and mechanics. Plato divides them⁵ into six classes, priests, mechanics, shepherds, hunters, labourers, and warriors. It is very probable that there were but three principal divisions, the last of which was subdivided, and included shepherds, labourers, and mechanics; and hence, probably, has arisen the difference between these authors.

The Indians are divided into four principal classes, each of which is subdivided; the Brahmins, the warriors, the cultivators, and the mechanics. The origin of this division is lost in the obscurity of remote antiquity. And whether the Indians, who are themselves so ancient a people, borrowed it from the Egyptians, or the latter from the Indians, is what I will not undertake to decide. It is not unlikely that it may have occurred to both people, without any communication from one to the other. There is, however, so striking an analogy between many of their civil and religious institutions, that I can scarcely persuade myself but that one of these two countries is a colony of the other. I am inclined to give the preference in point of origin to Egypt. I know of no tradition which speaks of the conquest of Egypt by the Indians; and we know that before the expedition of Sesostris, Osiris had conquered India. Many of the details of this conquest are fabulous, but that does not destroy the authenticity of the main fact.

Children always following the profession of their fathers, often adopted that to which their talents and inclination were ill suited: industry therefore made but little progress amongst them; and if they invented some arts, they brought none to perfection.

[The names of the Kalosirii and Hermotybii, who together formed the military caste, signified, according to Jablonski⁶, the former 'lads or young men;' the latter 'warriors.']

430. Ναθὼ τὸ ἥμισυ. *The half of Natho.* Herodotus clearly states, that the Hermotybii occupied one-half of the nome of Natho. M. D'Anville, who has overlooked this nome in his description of Egypt,

¹ Jeremiah, xlv. 21; xlv. 30.

² Champollion, l'Eg. sous les Phar. II. p. 252.

³ Strabo, XVII. p. 1135, c.

⁴ Diod. Sic. I. lxxiv. et lxxiv. vol. I.

pp. 84, 85.

⁵ Plat. in Timæo, vol. III. p. 24, A.

⁶ Jablonski, Opera Minora, voc. Eg, pp. 69, 101.

advances, on the authority of Du Ryer⁷, that Natho is the half of the isle Prosopitis, though Herodotus says nothing of the position of this nome. M. Bellanger had fallen into the same error.

I am disposed to think that this nome is the same which Ptolemy calls Neouth; and perhaps we should read both in that author and in Herodotus, Neith, an Egyptian divinity, answering to the Minerva of the Greeks.

[Herodotus does not speak of the *nome* of Natho, and by his expression 'the half of Natho' we had better perhaps understand, with Mannert⁸, the half of the island which lay to the north of that of Prosopitis. The tract of country between the Canopic and Sebennytic branches of the Nile, immediately above their separation, was completely insulated by a canal (now called Pharaoh's canal) which joined those two branches lower down. Thus was formed the island of Prosopitis. Another canal meeting the same branches of the river, further north, formed a second island, which was probably the Natho of our author.]

CLXV. 431. Ἀνέονται ἐς τὸ μάχιστον. *They are left free from other occupations, to follow that of war.* Every country where there is a perpetual standing army of foreign mercenaries, or where the profession of arms is in possession of the highest honours, is either already enslaved, or on the point of becoming so. Of this maxim, Egypt is one among a host of proofs. Its despots, not daring at last to trust to the national troops, had recourse to foreign mercenaries. Then began the history of their disasters, shameful defeats, and easy victories to their enemies: the Persians subdued them almost without an effort; and from being their slaves, they became successively the slaves of the Greeks, of the Romans, of the Mamelukes, and finally of the Turks. A despot can never be beloved by his subjects; and without this love, his throne totters on the verge of an abyss, even whilst he thinks it founded on a rock.

CLXVI. 432. [Τανίτης. *The Tamitic nome.* This nome took its name from Tanis, a city called by some writers Saïs⁹. It was the Zoan of Scripture¹, and its ruins are still called Sán by the Arabs².]

433. Ἀθριβίτης. *Of Athribis.* In my Geographical Table, I have said that this town was near the Nomos Busirites. This is confirmed by Strabo³. [Its site is now occupied by the village of Atrib, the name of which is obviously derived from the ancient Athrebi.]

434. Οὔτρος ὁ νομὸς ἐν νήσῳ οἰκείει. *This nome occupies an island.* We may also remark in this place the peculiar expression of our author, 'this

⁷ Mémoires sur l'Egypte ancienne et moderne, p. 81.

⁸ Geogr. von Apika, I. p. 567.

⁹ Strabo, XVII. p. 1154.

¹ Isaiah, xix. 11.

² Champollion, l'Eg. sous les Phar. II. p. 104.

³ Strabo, XVII. p. 1154.

nome dwells in an island,' instead of, 'is situate in an island:' this is an imitation of Homer, whom Herodotus always took for his model. The Prince of Poets had said in the *Iliad*, II. 625, οἷδ' ἐκ Δουλιχίου Ἐχινάων θ' ἱεράων νήσων αἶ ναίουσι πέρην ἄλός: on which, see the Commentary of Eustathius, p. 306. Sophocles uses the same expression⁴ in his *Ajax*, κλεινὰ Σαλαμῖς, σὺ μὲν που ναίεις ἀλίπλαγκτος.

CLXVIII. 435. Οἶνον τέσσερες ἀρυστήρες. *Four arysteres of wine.* The aryster is the same measure with the cotyla, as we learn from Hesychius under the word ἀρυστήρ. [The attic cotyla was nearly equal to the Roman hemina, or about three-quarters of a pint. The Egyptian soldiers had, therefore, three pints of wine daily.]

CLXIX. 436. Μηδ' ἂν θεόν μιν μηδένα δύνασθαι παῦσαι τῆς βασιλῆης. *That not even any of the gods could dethrone him.* This prince was excessively proud. Ezekiel, or rather God, who addresses the prophet, gives the following portrait of him⁵: "Speak, and say, Thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I am against thee, Pharaoh king of Egypt, the great dragon that lieth in the midst of his rivers, which hath said, MY RIVER IS MINE OWN, AND I HAVE MADE IT FOR MYSELF." "God," says St. Peter⁶, "resisteth the proud, and giveth grace unto the humble."

437. Ἀπέπνιξαν. *They strangled him.* The prophet Jeremiah, more than twenty years before, had predicted the death of this prince⁷: "Thus saith the Lord, I will give Pharaoh-Hophra into the hand of his enemies, and into the hand of them that seek his life." This prince, who is called Pharaoh-Hophra in the Septuagint, and Pharaoh-Ephreus in the Vulgate, is the Vaphres of Manetho. Hellanicus⁸ calls him Partamis; but I think he confounds him with Patarbemis, the Egyptian noble whom Apries sent to Amasis in the hope of recalling him to his duty.

According to the Scriptures⁹ it was Nebuchadnezzar who conquered Egypt, and by his orders that Apries perished. Moreover, Egypt was to become desolate, its cities desert, its inhabitants destroyed with the sword, or scattered in the cities of Ethiopia, and this desolation was to endure for forty years¹. "And the land of Egypt shall be desolate and waste And I will make the land of Egypt utterly waste and desolate from the tower of Syene even unto the border of Ethiopia And I will make the land of Egypt desolate in the midst of the countries that are desolate, and her cities among the cities that are laid waste shall be desolate forty years; and I will scatter the Egyptians among the nations, and will disperse them through the countries."

⁴ Sophocl. *Ajax*, 396.

⁵ Ezekiel, xxix. 3.

⁶ 1st Epistle of St. Peter, v. 5.

⁷ Jeremiah, xlv. 30.

⁸ Athen. *Deipnos*. XV. vii. p. 680, c.

⁹ Jerem. l. l. and xlvi. 25. See also Isaiah xix.

¹ Ezekiel, xxix. 9, 10.

The Greek historians, who have transmitted to us the history of Egypt, are silent as to this conquest by Nebuchadnezzar; and so far from noticing the devastation of this country, they remark, on the contrary, that it never was so flourishing as under Amasis, whose reign, however, seems to answer exactly to the forty years of desolation mentioned in the Scriptures, as this prince died after a reign of forty years, as observed by Herodotus, book III. x.

This silence, or, more correctly speaking, this contradiction between the sacred and profane writers, seems the more surprising, as from the time of Psammetichus the Greeks had a perfect knowledge of all that happened in Egypt, as we find in Herodotus². Wesseling³, however, takes up the cause of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, and imputes the omission of Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus to the Egyptian priests, who were induced, he says, by a regard for their country, to conceal the evils which Nebuchadnezzar had inflicted on it. But the same reason ought to have influenced these priests to pass over the excesses committed by Cambyzes against Egypt. And further, how could the Greeks, who were established in Egypt, and certainly uninfluenced by the motives here imputed to the priests, have remained ignorant of these facts, and kept silence as to this conquest and this devastation?

On the other hand, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, being inspired by God, neither could nor did advance any thing but the truth. The silence of the Greek historians cannot shake our confidence in the authenticity of the sacred writings; let us endeavour, therefore, to account for this silence, which I think we may very fairly do, by the following reasons.

The objection founded on the silence of our historian must have arisen from a mistake or a forgetfulness of his plan. His object was to write a history of the wars of the Greeks and Persians; but in his description of the latter people, he interweaves also some historical account of the various nations subdued by them. His history of Egypt is, however, but a succinct account of the principal events. In the same manner, therefore, in which he has passed over, and might be expected to pass over the conquests of the Ethiopian kings, so does he pass over that of Nebuchadnezzar and the devastation of Egypt, which occurred under the reigns of Necho, of Psammis, of Apries, and at the commencement of the reign of Amasis. It does not appear that Herodotus was ignorant of this conquest. The priests, as well as the Greeks settled in Egypt, had probably informed him of it: but to have mentioned it was so far from entering into his plan, that it would absolutely have led him from it. When he says (clxxvii.) that Egypt never was more happy than under Amasis, he does not contradict the predictions of Jeremiah and of Ezekiel. Their prophecies refer to the latter end of the reign of Necho, the reigns of Psammis and of Apries, and the commencement of that of Amasis. The tranquillity which this latter prince enjoyed

² Herod. II. cliv.

³ Ad Diod. Sic. p. lxxix. note 93.

during the greatest part of his reign, which was very long, caused the Egyptians to feel more forcibly the contrast of their state with what it had previously been, and it is for this reason that our historian remarks it: otherwise, the assertion as to the unequalled happiness of the Egyptians at this time would be false; for the period of their greatest positive prosperity was the reign of Sesostris. Of this Herodotus was well aware; and this is an additional proof that in speaking of the prosperity of the Egyptians under Amasis, it was with reference to their sufferings under the three preceding reigns.

Further, the conquest of Egypt took place in the year 4107 of the Julian period, 607 years before our era; and it was effected by Nabopolassar II., the Labynetus of Herodotus, and the Nebuchadnezzar of the Scriptures. It is from this year that we must count the forty years of desolation, which Egypt, according to the prediction of Ezekiel, was to experience. Nebuchadnezzar imposed a tribute upon Necho and his successors. Apries refused to pay it; his excessive pride, of which the Scriptures speak, disgusted his subjects, and induced them to revolt. Nabonadius, the same with the Nabonid of Berosus and Megasthenes, son of Nabopolassar II., whom Herodotus calls Labynetus, and the Scripture Nebuchadnezzar, like his father, the king of Babylon, entered Egypt, and, having joined the rebels, subjugated the country, made Apries prisoner, and committed him into the hands of Amasis, whom he established king in his place.

These facts are but lightly touched on either in sacred or profane history; and it requires a close attention to trace the thread of them. What has led the greater part of the commentators on the holy Scriptures into error is, that the name of Nebuchadnezzar is given to both father and son, without any distinguishing epithet. We must also remark, that Nabonadius, or Nebuchadnezzar II., did not immediately succeed his father Nebuchadnezzar I.; for several princes reigned between these two, and amongst them Darius the Mede, who is the same with the Neregasolarus of the Canon of Ptolemy, and the Nereglissar of Berosus and Megasthenes⁴.

438. Ἐν τῇ παστάδι διὰ θυρώματα ἔστηκε. *In this hall is a niche with a folding-door.* Παστὰς signifies a chamber, and even a bed-chamber. Παστὰς μεγάλη is therefore a large chamber, which I have expressed by 'hall.'

Διὰ θυρώματα appears to me to be a closet with folding-doors, constructed in the body of the wall: I have substituted 'niche,' as being a more appropriate term. Τὼς δὲ νόμος οὐκ ἐν οἰκήμασι καὶ θυρώμασιν ἐπῆμεν δεῖ, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ἡθέεσι τῶν πολιτευομένων⁵. 'The laws ought not to be shut up in houses and in closets, but to be engraven on the hearts of the citizens.'

⁴ See Larcher's Chronology, (Traduction d'Herod. tom. VII.) chap. v.

⁵ Stob. Serm. xli. p. 251.

We cannot doubt that this niche was shut in with a folding-door. Herodotus says, (III. xvi.) that they placed in the tomb of Amasis, close against the doors, the body of an Egyptian. Τὸν μὲν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον ἔθαψε ἐπὶ τῇσι θύρῃσι ἐντὸς τῆς ἐωϋτοῦ θήκης.

And I am the more confirmed in my opinion of having adopted the true meaning of this passage, by its accordance with the description of the catacombs of Alexandria given by Dr. Pococke :

“ To the west ⁶, beyond the canal of Canopus, and near the tomb of a sheik, are some catacombs ; they consist of several apartments cut in the rock, on each side of an open gallery. On both sides of these apartments are three stories of crypts, big enough to deposit the bodies in. The most extraordinary catacombs are at the further end, and may be reckoned among the finest that have been discovered ; being beautiful rooms cut out of a rock, and niches in many of them so as to deposit the bodies in, adorned with a sort of Doric pilasters on each side.”

CLXX. 439. Ταφαὶ τοῦ οὐκ ὄσιον ἐξαγορεύειν τοῦνομα. *The sepulchre of him whom I do not consider myself at liberty to mention.* This is the tomb of Osiris ; at least such is the opinion of Athenagoras, which appears to me very probable. This father, after quoting the entire passage of Herodotus, adds ⁷, “ They exhibit not only the tomb of Osiris, but also his embalmed body.”

440. Ὀβελοὶ μεγάλοι λίθινοι. *Great obelisks of stone.* The obelisks were a species of columns composed of two parts, the shaft and the pyramidal spire. The shaft ⁸ is generally in the proportion of ten diameters ; the pyramidal summit diminishes to a point like a pyramid, which has given it the name of Pyramidion, or little pyramid. The height of this is equal to the width of the obelisk at its base. They are almost all of granite highly polished ⁹. The hieroglyphic characters which are seen on them, and which are sometimes two inches in depth, are rude and uneven ; at least they do not appear to have been polished. As no mark of the chisel is perceived in these characters, nor on the obelisks, it is probable that they have been punched, and that the body of the obelisk has been polished by friction.

This form ¹ was devised to represent the rays of the sun ; the word obelisk in Egyptian, indeed, signifies a ray. Kircher thinks ² that Pitebpere, the Egyptian term for obelisk, signifies finger of the sun.

The obelisks may have served to decorate the entrance into a temple, a palace, or the extremity of a colonnade, as M. Norden ³ thinks ; but a more important purpose was undoubtedly contemplated in the

⁶ Pococke's Description, &c. vol. I. p. 9.

⁷ Athenag. Legatio pro Christianis, vol. II. p. 735. § xxv. p. 115.

⁸ Kircher Obel. Pamphil. p. 52.

⁹ Shaw's Travels, vol. II. p. 138.

¹ Plin. Hist. Nat. XXXVI. viii.

² Obel. Pamphil. p. 44.

³ Travels in Egypt, &c. vol. I. p. 96.

erection of them. The inundations of the Nile, which every year changed the face of Egypt, especially before the site of the towns had been raised or banked up, and had thus been placed out of the reach of the water, no doubt suggested to the Egyptians a means of securing their history and sciences from any disastrous effects that might arise from the annual overflowing of the Nile: none better occurred to them, than to engrave them upon columns of the hardest stone, and this plan they carried into execution, as we find from the ancients. "If you propound any question of philosophy," says Iamblichus, "we will resolve it by means of the columns of Hermes, which, being known to Plato, and before him to Pythagoras, enabled them to compose their systems⁴." Φιλόσοφον δ' εἴ τι προβάλλεις ἐρώτημα, διακρινοῦμέν σοι καὶ τοῦτο κατὰ τὰς Ἑρμοῦ παλαιὰς στήλας, ἃς Πλάτων ἤδη πρόσθεν καὶ Πυθαγόρας διαγρόντες, φιλοσοφίαν συνεστήσαντο. Hermes invented these columns, and caused to be engraved on them the decrees of the planets.

Στηλῶν ἃς ἤνυρατο πάνσοφος Ἑρμῆς
Οὐρανίων ἄστρον τ' ἰδίαις ἐχάραξε προνοίαις⁵.

Pliny⁶ mentions a considerable number of obelisks: he counts several of Mestres, four of Sothis, two of Rameses; the last of which, having been transported to Rome⁷ by the Emperor Constantius, was placed in the Great Circus. This obelisk having fallen down, Pope Sixtus V. had it erected before the church of St. John de Lateran. There are two obelisks without any hieroglyphics, one of Smarres, the other of Eraphius, and a third of Nectanebis, likewise without characters; Ptolemæus Philadelphus removed the last of them to Alexandria. Augustus carried to Rome two obelisks, one of Semneserteus, the other of Sesostris: the first was placed in the Great Circus, and is now seen at the Porta del Popolo; the second was set up in the Campus Martius; but this is now broken and covered with earth. Pliny speaks of another obelisk, made in imitation of that of Nunchoreus, which was conveyed to Nero's Circus. Pope Sixtus V. placed it before the church of St. Peter. There still remain, however, in Egypt, scattered from one extremity of the country to the other, a great number of obelisks.

441. Τροχοειδής. *Trochoid* (or round). Notwithstanding the changes that have taken place in the island of Delos, I think it easy to determine the position of this lake, and even to discover it. Apollo, being but four years old, constructed, near the round lake⁸, περιήγεος ἔγγυθι λίμνης, an altar of stags' horns interwoven, for which, in process of time, so great a veneration was entertained, that a temple was built near it. Plutarch affirms that he had seen this temple. "In contem-

⁴ Jamblich. de Mysteriis, I. ii. p. 3. p. 735.

⁵ Maneth. Apotelesm. V. ii.

⁶ Plin. Hist. Nat. XXXVI. viii. vol. II.

⁷ Amm. Marcel. XVII. iv. p. 124, &c.

⁸ Callimach. Hymn. in Apoll. 59.

plating the nest of the halcyon," says he⁹, "it has often occurred to me to say and to sing with Homer¹: Such is the altar of stags' horns which I have seen at Delos, in the temple of Apollo, an altar which is reckoned amongst the seven wonders." The temple of Delos was therefore near the round lake. To this, add the following²: "When the venerable Latona," says Theognis, "nursed you (Apollo) on the borders of the round lake, she seized with her hands a palm-tree," &c. Now this palm-tree, according to Homer³, was near the temple of Apollo, and, according to the tradition of the Delians, the god was born in the same place where the temple was built. "Est tanta⁴ apud eos (Delios) ejus fani religio, atque antiquitas, ut in eo loco ipsum Apollinem natum esse arbitrentur." This lake, therefore, must be that which M. Spon describes⁵; and M. Tournefort was wrong in attempting to correct that traveller, by placing⁶ the lake at the northern extremity of the island. "It seems to me," says the latter author, "that this piece of water must be the marsh mentioned by Herodotus. For the term marsh can never agree with the fountain Inopus, as Callimachus makes separate mention of the marsh and of the fountain." In other words: the piece of water twenty paces in breadth, which is at the north-east extremity of the island, cannot be the fountain of Inopus; therefore it is the round lake mentioned by Herodotus. This, I confess, is a singular kind of logic. Callimachus calls this lake⁷ περιηγῆς λίμνη, and in another place τροχόεσσα; but Theognis gives it the same name as Herodotus.

CLXXI. 442. Εὔστομα κείσθω. *Let it remain concealed.* The ancients never revealed the mysteries of their religion. Apollonius, after having said, in his Argonautics, that the Argonauts disembarked in the island of Electra, the daughter of Atlas, to be initiated into the mysteries, adds⁸: "I shall say no more about these mysteries; I bid adieu to you, island of Samothrace, and to you also, genii who inhabit it, and who share in these orgies, orgies which we are not permitted to sing."

Herodotus is probably the first writer who made use of the expression εὔστομα κείσθω, as the greater part of those who have employed it since, add καθ' Ἡρόδοτον, 'to make use of the expression of Herodotus.' The critics disapproved of it⁹, and used to mark it as vicious, because Hellenicus said, on reading it, ταῦτα ἔστω εὔστομα, without dividing this word in two, which then signifies, 'let these things be of an agreeable taste.' M. Wesseling, with reason, doubted whether we should not

⁹ Plut. de Solertiâ Animal. p. 983, E.

¹ Plutarch here makes a slight change in Homer's verse, which is the 162d in the 6th book of the Odyssey, and which says, "Such is that shoot of the palm-tree which I saw at Delos, near the temple of Apollo."

² Theognid: Sentent. 5, &c.

³ Homer. Odyss. VI. 162.

⁴ Cicer. in Verrem, act 2. I. xvii.

⁵ Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce, etc. tom. I. p. 106.

⁶ Voyage du Levant, tom. I. pp. 290, 291.

⁷ Callimach. Hymn. in Apoll. 59; Hymn. in Delum, 261; Theogn. 5.

⁸ Apoll. Rhod. Argonaut. 919.

⁹ Schol. Sophoclis, ad Philoct. 201.

read εὖ στόμα in two words, as the grammarians contend. Sophocles has written it the same as Herodotus¹, εὖστομ' ἔχε, παῖ: 'hold your peace, my son.' The Scholiast, who quotes the pleasantry of Hellanicus, says, εἰώθασιν οὕτω λέγειν, ἀντὶ τοῦ σιώπα. 'It was customary to use this expression instead of σιώπα, be silent.'

443. Θεσμοφόρια. *Thesmophoria*. Ceres was the same with Isis², who first taught laws to men, taught them to act justly to one another, to banish from amongst them violence by the fear of punishment; hence the Greeks called her Thesmophora, and her festival the Thesmophoria.

CLXXII. 444. Ἄτε δὴ δημότην τὸ πρὶν εἶόντα. *As having once been a plebeian*; and not of an illustrious house. We find the same thing in Hellanicus³; but Diodorus Siculus says, he was a man of distinction⁴. This is no contradiction; Amasis was distinguished, not by his birth, but by his actions and by the favour of the prince. He had insinuated himself into the good graces of Apries, by presenting him with a crown of flowers on his birth-day⁵. The prince, delighted with the beauty of this crown, invited Amasis to the banquet given on the occasion, and afterwards admitted him into the number of his friends.

An anonymous manuscript Lexicon in the Royal Library informs us, that δημότης is an Ionian word used by Herodotus to signify a man of the lower class, and that Xenophon is the only Attic author who has used it in this sense. In all the other authors, δημότης means a man of the same town; and δημοτικός is used to signify one of the lower order. Δημότην οἱ Ἴωνες τὸν τῶν πολλῶν ἕνα. Οὕτως καὶ Ἡρόδοτος. Τῶν δὲ Ἀττικῶν μόνος Ξενοφῶν. Οἱ δ' ἄλλοι τοῦτον μὲν δημοτικόν, δημότην δὲ, τὸν τοῦ αὐτοῦ δήμου, ὡς φυλέτην, τὸν τῆς αὐτῆς φυλῆς, καὶ λοχίτην, τὸν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ λόχῳ τεταγμένον.

445. Ποδανιπτὴρ χρύσεος. *A golden basin*. This sort of vase had many names; that used by Herodotus, ποδανιπτήρ, is very unusual. Diocles, a comic poet, whose works have not reached us, has employed it in the following verse of his Bacchantes, preserved by Julius Pollux⁶:

Ὑδρία τις, ἢ χαλκοῦς ποδανιπτήρ ἢ λέβης.

For so this verse must be read, as was plainly perceived by M. Toup⁷.

CLXXIII. 446. Μέχρι ὅτου πληθώρης ἀγορῆς. *Until the hour when the public place is full*. Nobody has better explained the different parts of the day, in my opinion, than Dio Chrysostom⁸. Πρωὶ is the sunrise, or early in the morning; περὶ πλήθουσιν ἀγορὰν, the middle of the

¹ Sophocl. Philoct. 201.

⁶ Jul. Poll. Onomast. X. xxii. § lxxviii.

² Diod. Sic. I. xiv. vol. I. p. 18; V. p. 1245.

⁷ Curæ novissimæ in Suidam, p. 69; and of 2d edit. vol. iii. p. 101.

³ Athen. Deipnos. XV. vii. p. 680, B.

⁴ Diod. Sic. I. lxviii. vol. I. p. 79.

⁸ Dio Chrysost. de Gloriâ, orat. lxvi. p. 614, c, d.

⁵ Athen. Deipnos. XV. p. 680, B, c.

forenoon, that is, the third hour; τὰς μεσημβρίας, noon; περὶ δείλην, the middle of the afternoon, that is to say, the ninth hour of the day; ἑσπέρα, the evening, or sun-set.

447. Ἦν μάταιός τε καὶ παιγνιήμων. *He was droll and facetious.* Valla has translated, 'Morionem agebat ac scurram;' but that is not exact. Παιγνιήμων is said of a man who makes delicate and witty jests, such as become a man of education; and Μάταιος of him who utters such as are contrary to decency and good morals.

CLXXV. 448. Ἀνδρόσφιγγας. *Andro-sphinxes.* A monstrous figure, which had the ⁹ body of a lion and the face of a man. The Egyptian artists ¹ generally represented the sphinx with the body of a lion and the face of a girl. These figures were usually placed ² at the entrance of the temples, to typify the enigmatical nature of the Egyptian theology.

449. Οἶκημα μουνόλιθον. *A building composed of a single stone.* On this monolith, see Count Caylus, *Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions*, vol. xxxi. Hist. p. 23.

450. Τὸν δὲ Ἀμασιν ἐνθυμιστὸν ποιησάμενον. *Amasis regarding it as an unlucky omen.* The Latin translator has ill rendered the above by 'id advertens Amasis.' Ἐνθύμιον or ἐνθυμιστὸν ποιεῖσθαι signifies, 'in religionem, in omen vertere ³.'

CLXXVII. 451. Αἴγυπτος μάλιστα . . . εὐδαιμονῆσαι. *Egypt was never more happy.* This will appear somewhat exaggerated to those who compare it with the calamities foretold by the prophets Jeremiah and Ezekiel. But perhaps those prophecies referred to the latter end of the reign of Apries, and only the commencement of that of Amasis.

452. Δισμυρίας οἰκεόμενας. *Twenty thousand cities and towns well peopled.* "This country ⁴ was formerly the most populous that was ever known; nor is it now inferior to any other. In ancient times it had no fewer than 18,000 cities and towns, as may be seen in the sacred registers. Under Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, 30,000 were enumerated. This number still subsists. There were formerly 7,000,000 of inhabitants, and now there are not fewer than 3,000,000."

There must be some error in these last numbers of Diodorus; for Josephus affirms ⁵, that in his time there were in Egypt more than 7,500,000 souls, without reckoning the inhabitants of Alexandria, who of themselves amounted to more than 300,000.

Theocritus also agrees with Diodorus ⁶ in counting 33,339 cities and towns; for he comprises in this number those of Phœnicia, Cœlosyria,

⁹ Clem. Alex. Stromat. V. vii. vol. II. p. 671. lin. 8.

¹ Ælian. Nat. An. XII. vii. vol. II. p. 671.

² Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 354, c. Clem. Alex. Strom. V. v.

³ See Duker's note on Thucydides, VII. xviii. p. 455. note 78.

⁴ Diod. Sic. I. xxxi. vol. I. p. 36.

⁵ De Bell. Jud. II. xvi. § iv. p. 190.

⁶ Theocr. Idyll. xvii. 82.

Arabia, and Libya, and which were under the government of Ptolemy Philadelphus.

We must notice, that these were not all cities, nor even towns, but that the most insignificant villages were included ; yet notwithstanding this qualification, I have no doubt that to many readers this number will appear very much exaggerated, especially on comparing the population with ours. But if we further remark, that Egypt was the most fertile country in the world for all sorts of grain ; that there were none of those immense forests, which in other countries occupy so much space ; that the inhabitants were spread entirely over the face of the country ; that there was not a single winding or creek of the river, a single canal, a single spot raised a little higher than the rest, but there was seen a town or a village :—an attention to all these circumstances will dissipate such prejudices, which I myself entertained when I published my first edition ; but reflection has convinced me of the truth⁷.

453. Λαβὼν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τοῦτον τὸν νόμον. *Borrowed this law from Egypt.* “Apud⁸ quos (Athenienses) inertia e latebris suis, languore marcens, in forum, perinde ac delictum aliquod, protrahitur, fitque ut facinorosæ, ita erubescendæ rea culpæ.

“Ejusdem urbis sanctissimum Consilium Areopagus, quid quisque Atheniensium ageret, aut quonam quæstu sustentaretur, diligentissime inquirere solebat, ut homines honestatem, vitæ rationem memores reddendam esse, sequerentur.”

Draco had established this law at Athens ; Solon mitigated it, by changing the penalty of death to that of infamy, for any one who had transgressed it three times. Those who had offended but once were fined 100 drachmas, or 3*l.* 15*s.*, as we learn from Lysias, in his pleadings against Ariston, according to⁹ Harpocration, under the word Ἀργίας δίκη.

Plutarch imagined, as well as Lysias, that Draco had decreed the penalty of death to all such as should be convicted of idleness. “All the laws of Draco,” says he¹, “except those concerning murderers, were abrogated on account of their severity and excessive penalties. For nearly all faults were to be punished with death : those who were convicted of idleness were to die, and those who had stolen a little fruit to suffer the same punishment as murderers and persons guilty of sacrilege. The saying of the orator Demades was afterwards much applauded, that ‘the laws of Draco had been written with blood and not with ink.’ That legislator being asked why he punished all faults with death, answered, That he thought the smallest faults worthy of it, and that he had been unable to devise any greater punishment for the more atrocious.”

⁷ See Heynii Opuscula Academica, vol. I. p. 225 seq.

⁸ Valer. Maxim. II. vi. § iii. et iv.

⁹ This is a fragment of Harpocration found only in some MSS. of that author.

It is in that of the library presented by George I. to the University of Cambridge.

¹ Plutarch in Solone, p. 87, E.

All the writers, however, are not agreed that the laws of Draco inflicted death on those convicted of idleness. Julius Pollux says that they incurred only infamy².

Diphilus, in a comedy entitled 'The Merchant,' speaks of a law somewhat similar, then in force at Corinth. "There³ is in that city a law, according to which, if any man lives in a splendid style, they ask him what he does, and how he provides for so great an expense. If his income suffices, he is suffered to continue it; but if his expenses exceed his means, he is forbidden to continue it; and if he disobeys, he is fined. But if a man without fortune lives in splendour, he is delivered to the executioner. It is impossible, indeed, that such a man can live without doing harm; he must necessarily rob on the highway by nights, break into houses, or associate with those that do so; or else he exercises the profession of a sycophant, or that of a false witness. It is well to purge the state from such pests."

CLXXVIII. 454. Προστάται ἐμπορίου. *Judges*. Herodotus calls them as above; but their real name is Timuchi, as we learn from Athenæus⁴. Ἐμπόριον signifies a place of trade; προστάτης τοῦ ἐμπορίου the judge of such a town, and not a judge exclusively for matters of trade, such as we term a consul, as Mr. Chishull thought⁵.

455. Μεταποιεῦνται. *Claim participation*. The Lexicon of Timæus explains μεταποιεῖσθαι by ἀντιποιεῖσθαι: but see the excellent note of Ruhnken.

CLXXX. 456. Ἀὐτομάτως. *Accidentally*. The real cause of this conflagration was not known. Nevertheless, the scholiast of Pindar imputes it⁶ to the Pisistratidæ, that is, to Hipparchus and Hippias, sons of Pisistratus.

457. Χίλια στυπτηρίας τάλαντα. *A thousand talents of alum*. Alum was obtained from Lipara, from Melos, Sardinia, Phrygia, Armenia, and Egypt, as we learn from Dioscorides, book V. cxxiii. That of Melos⁷ and of Egypt⁸ was used for medicine. The most esteemed was that of Egypt, and next, that of Melos: "Laudatissimum⁹ in Ægypto, proximum in Melo." The inhabitants of Delphi would, from the sale of this alum, obtain a considerable sum, which might serve for their quota.

[The στυπτηρία of the Greeks and *Alumen* of the Latins was not what is now called alum (sulphate of alumina), but an impure vitriol (sulphate of iron) containing alumina.]

² Jul. Pol. Onom. VIII. vi. § xlii. vol. II. p. 880.

³ Athen. Deipnos. VI. iii. p. 227, F.

⁴ Id. IV. xii. p. 149, F.

⁵ Antiquit. Asiat. p. 100.

⁶ Ad Pindari Pyth. Od. viii. 10. p. 270.

⁷ Hippocrates de Ulceribus, vol. II. § viii. p. 670; § ix. p. 671.

⁸ Id. ibid. § x. p. 672.

⁹ Plin. Hist. Nat. XXXV. xv. vol. I. p. 716.

CLXXXI. 458. Βάττεω δ' Ἀρκεσίλεω. *Battus, son of Arcesilas.* Battus, son of Arcesilas, and surnamed the Happy¹, ascended the throne in the year 575 before our era, in the 20th year of the reign of Apries, and died in the year 554 before that era, the 16th year of the reign of Amasis.

459. Τοῦτο γάρ οἱ κακοῦ εἶναι μῆχος. *This was in fact the remedy.* Μῆχος signifies here a remedy. Homer has used it in this sense:

οὐδέ τι μῆχος²
Εὐρέμεναι δυνάμεσθα.

‘Nor can we find any other remedy for our ills.’

Μοι χαλεπᾶς νόσω εὖρέ τι μᾶχος³.

‘Find me some remedy for this painful disorder.’

460. Ἐξω τοῦ ἄσπεος. *Out of the city.* There is every appearance that this statue was placed in the city, and looked towards the country, and accordingly I have so translated it: but the text may also signify, that it was without the town, and looking towards it. The reader, therefore, may choose that which best pleases him.

CLXXXII. 461. Εἰκόνα ἐωντοῦ γραφῇ εἰκασμένην. *His likeness represented by painting.* Painting was in all probability known to the Egyptians from the earliest ages; but they do not appear to have succeeded better in this than in sculpture. Antiquity makes mention of no Egyptian painter or sculptor who had acquired any celebrity. They possessed the secret of fixing colours upon marble with so much skill, that at the present day, in edifices half-ruined⁴, are found paintings of a brilliancy and freshness of colouring, which would induce one to believe they were just come from the hands of the artist; the tints are not melted nor washed off.

462. Θώρηκα λίνεον ἀξιοθέητον. *A corslet of linen which is well worth seeing.* Doubtless from the beauty of the workmanship. In Egypt they manufactured stuffs with very beautiful designs:

Hæc tibi Memphitis tellus dat munera: victa est
Pectine Niliaco jam Babylonis acus⁵.

They likewise embroidered with the needle:

Candida Sidonio perlucens pectora filo,
Quod Nilotis acus percussus pectine Serum
Solvit⁶

463. Τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Λίνδῳ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηναίης λέγεται τὰς τοῦ Δαναοῦ

¹ Herod. IV. elix.

² Hom. Iliad. II. 342.

³ Theocr. Idyll. ii. 95.

⁴ Norden's Travels, vol. II. p. 51.

⁵ Martial. Epigram. XIV. 150.

⁶ Lucani Pharsal. X. 141.

θυγατέρας ἰδρῦσθαι. *It is said that the daughters of Danaus founded the temple of Minerva in Lindus.* Strabo likewise says⁷, that the temple of the Lindian Minerva was built by the daughter of Danaus. But Diodorus attributes⁸ both the statue of the goddess and the temple to Danaus himself. The epigram of Callimachus⁹ does not contradict the account of Herodotus, as M. Wesseling thought; for a statue consecrated to the goddess by the daughters of Danaus is alone in question there. If this epigram, which has been transmitted to us by Eusebius¹, is properly restored by Bentley², it would seem that it was not a statue, but a shapeless log of wood, as was the Phrygian goddess, adored at Pessinuntum, and afterwards transported to Rome. The term ἄγαλμα, used by Diodorus Siculus in the passage above quoted, does not contradict this opinion, as he employs it also in this sense. But it is probable that when the art of statuary came to perfection, the Rhodians made of it a statue of this goddess, which was a master-piece: for we can scarcely imagine that they would have carried a shapeless log of wood to Constantinople as an ornament to that city. It was placed upon a stone³ pedestal before the door of the senate-house at Constantinople: when that edifice was consumed by fire, it was buried amidst the ruins, and was generally believed to have been reduced to ashes. But when the rubbish was cleared away, for the purpose of rebuilding the senate-house, it was found that the statue had not been damaged: which circumstance, adds Zozimus⁴, inspired the brightest hopes even in the most learned persons, and induced them to believe that the goddess preserved an undiminished regard for the city, and that her providence would ever protect it. Zonaras⁵, who speaks of this conflagration in his Annals, and who places it in the reign of Basiliscus, that is, about A.D. 476, remarks, that it destroyed the statue of the Lindian Minerva; which entirely contradicts the story of Zozimus. The account of Zonaras is more reconcileable to probability, as it is difficult to imagine that the statue could have resisted the fury of the flames. Zozimus perhaps only invented this tale to prop up the cause of paganism, which then tottered to its very base. That, however, is the last mention made of this statue in history.

464. Κατεστρέψατο ἐς φόρον ἀπαγωγὴν. *He forced them to pay him tribute.* Apries defeated the Cyprians by sea⁶; but it does not appear that he took possession of their island. This advantage was reserved for Amasis⁷. This latter prince died after a reign of 44 years, at the time when Cambyses was marching against Egypt, in the 3rd

⁷ Strabo, XIV. p. 967, c.

⁸ Diod. Sic. V. lviii. p. 377.

⁹ Callimachi Fragmenta a Ric. Bentley collecta, cv. p. 478.

¹ Eusebii Præp. Evang. III. viii. p. 99, B.

² Callim. Frag. p. 478.

³ Zozimi Histor. V. p. 328.

⁴ Id. ibid. sub finem, p. 329.

⁵ Zonaræ Annal. XIV. p. 52, D; p. 53.

⁶ Diod. Sic. I. lxviii. vol. I. pp. 71, 72.

⁷ Id. ibid. p. 79, lin. 91, &c.

year of the 73d Olympiad, the same in which Parmenides of Camarina obtained the prize for running, the year 4188 of the Julian period, 526 years before our era.

THALIA. III.

I. 1. ΘΑΛΕΙΑ. *Thalia*. It appears that the names of the Muses were affixed to the several books of this history only in latter ages. Porphyrius says ἡ Αἰγυπτίακη βίβλος ἥτις ἐστὶ δευτέρα τῇ τάξει, 'the book concerning Egypt, which is the second in order.' Athenæus says, throughout, ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν, or simply ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ, 'in his first history.' Harpocration says the same. Aulus Gellius cites 'Herodotus in Historiis, Herodotus in tertiâ Historiâ, in quarto Herodoti libro, in primo Historiarum.' But no where do we find them distinguished by the names of the Muses. Thus, though the works of Herodotus were ¹ received with the greatest applause in Olympia, and in the enthusiasm of the moment the names of the Muses were bestowed on them, it is to be presumed that later grammarians alone thus distinguished each book.

Cephalæon ² had composed in the Ionian dialect a historical abridgment, from the time of Ninus and Semiramis to that of Alexander the Great, inclusive. This history was in nine books, which bore the names of the nine Muses. We have three orations of the orator Æschines ³, which from the beauties of their style have received the names of the three Graces, and nine epistles of the same writer which bear the names of the Muses.

2. Ἰητρὸν ὀφθαλμῶν. *An oculist*. "Disorders of the eyes ⁴ are very frequent in Egypt, and so difficult of cure, that almost all those who are attacked by them lose their sight; so that Egypt may justly be called the Country of the Blind."

[It is probable that the physicians of Egypt acquired some skill, or at least the reputation of skill, at an early period, owing to their custom of confining their practice, each devoting himself to a particular branch of the healing art ⁵. But at the court of Persia they were soon supplanted by the Greeks.]

¹ Lucian. in Herod. i. vol. I. p. 833.

² Photii Biblioth. Cod. lxviii. p. 101.

³ Id. Cod. lxi. p. 60.

⁴ Granger's Travels in Egypt, pp. 21, 22. Paris edit. 1745.

⁵ Herod. II. lxxxiv.

3. Νίτητις. *Niteticis*. M. Jablonski saw very clearly, that the names⁶ Niteticis, Nitocris, and many other similar ones, come from Neith, who is the Minerva of the Egyptians.

A trifling difficulty occurs in this passage. M. Wesseling is astonished, and not without reason, that Niteticis should still have been beautiful. She must, he observes, have been more than forty years old, as Amasis had put her father to death forty-four years before the expedition of the Persians into Egypt.

This would be true, if we could precisely fix the period of the death of Apries. Herodotus says (III. x.) that Amasis died after a reign of forty-four years; but, in all probability, this is dated from the moment when the Egyptian placed the helmet on his head. Though Herodotus passes very rapidly from this circumstance to the defeat of Apries, it is very probable that some years elapsed between them; or it may be, that Apries had this daughter after he was in the power of Amasis. Herodotus does not say how long this was; but it may be conjectured that he remained a prisoner several years; indeed he may not have died till 20 years after Amasis became possessed of the throne. If that should be the case, which is not inconsistent with probability, Niteticis might be but 20 or 22 years old when she was sent to Cambyses. Ctesias⁷ in a general way agrees with Herodotus.

4. Κοσμήσας ἐσθῆτί τε καὶ χρυσῷ. *Arraying her in cloth of gold*. The Greek phrase ἐσθῆτί τε καὶ χρυσῷ is, I presume, the figure which the grammarians call ἐν διὰ δυοῖν, as in the following verse of Virgil:

Pateris libamus et auro.—GEORG. ii. 192.

[This dress was probably confined to royalty: thus our author tells us (I. cxi.) that Cyrus, when exposed to perish in his infancy, was κεκοσμημένον χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἐσθῆτι.]

II. 5. Ἐκ ταύτης δὴ τῆς Ἀπρίεω θυγατρὸς γενέσθαι. *That he was a son of that daughter of Apries*. Dino⁸ in his History of Persia, and Lynceas of Naucratis in the 3d book of his History of Egypt, relate, that Amasis sent Niteticis to Cyrus; that Cyrus had by her Cambyses; and that Cambyses, to avenge his mother, undertook the expedition into Egypt. Polyænus⁹ also says the same thing; adding only, that Niteticis persuaded Cyrus to avenge her father's death; but that that prince dying in the mean time, Cambyses marched against Egypt, at the entreaty of his mother, and reduced it to subjection.

6. [Ἀνδρὸς Ἀχαιμενίδεω. *A descendant of Achæmenes*. Pharnaspes was, therefore, allied by blood to the royal family. The surname Akhâm-nisiah (Achæmenides) is found in the cuneiform Persepolitan inscriptions, joined to Darius¹.]

⁶ Panth. Egypt. pars i. p. 55 et seq.

⁷ Athen. Deipnos. XIII. i. p. 560, D.

⁸ Id. ibid. p. 560, F.

⁹ Strateg. VIII. xxix. pp. 764, 765.

¹ Lassen, Alt.-Pers. Keil-Inscr. pp. 141-6.

III. 7. Αἰγύπτου τὰ μὲν ἄνω, κάτω θήσω. *I will turn Egypt upside down.* "I take it for granted," says Athenæus², "that no one amongst you is ignorant, that the most fatal wars have been excited by women: the Trojan war, on account of Helen; the plague in the Greek camp before Troy, on account of Chryseis; the anger of Achilles, on account of Briseis; the war termed Sacred³, on account of a woman of Thebes, called Theano, who had been carried off by a Phocidian, as we learn from Douris, in the 2d book of his History; a war which lasted ten years, and at the end of that time was terminated by the assistance of Philip, who enabled the Thebans to take possession of Phocis. The war called Cirrhaic, that is to say, the war of the Cirrheans against the Phocidians, was also, as we learn from Callisthenes, in his book on the sacred war, of ten years' duration. The subject of this war was, that the Cirrheans had carried off Megisto, the daughter of Pelagon of Phocis, and the daughters of the Argians who were returning from the temple of the Pythian Apollo: Cirrha was taken in the 10th year of this war. Entire dynasties have been destroyed on account of women; as, that of Philip, father of Alexander, was by the marriage of Cleopatra; that of Hercules, by the marriage with Iole, daughter of Eurytus; that of Theseus, by that with Phædra, daughter of Minos; that of Athamas, by that with Themisto, daughter of Hypseus; that of Jason, by that with Glauce, daughter of Creon; that of Agamemnon, on account of Cassandra. The expedition of Cambyses against Egypt, according to Ctesias, was on account of a woman. Nitetis conjured him to revenge the death of Apries, and persuaded him to make war on the Egyptians."

V. 8. Μέχρι Ἰηνύσου. *As far as Jenysus.* It may not be useless to trace this march as described by Herodotus. Syria of Palestine extends from Phœnicia as far as the city of Cadytis. From this city to Jenysus, all the trading towns belonged to the Arabs; the country from Jenysus to the lake Serbonis belonged to the Syrians of Palestine: it is clear from this that Herodotus considers the lake Serbonis as more distant than the town of Jenysus, with reference to Palestine.

[We have already explained that Cadytis is a corruption of al-kods, that is, *the holy city*, or Jerusalem⁴. From this southwestwards to Jenysus (now Khan Iones), near the sea-shore, the country was possessed, according to Herodotus, by the Arabs. It seems not unlikely that the Arabs thus described by our author as settled in the midst of a Phœnician population, were no other than the Hebrew tribes.]

² Athen. Deipnos. XIII. i. p. 560, B, C, D, E, F.

³ The first of the sacred wars mentioned in the above note was the 3rd, and the 2nd the 1st. As to these wars, the reader may consult the excellent work entitled 'Des Anciens Gouvernemens Fédératifs,' p. 57 and following.

The Phocidians may have been reproached with carrying off Theano, and the Cirrheans with the abduction of Megisto; but it is certain that these circumstances were not the cause of those two wars.

⁴ See note 419 of the preceding book.

9. Ἐν τῇ δὲ λόγος τὸν Τυφῶ κεκρύφθαι. *They say that Typhon concealed himself.* The scholiast of Apollonius Rhodius says⁵, that “Typhon, struck by Jupiter, as he was near Syria, and still pursued by that god, arrived at Pelusium, where he rushed into the lake Serbonis. This lake extends from Syria to Pelusium. Herodorus says the same thing of Typhon.”

I prefer reading ‘Herodotus’ to ‘Herodorus;’ those names have frequently been mistaken for each other.

VI. 10. Πλήσαντας ὕδατος. *Having filled them* (the earthen vessels) *with water.* “The water of the Nile⁶ does not spoil, whether kept on the spot, or conveyed to a distance. The water which remains in vessels that have come from Egypt to Italy is quite sweet at the end of the voyage, whilst all that which they have taken in on the passage is putrid. The Egyptians are the only people of whom we have any knowledge, who preserve water in jars, as others do wine. They have some of three or four years old, or even more; and its age gives it a value, as among us it does to wine.”

VIII. 11. [Ἀλείφει τῷ αἵματι ἐν μέσῳ κειμένους λίθους ἑπτὰ. *He smears with the blood seven stones placed in the midst.* The ancient veneration of the Arab race for the number seven is exhibited in this passage. The verb *to swear* is in the Hebrew language derived from *seba*, seven. Thus also Abraham’s covenant with Abimelech was made with seven lambs⁷.]

12. Ὀροτάλ. *Urotal.* This word signifies the sun and the light, as Alilat does the new moon: this was called also Alitta⁸.

Such is the opinion of Scaliger and of Selden. The latter of whom expresses himself as follows⁹: “Alilat ab Halilath Arabum doctissime, ut omnia, petit Scaliger, quod lunam nascentem significat, et noctilucam. Latinorum hinc Lucina, id est, Ilethya Græcorum traducenda, quæ non alia est à Lunâ sive Dianâ, Lilith etiam dicta Judæis; quod ab eodem quo Halilath Arabum manat fonte: à Lailah nempe, quod Nox est, unde Lilith. Lilith autem per Noctilucam redditur.”

The Arabians were very much attached to the worship of this goddess. The Alileans, inhabitants of this country, were more devoted to it than the other tribes, and perhaps from this circumstance derived their name¹.

IX. 13. Ἀσκὺς καμήλων πλήσας ὕδατος. *Having filled with water a number of camels’ skins.* This account appears to me, as it did to Herodotus, the most probable. In fact, the river Corys, or rather the

⁵ Schol. Apoll. Rhodii, ad II. 1215. p. 179.

⁶ Arist. Orat. Ægypt. fol. 96. lin. 48.

⁷ Genesis xxi. 28. 31.

⁸ Herod. I. cxxxi.

⁹ Selden, de Dis Syris, Syntagma II. ii. p. 175 et seq.

¹ Bochart, Phaleg. col. 109, 110.

torrent of Coré, as Abulfeda calls it, was not adequate to supply so large an army as that of Cambyses with water: and how could a sufficient quantity of hides be collected to form three canals of twelve days' journey in length? We may safely affirm, that all Arabia and the adjacent countries could not furnish a sufficient number. This is what Herodotus felt, though he has not insisted on the impossibility.

[The Arabic word *Khor*, properly meaning a valley or a creek, is also frequently applied to dry water-courses.]

Since the Pelusiac branch of the Nile has become a mere rivulet, the city of Pelusium or Tineh has ceased to be the key of Egypt on the east; the town of Sela², now called Salahiah, 24 miles south-west of Pelusium, is now the last town of the habitable part of Egypt. As it is the nearest place to Syria where water is found, it is not surprising that the French should have established a military post there when they invaded Egypt. The caravans which go from Cairo to Gaza, pass by Bolbeis, leave Tineh on the left, then approach the coast of the Mediterranean, from thence reach Sela, or Salahiah, then Jenysus, or Khan Iones, and lastly Gaza.

X. 14. Οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὕεται τὰ ἄνω τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὸ παράπαν. *It never rains in Upper Egypt.* "There falls sometimes³ a little rain in Upper Egypt; and I was told that during a space of eight years it had not been known to rain in any quantity but twice, for about half an hour, though it rained a good deal on the side of Akmin (the ancient Chemmis), whilst I was there." "There often falls a very heavy rain," says Aristides⁴, "in Lower Egypt; but in Upper Egypt, only sometimes a very slight rain."

XII. 15. Ἰνάρῳ τοῦ Λίβυος. *By Inarus, king of Libya.* This Inarus was the son of Psammetichus⁵; perhaps he was of the royal family of Egypt: but certainly he neither was, nor could be, the son of that Psammetichus who was king, because the latter died in the year 4097 of the Julian period, 617 years before our era. The Egyptians declared him king: he beat the Persians⁶, and killed Achæmenes, son of Darius, whom Artaxerxes sent against Egypt to reduce that country under its former yoke. This happened in the 3d year of the 79th Olympiad, that is to say, 462 years before our era. Inarus⁷ was betrayed by his own people, and crucified about the year 4256 of the Julian period, 458 years before our era.

I have called this Inarus king of Libya, though Herodotus only terms him the Libyan; 1. because Herodotus is in the habit of calling the kings by the name of the nation over which they reign. He says

² Antonini Itinerarium, p. 171.

³ Pococke's Description, vol. I. p. 195.

⁴ Aristid. Orat. Ægypt. p. 92. lin. 10. in adversâ parte.

⁵ Herod. VII. vii.

⁶ Diod. Sic. XI. lxxiv. vol. I. pp. 459, 460.

⁷ Thucyd. I. ex.

almost always the Persian, the Egyptian, for the king of Persia or of Egypt. 'Ο Αἰγύπτιος (ii.), this is Psammenitus, king of Egypt. 'Ο Ἀράβιος (ix.) is the king of the Arabs. Other authors use the same mode of expression; and I am inclined to believe that in Plutarch's treatise on the education of children ⁸ ὁ Θεσσαλὸς signifies the king of Thessaly. M. Schneider, who has given excellent notes on this treatise, confesses frankly, that he does not know of whom he means to speak. 2. I have adopted this appellation, because it is clearly determined by Thucydides ⁹.

Strabo mentions this Inarus, and in so doing makes a most unaccountable blunder. He says that ¹ the Milesians having landed at the Bolbitine branch, during the reign of Psammetichus in Egypt, and of Cyaxares in Media, built the fortress of the Milesians. Having in the course of time sailed to the Saitic nome, they conquered Inarus upon the river, and founded the city of Naucratis.

This fortress of the Milesians is what Herodotus calls the Milesian camp: it was the Persians who beat Inarus, unless it be said that the Milesians assisted the Persians. But however that may be, the city of Naucratis had been founded some centuries before. But Strabo imagined, that this city derived its name from the advantages obtained by the Milesians over Inarus by water.

XIII. 16. Τοὺς ἄνδρας κρεουργηδὸν διασπάσαντες. *Tore to pieces those who were on board.* They were in number 200; as we find by the following paragraph, that ten Egyptians were afterwards killed for each Mitylenian massacred on this occasion, and 2000 Egyptians were put to death.

17. Χρόνῳ παρέστησαν. *Were at length obliged to surrender.* Παρέστησαν is the second aorist. In the verb ἵστημι and its compounds, the perfect and the second aorist are taken passively ². Πολλῶν τε καὶ δεινῶν ἀτυχημάτων συμβάντων τῇ πόλει, οὐ πρότερον τῷ πολέμῳ παρέστησαν πρὶν ἢ τὸ ναυτικὸν αὐτῶν ἀπόλετο. 'Though our city had experienced great misfortunes, our citizens were not compelled to surrender, till our marine was destroyed.' It is also taken in the same sense in the first future.

XIV. 18. Τὸ τεῖχος τὸ ἐν Μέμφι. *The citadel of Memphis.* The preceding expression proves that the citadel, and not the walls of the city, is meant.

19. Τὰ στόματα ἐγκεχαλινωμένους. *With bridles in their mouths.* I at first thought that Herodotus meant a gag, an invention of despots, to stifle the cries of those whom they condemned to death. But a passage in cxviii. convinces me that it was a real bridle, that was fastened

⁸ Plutarch. de Puerorum ingenuorum Educatione, p. 9.

⁹ Thucyd. I. civ. p. 67.

¹ Strabo, XVII. p. 1155, c.

² Demosth. contr. Androtion. p. 386.

by way of ignominy about the neck. [The passage in question hardly warrants such a conclusion. It is more natural to suppose that the victims were gagged.]

20. Τὸ δὲ τοῦ ἐταίρου πένθος. *The sad fate of a friend.* Aristotle³ relates this interesting trait of Psammenitus, and attributes it to Amasis, who died before the entry of Cambyses into Egypt. This philosopher, who had so well studied the human heart, thus proceeds: "On a friend, though he be not a near relation, we have compassion as upon ourselves. It is for this reason, that Amasis (Psammenitus) saw his son conducted to execution without concern, but could not restrain his tears at the sight of a friend begging his bread. The fate of his son was horrible, that of his friend was wretched; and horror destroys commiseration."

21. Ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδῶ. *Who at the commencement of his old age.* This expression is taken both for the commencement and the end of old age, because οὐδῶς, which signifies properly the threshold of a door, serves both those who go into a house and those who come out of it. For instance, it must be understood of extreme old age in the following passage of the Iliad⁴:

Μνησai πατρός σεῖο, θεοῖς ἐπιείκελ' Ἀχιλλεῦ,
Τηλίκου, ὥσπερ ἐγὼν, ὀλοῶ ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδῶ.

'Recall to mind, Achilles, in seeing me, your own father; he is, like me, bowed down by years.'

But in this, from the Odyssey, I think we must understand it of the commencement of old age⁵:

Εἰπ' ἄγε μοι περὶ μητρός Ὀδυσσῆος θείοιο,
Πατρός θ', ὃν κατέλειπεν ἰὼν ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδῶ.

'Tell me, I entreat you, news of the mother and father of Ulysses, whom on his departure for Troy he left in the commencement of old age.'

Laertes in fact was beginning to grow old when Ulysses departed, and he found him alive after a lapse of twenty years. I have decided for the latter signification in this passage, because ἀπηλιξ, which occurs a little before, indicates a man advancing from manhood into old age.

XV. 22. Οἱ μετιόντες. *Those who were gone to seek.* Μέτειμι signifies 'arcesso,' 'eo petitum⁶.' Καὶ ἀλλαχόθεν μετιόντες αἰεί τινας ἀξίους τῆς τοιαύτης προστάσιας. 'And they always went elsewhere to seek for persons worthy of this dignity.' Μετῆσαν στρώματα⁷. 'They went to seek for coverings.'

23. Ἀποδιδούσι τὴν ἀρχήν. *And even to restore to them the throne.*

³ Aristot. Rhet. II. viii. p. 559, D.

⁴ Homeri Iliad. XXIV. 486.

⁵ Homeri Odyss. XV. 346.

⁶ Strabo, Geogr. XIV. p. 950. lin. 3.

⁷ Aristoph. Equit. 605. ex edit. Brunckii.

These ancient kings of Persia were very magnanimous. Sapor and his successors maintained an opposite policy. Content with imposing on the conquered people an annual tribute, they left them the privilege, subject to this tribute, of cultivating their lands ; but they mercilessly put to death the royal family and the grandees of those nations ⁸.

24. Ἀμυρταίου. *Amyrtæus*. Syncellus ⁹ asserts, that Amyrtæus revolted in the 2d year of Darius Nothus, and that he reigned 6 years. It should appear, however, from Thucydides, that his revolt occurred in the 79th Olympiad ¹.

25. Ψαμμήνιτος. *Psammenitus*. Egypt, having been conquered by Cambyzes, became subject to Persia. Afterwards it was conquered by the Greeks, and subsequently by the Romans. From these it was taken by the Arabs, and having successively fallen under the sway of the Saracens and the Mamelukes, it now acknowledges the empire of the Grand Seignor, and is governed by his vassals. It is remarkable that the prophet Ezekiel should have predicted these events 68 years before the death of Psammenitus.

Ezekiel, speaking of the conquest of Egypt by the kings of Babylon, thus expresses himself ² : “ Thus saith the Lord, I will also destroy the idols ; and I will cause their images to cease out of Noph (Memphis), and there shall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt ; and I will put a fear in the land of Egypt.” The first part of this prophecy has been literally accomplished. Egypt having been converted, the temples of the idolators have been overthrown, and none raised but to the true God.

The second part of the prophecy, “ and there shall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt,” has been verified in a manner no less striking. Conquered by the Persians, the Egyptians knew no kings but of that nation ; after them came the Greeks, then the Romans, the Arabs, the Saracens, and now the Turks. This prophecy is in itself so clear, and its accomplishment so complete, as to defy all cavil. The expression, “ and the pomp of her strength shall cease in her,” in the 18th verse, appears likewise to apply to the abolition of royalty.

I will not pass over, that in this part of the 18th verse the Septuagint has : Καὶ ἀπολῶ Μεγιστᾶνας ἀπὸ Μέμφεως καὶ Ἀρχοντας Τάγεως ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου, καὶ οὐκ ἔσονται ἔτι. But this variation, so far from weakening the force of the prophecy, materially adds to it. Under the names of Μεγιστᾶνες and Ἀρχοντες are comprised kings, governors, and all chief magistrates ; at least this is the acceptation of Alexander Aphrodisius and of the Seventy. The Latins have preserved it in their language, speaking of the grandees of the east. Seneca ³ says, “ Omnes illos Megistanas et Satrapas, et Regem ipsum, ex quo Idomenei titulus petebatur, oblivio alta suppressit :” and Tacitus, after

⁸ See Agathias, IV. p. 134, D, and 135, A.

⁹ Syncelli Chronograph. p. 256.

¹ Thucyd. I. cx.

² Ezekiel xxx. 13.

³ Senec. Epistol. xxi. p. 78.

him⁴: “Megistanas Armenios, qui primi a nobis defecerant, pellit sedibus.” By adopting the version of the Septuagint, the prophecy has been literally fulfilled. From the conquest of Egypt by the Persians to the present day, there have been neither kings, nor governors, nor magistrates of any importance of Egyptian descent. St. Isidore of Pelusium, who lived in the fifth century, remarks⁵, that a law excluded the Egyptians from all places in the magistracy of Egypt, though the Cappadocians, who were a worse race, were admitted to them.

XVI. 26. Θεὸν νομίζουσι εἶναι πῦρ. *They think that fire is a god.* This expression perhaps should not be understood too literally. Fire was considered by the Persians a sacred object, and some kind of worship was offered to it; which originally was certainly intended for the Deity, of whom this element was considered the emblem. But certainly this nation never considered the element itself to be a divinity; or how would they have dared to extinguish it throughout Persia on the death of a king, as Diodorus Siculus⁶ informs us they did?

When the king went forth in state, fire was carried before him. An example of this occurs in the triumphal march of Cyrus⁷. Quintus Curtius gives another⁸, in speaking of Darius Codoman, conquered by Alexander. “Ignis, quem ipsi sacrum et æternum vocabant, argenteis altaribus præferebatur.” The Roman emperors had fire carried before them. It was one of the prerogatives of the sovereign, which was shared however by the empresses. Lucilla, the sister of Commodus, had married Lucius Verus, whom Marcus Aurelius had associated in the empire. Becoming a widow, she married Pompeianus, but preserved the honours and distinctions of empress. Commodus did not deprive her of them, and fire was carried before her⁹. Herodian, from whom I borrow this fact, says, in speaking of Pertinax¹, he would not have fire, nor other marks of his dignity, carried before him. The same historian, in another place, mentions, that² the Osrhoenian soldiers having revolted against Maximinus, elected Quartinus for their chief, before whom they carried fire, and proclaimed him emperor. This custom is also noticed by Dion Cassius³, who says that Marcus Aurelius having been adopted by Antoninus Pius, had no fire carried before him, when he appeared in public without the emperor.

But when was the custom first adopted in Persia? or when was it established among the Romans? On these questions we may form conjectures, but no more. As to the first point, it may perhaps be said, that as the Persians adored fire, they carried it before their kings, because it was customary to carry before them the symbol of divinity,

⁴ Taciti Annal. XV. xxvii.

⁵ S. Isidori Epist. I. epist. 489. p. 166. edit. Paris, 1585.

⁶ Diod. Sic. XVII. cxiv. vol. ii. p. 250.

⁷ Cyropæd. VIII. iii. § 12.

⁸ Quint. Curt. III. iii. § ix.

⁹ Herodian I. xx. p. 18.

¹ Id. II. ix. p. 53.

² Id. VII. iii. p. 232.

³ Dio Cass. LXXI. xxxv. p. 1199.

of whom they were the living image. And as to the Romans, they probably derived the custom from the Asiatics, after they had conquered them. Some of the provincial magistrates considered their own dignity materially enhanced by the observance of this custom. This was a subject of raillery to Horace :

Fundos Aufidio Lusco Prætores libenter
Linquimus, insani ridentes præmia Scribæ,
Prætextam, et latum clavum, *prunæque batillum*.

SAT. I. v. 34-6.

27. "Ἐχων τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίην Ἀμάσι. *Having the same stature as Amasis.* The Latin translator has rendered this 'eadem quâ Amasis ætate,' which is not the meaning. A similarity of age alone could not have deceived the Persians ; there must have been some resemblance, either in form or in countenance, to induce them to take the corpse of any individual for that of Amasis. Φυὴ signifies the height and form of the body. Φυὴ, says Hesychius, φύσις σώματος, ἡλικία⁴.

XVII. 28. [Ἐπὶ τοὺς Μακροβίους Αἰθίοπας. *Against the Macrobian (i. e. long-lived) Ethiopians.* Bruce maintains that the Macrobian were a tribe of Shangalla (lowland blacks) on the north-western frontier of Abyssinia⁵ : but the reasons on which he rests his hypothesis are not deserving of serious consideration. Rennell⁶ thinks that the Macrobian were no other than the Abyssinians ; whereas Heeren⁷ identifies them with the Somâly possessing the maritime region near Cape Gardafui. These writers all err by laying too much stress on such particulars of our author's narrative, as have all the characteristics of mere popular stories, and by passing too carelessly over those better entitled to be thought authentic.

If we would consider the expedition of Cambyses against the Macrobian as a historical fact, we are bound to rid the account of it, as far as possible, of the marvellous and extravagant. Now, at the present day, no direct overland communication exists between Egypt and the country of the Somâly. No solitary traveller ; no expedition of select travellers would now-a-days think of marching directly from Egypt to Cape Gardafui. Although much of the intervening country has been well explored of late years ; yet much of it remains still unknown, and no part of it offers facilities or resources for the march of an army. How then shall we believe that Cambyses sent messengers to the king of the Somâly ; received an answer from him, and then resolved on the conquest of a country which, at a much later age, lay hidden from geographical inquiry ? Niebuhr⁸ was clear-sighted enough to perceive

⁴ For φύσις in the sense of 'stature,' see Sophocles, Œd. Tyr. 740.

⁵ Travels, &c. vol. IV. p. 43.

⁶ Geogr. Syst. of Herodotus, p. 429.

⁷ Ideen, &c. II. i. pp. 337. 345.

⁸ Dissertation on the Geogr. of Herod. p. 20.

that Herodotus, in stating that the Macrobianians dwelt on the shores of the sea bounding Libya on the south, spoke only the language of theory ; and that such language is less to be considered as descriptive of the country in question, than as a confession of ignorance respecting it.

To the supposition that Abyssinia was the country of the *Long-lived* Ethiopians may be likewise objected the remoteness of that country from Egypt, the difficulty of access to it from the north, and the total want of any positive resemblance between the Macrobianians described by Herodotus and the Abyssinians.

From Egypt to the nearest frontier of Abyssinia, the distance (measured along the course of the Nile, the only route practicable for an army,) is not much less than 1000 miles, which affords room enough for projects of the wildest ambition. But that a large army should have ever marched a considerable distance through so sterile a country, is quite incredible. The productive soil of Nubia consists, for some hundred miles above Egypt, of narrow slips of land watered from the river, and barely sufficient for the support of a scanty population ; and it would be unreasonable to suppose, that a country so circumstanced could ever have been much more productive than it is at present. An army of less than 7000 men despatched southwards from Egypt in 1821, proved sufficient for the subjugation of all the countries near the Nile as far as Sennâr and Kordofan inclusive, although soon reduced to half its original number by fatigue and the climate. On that occasion stores for the Egyptian army were sent up the river in boats ; yet Nubia was nevertheless impoverished by the presence of even so small a force.

Cambyzes found at Elephantine, we are told, some of the Ichthyophagi, who understood the language of the Macrobianians. The people here called Ichthyophagi are evidently the Bojah of Arab geographers, the chief branch of which nation is now called Bisharye. The Bisharye or Bisharin occupy the country on the east of the Nile, from Egypt to Abyssinia : their trade and journies also extend from the Red sea to Kordofan ; but they have little intercourse with the Abyssinians, and none whatever with the Somâly.

From what precedes, it may be concluded that the expedition of Cambyzes into Ethiopia is related by Herodotus with much exaggeration ; the same historian's account of the Macrobianians manifestly contains an unusual amount of fable ; nor can even the report of the Ethiopian king's smart replies to the ambassadors be received as authentic. But it being admitted that the expedition against the Macrobianians took place, if we must decide as to the country of that people, we should say Kordofan. For, first, if we confine ourselves to the commercial range of the Ichthyophagi or Bisharin, and exclude these people, together with the kingdom of Meroe, then we must seek the Ethiopian nation to the westward of the Nile. Secondly, the natives of Kordofan are commonly called Nobah or Nubah, a name not indigenous, but which is probably derived from the old Egyptian word *nob*, which signifies gold.

Kordofan seems, therefore, to have been known to the Egyptians at an early age as the *gold country*. Thirdly, Kordofan is the country which, from time immemorial, has supplied the valley of the Nile with slaves; whence it has arisen, that a portion of that valley now bears the name of Nubia⁹. From the slave trade, then, it would naturally follow, that the personal endowments of the Nubah, their size and healthy constitution, would be hyperbolically extolled. Fourthly, If we suppose the Nubah to have been described by a people speaking a semitic language (which is apparently the case with the Bojah), as *Maghreby*, or dwelling in the *West*, this epithet might have been easily corrupted into the Greek *Macrobii*, and have so given rise to the fabled longevity. Cambyses, then, failed in an attempt to do that which Mohammed Aly, aided by European skill and discipline, has accomplished, namely, to subdue Kordofan for the sake of its gold and slaves. If he, with his superior means of information, has found the reality to fall far short of his expectations, it follows that it is no less difficult now than it was in the time of Herodotus or of Cambyses to form a sober estimate of distant treasures.]

XVIII. 29. Ἡ δὲ τράπεζα τοῦ ἡλίου. *The Table of the Sun*. Solinus speaks of this Table¹ of the Sun as a marvellous object. Pomponius Mela² appears to have had the same idea of it. Pausanias regards what was said of it as fabulous. "If," says he, "we are to believe³ all these wonders on the faith of the Greeks, we should also believe all that the Ethiopians above Syene relate of the Table of the Sun."

This table was called the Table of the Sun, as is remarked by Vossius on the passage of Pomponius Mela above referred to, because as that luminary shines on all men, so was this table common to all the Ethiopians.

[Heeren⁴ supposes that the Table of the Sun was a public market-place, where food was prepared for strangers who came to trade. But, however worthy of the Macrobian such an arrangement might have been, it is not attested by any author. On the other hand, it is certain that public tables or feasts, such as is here described, were among the distinctions of Paganism. The prophet Isaiah says⁵: "But ye are they that forsake the Lord, that forget my holy mountain, that prepare a table for that troop, and that furnish the drink-offering unto that number."]

XIX. 30. Πᾶς ἐκ Φοινίκων ἤρτητο ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατός. *The whole naval armament depended upon the Phœnicians*. That is to say, that

⁹ Rüppell was the first to point out the fact that the language of Nubia is akin to that of Kordofan. *Reisen in Nubien*, &c. p. 98.

¹ Solini Polyhist. xxx. p. 40.

² Pomp. Mel. III. ix. vol. I. p. 307.

³ Pausan. VI. xxvi. p. 518.

⁴ Ideen, II. i. p. 345.

⁵ Isaiah lxx. 11.

the Phœnicians not only constituted the strongest and most considerable part of the navy of Cambyses, but that also which was best skilled in nautical manœuvres, and the art of fighting; in short, without which Cambyses could execute no naval undertaking⁶.

XX. 31. Μύρον ἀλάβαστρον. *An alabaster box of ointment.* Naturalists distinguish between alabaster and alabastrites. The first is a soft stone of gypseous substance; the other is a hard stone, susceptible of a beautiful polish, the texture of which approaches to that of marble. Vases for perfumes were commonly made of alabastrites, because it was imagined that that stone had the property of preserving them. “Lapidem⁷ alabastriten . . . cavant ad vasa unguentaria, quoniam optime servare incorrupta dicitur.” Herodotus means alabastrites in this passage, though I have translated alabaster. It came from a quarry near Thebes in Egypt⁸. I am inclined to believe, however, that it was obtained from the Arabian mountain, as it should seem that the town of Alabastron took its name from this production, or rather that the stone took its name from that town. The name of that part of the Arabian mountain where it was found, too, was called ‘Alabastrites mons.’ “Onychem⁹ etiam tum in Arabiæ montibus, nec usquam aliubi, nasci putavere nostri veteres.” It was also called Onyx¹: λίθος ἀλαβαστρίτης ὁ καλούμενος ὄνυξ. Pliny likewise says, in the place already cited, “Hunc (Onychem) aliqui lapidem alabastriten vocant.” We find also in Horace²,

Nardi parvus Onyx eliciet cadum.

This stone was of a clear white, as we find from the following verse of Paulus Silentarius³:

“Ὅσσα τ’ ὄνυξ ἀνέηκε διαυγάζονται μετάλλῳ
Ὠχρίῳ ἐρίτιμα.

‘And all the precious things that the pale and brilliant onyx sends us.’

There were specimens of this stone, however, of another colour, as we find in the same chapter of Pliny. Vases for drinking were also made of this stone. They were called Panathenaic, and contained two cotylæ; there were some much larger, containing two congi, and others more capacious still. We learn these particulars from Athenæus⁴, who reports them after the philosopher Posidonius. But luxury did not stop here. Feet for tables, amphoræ, and according to Cornelius Nepos, cited by Pliny, columns 32 feet high were formed of this

⁶ Mém. de l’Acad. des Inscript. tom. XVIII. Hist. p. 119.

⁷ Plin. Hist. Nat. XXXVI. viii. vol. II. p. 734. lin. 17.

⁸ Theophrast. de Lapid. p. 154. b. Plin. ut supra.

⁹ Plin. XXXVI. vii. vol. II. p. 734.

¹ Discor. V. cliii. p. 387.

² Od. IV. xii. 17.

³ Descript. Templi S. Sophiæ, ii. 223; ad calcem Historiæ Jo. Cinnami. Parisiis, 1670. fol.

⁴ Athen. Deipnos. II. xiii. p. 494, F; 495, A.

material. But I am the more inclined to believe this an exaggeration, as we learn from the same Pliny, that four small columns of onyx that decorated the theatre of Cornelius Balbus were considered as wonderful. The same author adds, that he had seen 30 much larger in the dining-hall of Callistus, the freedman of the Emperor Claudius.

[The original meaning of ἀλάβαστρον was a box or rather pot *without handles*⁵ (from α, and λαβή, a handle); but the name afterwards passed to the material of which such pots were made. It is not clear that Herodotus did not use this word in its primary sense, and without any reference to the material. Beudant⁶, who is no mean authority on questions of mineralogy, maintains, that the alabaster was the hard, calcareous stone; being, in fact, stalactite or stalagmite in a compact mass; and that the alabastrites was the soft, gypseous substance.]

32. Φοινικηίου οἶνον. *Wine of palm.* Herodotus never distinguishes the different kinds of wine, or other beverage, by the country which produces them, but by the plant from which they were made. He speaks (II. lxxvii.) of the wine of barley, οἶνος ἐκ κριθέων; (IV. clxxvii.) of wine of the lotos; (II. xxxvii. and lx.) of wine of the vine, οἶνος ἀμπέλινος; and οἶνος φοινικηῖος (II. lxxxvi.) is certainly wine of the palm, or of dates. There can therefore exist no doubt as to this expression.

This wine was, and still is, the ordinary drink of Eastern nations. Dioscorides⁷ details the method of making it. Some of it was excellent; especially that made from the kind of dates called Caryotæ; which was strong and heady. "Caryotæ⁸ maxime et celebrantur, et cibo quidem, sed et succo uberrimæ. Ex quibus præcipua vina Orienti, iniqua capiti."

[33. Λέγονται εἶναι μέγιστοι καὶ κάλλιστοι ἀνθρώπων πάντων. *They are said to be the tallest and handsomest of all men.* According to Heeren, the Macrobian were probably of the same race as the Sabæans of Scripture⁹; "The merchandize of Ethiopia and of the Sabæans, *men of stature*¹." But in offering this conjecture he does not seem to have been aware that a city called Saba or Seba stood near the Nile, south of Meroe, and was perhaps the emporium of the trade that subsequently centred in Sennâr².]

XXI. 34. Μαθὼν ὅτι κατόπται ἤκοιεν. *Knowing that they came as spies.* Julius Pollux³ quotes the word κατόπτῃς from Herodotus: it cannot be taken, in this passage, in any other sense than that which I have given to it; and yet the Latin translator of Julius Pollux renders it by 'contemptores,' which it cannot signify. But perhaps this is a typographical error for 'contemplatores.'

⁵ Suidas ad vocem.

⁶ Traité de Minéralogie, p. 708.

⁷ Mater. Medic. V. xl. p. 339.

⁸ Plin. Hist. Nat. XIII. iv. vol. I.

p. 685.

⁹ Ideen, II. i. p. 350.

¹ Isaiah xlv. 14.

² See note 70, bk. II. near the end.

³ Jul. Pol. II. iv. § lix. p. 182.

XXII. 35. Λαβὼν δὲ τὸ εἶμα τὸ πορφύρεον, εἰρώτα ὃ τι εἴη. *Taking the purple garment he asked what it was.* The ancients, and especially Aristotle⁴ and Pliny⁵, have described at considerable length the shell which afforded this celebrated dye: yet our modern naturalists are not agreed upon the particular species of fish, which is the true purple fish of the ancients. M. Camus, in the 2d vol. of his translation of Aristotle's History of Animals, (p. 698 and s.), has made a most judicious and curious selection of quotations from all the writers who have preceded him on this subject.

Mr. Bruce, who has a peculiar predilection for paradoxes, denies this assertion of the ancients, which is confirmed by all the most learned of the moderns. He maintains⁶, that "the purple fish at Tyre seems to have been only a concealment of their knowledge of cochineal; as had they depended upon the fish for their dye, if the whole city of Tyre applied to nothing else but fishing, they would not have coloured twenty yards of cloth in a year." There repaired at all times to Tyre a prodigious multitude of strangers, amongst whom, we may conclude, there were many who were very anxious to inform themselves in the different arts, which had given to that city a splendour altogether unequalled. It would be strange that, among all this number of curious inquirers, there should not be one who could discover that the purple dye was not produced from a shell peculiar to that coast. The fishery must needs have employed a vast multitude of hands. Certain shells which afford this dye are found on the coasts of Peru; and in all probability it is the same animal⁷.

XXIII. 36. Σίτησιν δὲ εἶναι κρέα τε ἐφθά. *Their food is boiled flesh.* [This statement respecting the food of the Macrobian, is violently adverse to the opinion of Major Rennell, who refers them to Abyssinia, since in the latter country boiled meat is hardly known, and the characteristic of the people is that they live on raw meat.]

37. Ἀσθενὲς δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς κρήνης ταύτης. *The water of this fountain is so weak.* What Herodotus adds, shows that he doubted the existence of such a fountain. But even supposing him to have believed it, the celebrated Boerhaave⁸, by showing that the wood of Ethiopia is heavier than water, fully justifies him in adopting such an opinion.

As to the assertion of Herodotus, that objects still lighter than wood sunk to the bottom, it may be an exaggeration by the envoys of Cambyses. Arrian, however, relates⁹, after Megasthenes, that the Silas, a river of India, will support nothing on its waters, and that every thing sinks to the bottom, so much lighter are its waters than those of any other river.

⁴ Aristot. Hist. An. V. 15.

⁵ Plin. Hist. Nat. IX. xxxvi.

⁶ Travels to discover the source of the Nile, vol. I. Introduction, p. 63. 2d edit. 8vo.

⁷ See Raynal, Hist. &c. des Indes, tom. III. p. 243.

⁸ Elementa Chimiae, vol. I. p. 550.

⁹ Arriani Indica, VI. iv. p. 560.

[It was commonly believed among the ancients that water was wholesome in proportion as it was light; or, in other words, lightness was vulgarly ascribed to wholesome waters¹. Hence it is not surprising that the waters drunk by the Macrobian, who lived beyond the common age of mortals, should have been assumed to be miraculously light.]

XXIV. 38. Ἐξ ὑέλου πεποιημένην, ἣ δέ σφι πολλή καὶ ἐνεργὸς ὀρύσσεται. *Made of glass, which is dug up by them in abundance, and is easily worked.* Our glass is not found in the earth, and moreover is not made without great trouble. We learn from Ludolf², that in some parts of Ethiopia a great quantity of fossil salt is found, which is transparent, and hardens by exposure to the air: it is perhaps this salt which was taken for glass.

“The Ethiopians,” says Diodorus Siculus³, “have particular rites of burial. They embalm the bodies of their dead, and then having cast round them a casing or coat of glass, they place them on a column, so that the passers-by may see them through the glass, as Herodotus relates. Ctesias of Cnidus, wishing to prove that our author has advanced a fable, affirms that they embalmed the body, but that they did not cast the molten glass immediately upon it, which would burn and so disfigure it as to deprive it of all resemblance to what it once was; but that they made a statue of gold, enclosing the body within it, and the glass was cast outside the statue. This representation was placed on the tomb, and through the glass the gold statue, which was an exact resemblance of the deceased, was seen. Such was the custom with regard to rich people. Those who were less rich had statues of silver, and the poor had them of clay; but all had the glass casing, for that material abounds in Ethiopia.”

[Diodorus and Ctesias repeated or affected to correct the statement of Herodotus, without confirming it in the least degree. We cannot believe that the coffins of the Ethiopians were made either of glass or of salt. It appears more likely that the semitransparent sarcophagi, made of alabaster (and of which a fine specimen, brought to Europe by Belzoni, is now preserved in the Soane Museum), gave rise to the story told by Herodotus. The Egyptians probably took it for granted that the Ethiopians embalmed their dead, as was done in Egypt.]

XXV. 39. Τὸν δὲ πεζόν. *His land army.* Ὁ πεζὸς στρατός, in Herodotus, signifies a land army, and not infantry: the translators have been in error.

40. Σιτίων ἐχόμενα. *The provisions.* This mode of expression frequently occurs in Herodotus. We have seen before (I. cxx.), τὰ τῶν ὀνειράτων ἐχόμενα, ‘the dreams;’ (II. lxxvii.) ὅσα ἢ ὀρνίθων ἢ ἰχθύων ἐστί σφι ἐχόμενα; ‘whatever birds or fishes they have;’ and we shall

¹ Celsus, II. xviii.

² Ludolfi Histor. Æthiop. I. vii.

³ Diod. Sic. II. xv. vol. i. p. 128.

find presently (V. xliv.), τοῖσι οὔτε χρυσοῦ ἐχόμενον ἐστὶ οὐδὲν, οὔτε ἀργύρου, 'they have neither gold nor silver.'

41. Ἐκ δεκάδος γὰρ ἓνα κατέφαγον. *They ate one of every ten.* Notwithstanding this horrible famine, the table of the monarch was served with the usual delicacy and the usual profusion. "Servabantur⁴ interim illi generosæ aves, et instrumenta epularum camelis vehebantur: cum sortirentur milites ejus, quis male periret, quis pejus viveret."

XXVI. 42. Τῆς Αἰσχροινίης φυλῆς. *Of the Æschrionian tribe.* Themistagoras⁵, in the golden book, names only two tribes of Samos, the Schesian and the Astypalæan. From this, Berkeley⁶ would have us here read, Schesian. But Themistagoras speaks only of the commencement of the establishment of the colony (the date of which is not known), when the Greeks were mixed with the Carians. The number of tribes may have increased when Samos became more flourishing.

Henry de Valois⁷ perceived, that in the Etymologicum we should read Χήσιον, Χησίαν and Χησίον, and consequently that we should read, the Chesian instead of the Schesian tribe.

43. Μακάρων νῆσος. *The isle of the Blessed.* This country was not strictly an island. It was so called, because surrounded on all sides by sands. It received its name from a comparison with the barrenness of the sandy plains by which it was environed.

[This is explained by Strabo⁸: Ἀνάσεις δ' οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι καλοῦσι τὰς οἰκουμένας χώρας, περιεχομένας κύκλῳ μεγάλαις ἐρημίαις, ὥς ἂν νήσους πελαγίας. 'The Egyptians give the name of Oases to inhabited places encircled with great deserts, like islands in the ocean.' This writer reckons three Oases bordering on Egypt, Ptolemy only two, while Herodotus seems to confine the name to one place; probably the modern el Wah, of which el Kharjeh is the chief place. This is the greater Oasis; the less, called also el Baharieh or el Kasr, is situate about 100 miles N. by W. from the preceding. At a little distance west from the greater Oasis is the Wah el Dakel. The Oasis of Siwah, occupied by the Ammonians of Herodotus, lies much further westward⁹. The word Wahsi or Wahi is said to have signified in Egyptian an inhabited place.]

XXVII. 44. Τὸν Ἑλληνας Ἐπαφὸν καλέουσι. *Whom the Greeks call Epaphus.* Epaphus was the son of Io, the daughter of Inachus. The Greeks, who would make every thing to be derived from themselves, say he was the same with the god Apis. But the Egyptians denied this¹,

⁴ Senec. de Irâ, III. xx.

⁵ Apud Etymol. Mag. voc. Ἀστυπαιαία, p. 160. lin. 26.

⁶ Ad Steph. Byzant. voc. Ἀῤῥασις.

⁷ Henr. Valesii in Excerpt. à Dionys. Halicarn. p. 75.

⁸ Strabo, XVII. p. 1140.

⁹ Descriptions of the Oases may be found in the travels of Sir A. Edmonstone, and in those of Cailleaud and Von Minutoli.

¹ Ælian. Hist. An. XI. x. vol. II. p. 615.

affirming that Epaphus was posterior to Apis by many centuries.

Æschylus has found in the mythology of his country, a reason for assigning this surname to the god Apis. Prometheus, addressing Io, says to her², "On your arrival at the Canopic mouth, Jupiter will restore your reason, by only touching you with his hand; you shall conceive the black Epaphus, who shall take his name from this touch of the god." This allusion can be felt only in the Greek, which has ἐπαφῶν χειρὶ, 'touching you with his hand.'

I shall venture another conjecture. We know very well that the Greeks, from a casual resemblance of a name, or even of one syllable of it, forged vain genealogies, and attributed to their own heroes the origin of almost all other nations and their gods. They had learned in Egypt, that the mother of Apis was rendered fruitful³ by a ray from heaven, or, as the Egyptians sometimes express it, ἐπαφῇ τῆς Σελήνης, 'by the contact of the moon⁴.' This expression, Ἐπαφῇ, which resembles their Epaphus, has perhaps occasioned them to identify the two.

45. Ἐωντοῦ κακῶς πρήξαντος. *Because he had been unfortunate.* Cambyses lost the troops that he sent to pillage the temple of Jupiter Ammon; he was himself obliged to return into Egypt, with rage in his heart, after having failed in his expedition against the Ethiopians, which was as ill-conducted as it had been contrived. On his return to Memphis, he found the whole city in a state of public rejoicing, which he imagined was occasioned by his misfortunes. He commanded the magistrates to attend him, and these assured him that the rejoicings were on account of a manifestation of the god Apis. Convinced that they were deceiving him, he condemned them to death. He then sent for the priests, from whom he heard the same account. He ordered them to bring the god before him. When he saw that it was a young bull, he drew his poniard, wounded it in the thigh, caused the priests to be scourged, and ordered his soldiers to put to death all those who should be found in the streets celebrating the festival of Apis. It is to be remarked, that all this happened on the return of Cambyses from his unfortunate Ethiopian expedition. What can be more natural or more probable than this account?

46. Ὡς σφι θεὸς εἶη φανείς. *That a god had appeared to them.* The ox Apis had probably not been a god from the earliest ages; but perhaps had been considered as an emblem of Osiris, and in this sense had received the veneration of the Egyptians. Some looked⁵ on this animal as the emblem of the soul of Osiris; others roundly affirmed⁶ that it was the same with Osiris, or that the soul of that god⁷ had passed into an ox, and continued there at the time of the manifestation.

² Æschyl. Prometh. Vincit. 853.

³ Herod. III. 28.

⁴ Plutarch. Sympos. VIII. i. p. 718, B.

⁵ Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 362, D.

⁶ Strabo, Geogr. XVII. p. 1160, C.

⁷ Diod. Sic. I. lxxxv. vol. I. p. 96.

There were some ⁸ who said that Osiris having been killed by Typhon, Isis had enclosed his members in a heifer of wood.

Apis was consecrated to the moon, as the ox Mnevis was to the sun ⁹. "Inter animalia antiquis observationibus consecrata, Mnevis et Apis sunt notiora: Mnevis Soli sacratus sequens Lunæ." Others again thought that they were both consecrated to Osiris, who is the Sun ¹. When this ox happened to die, a general mourning took place throughout all Egypt ². Another was immediately sought; and when he was found ³, the mourning ended. The priests took him to Nilopolis, where he was maintained for forty days. He was then conveyed in a magnificent vessel to Memphis, where he had an apartment gilt all over. During the forty days above mentioned, women only were permitted to see him; they stood before him, and, raising their garments, exposed those parts which modesty forbids us to name; at all other times the sight of the god was forbidden them.

Every year a heifer ⁴ was taken to him, which was known by certain marks.

According to the mystic books ⁵, he was to live but a certain time; and when that arrived, he was drowned in the sacred fountain.

It is very surprising that we learn these two last particulars only from Ammianus Marcellinus; and, as that author is comparatively modern, we may receive them with some grains of doubt.

XXVIII. 47. Μιν ἐκ τούτου τίκτειν τὸν Ἄπιν. *That from this (the flash) she conceives Apis.* "Raro ⁶ nascitur, nec coitu pecoris, ut aiunt, sed divinitus, et cœlesti igne conceptus." "They say that ⁷ he is engendered by a prolific ray of the moon, which falls upon the mother when she is at heat: several things also are remarked in Apis, which resemble the figures in the moon." Plutarch's Latin translator has omitted this passage.

48. Ἔχει δὲ σημήια τοιαῦτα. *He has marks such as these.* Ælian ⁸ says that the god Apis was recognised by twenty-nine marks, and that the Egyptians did not admit those mentioned by Herodotus and Aristagoras. At the time when Ælian wrote, the religion of the Egyptians had fallen into disuse, and the sacred language was entirely forgotten. The testimony of Herodotus, therefore, is of greater weight than that of a compiler who was not characterized by the most solid judgment. Ammianus Marcellinus affirms ⁹, that this bull should have the figure of a crescent marked on his side. Our historian may have forgotten this mark, or in his time it might not have been thought necessary.

⁸ Diod. Sic. I. lxxxv. vol. I. p. 96.

⁹ Amm. Marcell. XXII. xiv. p. 257.

¹ Diod. Sic. I. xxi. vol. I. p. 25.

² Ibid. lxxxiv. vol. I. p. 95.

³ Ibid. lxxxv. vol. I. p. 96.

⁴ Amm. Marcell. XXII. xiv. p. 257.

⁵ Id. ibid.

⁶ Pompon. Mela, I. ix.

⁷ Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 368, c.

⁸ Ælian. de Nat. An. XI. x. p. 617.

⁹ Amm. Marcell. XXII. xiv. p. 257.

49. Ἐπὶ τῷ μετώπῳ λευκὸν τετράγωνον φορέει. *He has a quadrangular white spot on his forehead.* In all the editions and all the MSS. we find as above, τετράγωνον, 'square.' But on the monuments we see a triangle. Hence a learned critic, if I mistake not, the Abbé Barthélemy¹, reads λευκὸν τι τρίγωνον. I have admitted this correction with the less scruple, as it is approved by Valckenaer and Wesseling.

50. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ γλώσσῃ. *Under the tongue.* The Greek has 'upon the tongue.' But Pliny appears to have read ὑπὸ, for he says, "nodus² sub lingua quem Cantharum appellant." Porphyrius³ reads in like manner, καὶ ὑπὸ τῇ γλώττῃ κάνθαρος. This is also approved by M. Jablonski⁴.

51. Τὰς τρίχας διπλᾶς. *The hairs of his tail are double.* The scholiast of Ptolemy⁵ affirms, on what authority I know not, that the tail of this bull increased and diminished with the changes of the moon.

XXIX. 52. Χαίροντες. *With impunity.* This expression, χαίρων, so common in all the Greek authors, has almost always been a stumbling-block to the translators. It signifies 'with impunity.' Ἄλλ' οὐ⁶ τι χαίρων δὶς γε πημονὰς ἐρεῖς: 'You shall not twice insult me with impunity.' Ἄλλ' οὐ⁷τι χαίρων, ἢν γε μὴ φύγῃς πτεροῖς: 'You shall not have done it with impunity, unless you flee with wings.' The ancients have also used the verb γηθέω in the same sense, but much less frequently. Œdipus, indignant at the insulting reproaches of Tiresias, says⁸, ἦ καὶ γεγηθὼς ταῦτ' ἀεὶ λέξειν δοκεῖς; 'Think you that you shall for ever hold such discourse to me with impunity?'

53. Ἐθαψαν οἱ ἱερεῖς. *The priests buried him.* This is contradicted by Plutarch⁹, who tells us, that the bull Apis having been killed by Cambyzes, was by his order cast out and devoured by dogs. But it appears to me that Herodotus, who was born but forty-one years after the event, and who, during his stay in Egypt, might have conversed with persons who were actual witnesses of it, is more to be credited than Plutarch, who did not live till nearly six hundred years afterwards.

XXX. 54. [Τὸν ἀδελφεὸν Σμέρδιν. *His brother Smerdis.* The prince whom Herodotus calls Smerdis is named Tanyaxarces by Ctesias¹, and Tanyoxares by Xenophon². Justin³ again calls him Merdin or Mergin.]

XXXI. 55. Εἶρετο καλέσας τοὺς βασιληῖους δικαστὰς εἴ τις ἐστι

¹ Recueil des Antiquités Egyptiennes, &c. vol. I. pp. 42, 43.

² Plin. Hist. Nat. VIII. xlvi. vol. I. p. 472.

³ Eusebii Præp. Evang. III. xiii. p. 117, D.

⁴ Panth. Ægypt. IV. ii. pp. 184, 185.

⁵ Schol. Ptolemæi in Tetrabibl. p. 2.

⁶ Sophocl. Œdip. Tyr. 363.

⁷ Euripid. Orest. 1619.

⁸ Sophocl. Œdip. Tyr. 368.

⁹ Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 368, F.

¹ Ctesias, Excerpt. Pers. x.

² Xen. Cyrop. VIII. vii. § xi.

³ Justinus, I. ix.

κελεύων νόμος. *Summoning the king's judges, he asked them, if there is any law enjoining, &c.* These haughty despots of the east still considered themselves amenable to certain laws. The Macedonians, when they had conquered Persia, acknowledged none. Seleucus had married Stratonice, by whom he had a son. Antiochus, his eldest son, fell in love with her; but respect for his father induced him to suppress his passion. A consumptive malady had well nigh brought him to the grave, when the cause of it was discovered. Seleucus, anxious to preserve his son, did not hesitate to give him up his wife; and having assembled his army he said to them⁴, "I will replace the laws of Persia by this single comprehensive one; what the king wills is always right." The army, instead of protesting against so odious a proposal, with a most base degree of flattery applauded it, wishing the prince all kind of prosperity. [An example of such a consultation with the royal councillors, is seen in the book of Esther, i. 13.]

56. Καμβύσης ἔγημε τὴν ἐρωμένην. *Cambyses married the object of his love.* According to the scholiast of Lucian⁵, her name was Atossa: she afterwards married Smerdis, one of the magi, and subsequently Darius, the son of Hystaspes⁶.

57. Ἄλλην. *Another.* This latter was called Meroë, if we may credit Libanius⁷. WESSELING.

XXXIII. 58. Νοῦσον μεγάλην. *The epilepsy.* This Greek phrase I at first thought correctly rendered by the 'great disorder,' which the words literally mean. But Hesychius informs us that μεγάλη νόσος signifies the epilepsy. See that lexicographer, under the words Μεγάλη νόσος, and Νόσος μεγάλη. Justin also calls this malady 'valetudo major⁸.' "Ptolemæus recusabat regem Aridæum, non propter maternas modo sordes, quod ex Larissæo scorto nasceretur; sed etiam propter valetudinem majorem." Festus, under the word 'Prohibere,' says, that it was vulgarly called 'morbus major.'

59. Τὴν ἱερὴν οὐνομάζουσί τινες. *Which some call the sacred disorder.* "The first⁹ who considered this disease sacred, appear to me to have been men like the magicians of our day, the expiators, those who went about exercising the profession of prophets, arrogant fellows who affected an extraordinary piety to the gods, and pretended to know more than other men. Such people, being incapable of any thing useful, have sought to conceal their insignificance, by folding around them the divinity as a mantle; and lest their ignorance should be detected, they have given to this disorder the name of sacred."

Plato appears to me less of a philosopher than Hippocrates, when he

⁴ Appian. de Rebus Syriacis, lxi. p. 207.

⁵ Ad Lucian. de Sacrific. v. vol. I. p. 530.

⁶ Herod. III. lxxxviii.

⁷ Libanius, Antioch. p. 343, A.

⁸ Justini Hist. Philipp. XIII. ii. p.

⁹ Hippocrat. de Morbo Sacro, § ii. vol. II. p. 325.

says in his *Timæus*¹, that this disease being of a sacred nature, it was properly denominated sacred.

XXXV. 60. Οὕτως ἐπίσκοπα τοξεύοντα. *Hit the mark so truly.* 'Επίσκοπα is a neuter plural, taken adverbially for ἐπισκόπως. 'Επίσκοπος οἷστὸς is an arrow which strikes the mark, and so we must understand the following verse of Theocritus²:

Τόξον δ' ἐντανύσαι καὶ ἐπίσκοπον εἶναι οἷστῶν,

which Mr. Wharton³, without any reason, changes to ἐπίπλοκον.

There is a great difference between ἐπίσκοπα τοξεύειν and ἐπὶ σκοπὸν, κατὰ σκοπὸν, κατὰ σκοποῦ τοξεύειν. The first signifies to hit the mark; the others only to aim at it, whether it is hit or not.

61. Περσέων ὅμοια τοῖσι πρώτοισι, δυνώδεκα. *Twelve Persians of equal rank with the most distinguished.* They are the same whom Xenophon calls, in a hundred passages of the *Cyropædia*, 'Ομότιμοι. 'Ομοια is here taken adverbially, as was ἐπίσκοπα in the passage noticed in the preceding note. ['Ομοια τοῖς πρώτοισι, 'on an equality with the first.']

62. [Ζώνοντας ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν κατώρυξε. *He buried them alive with their heads downwards.* Eastern history affords many examples of this kind of punishment⁴. In Italy it was formerly the practice to put assassins to death in this way; and Dante⁵ extends the same torture to those guilty of Simony.]

XXXVII. 63. Παταϊκοῖσι ἐμφερέστατον. *Very similar to the Pataics.* What these Pataics were is not known, and in all probability never will be. Herodotus is the only author who uses the term: he does not give them the name of gods; and I have thought best to adhere to him, though Hesychius invests them with that title. What strengthens the idea that the Pataics were not gods, is, that the ancients placed the images of their gods only at the poop of their vessels, and never at the prow, which latter situation was reserved for the figures of animals, who gave name to the vessel. This is the opinion of Selden⁶ and of Morin⁷. Stanley⁸, however, thought that the tutelary deities were placed indifferently either at the head or the stern of the vessel. We know, says he, that the vows were placed on the knees of the tutelary gods⁹. Propertius, alluding to this custom, places the vows of the Republic on the prow, which proves that the tutelary deity of that vessel occupied that situation.

¹ Plato in *Timæo*, vol. III. p. 85, B.

² Theocrit. *Idyll.* xxiv. 105.

³ Theocrit. Whartoni, p. 273.

⁴ Brisson, de Reg. Pers. II. p. 218.

⁵ *Inferno*, XIX. 22, &c.

⁶ De Dis Syris, Syntag. II. xvi. p. 279.

⁷ Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. tom. I.

p. 39.

⁸ In notis ad *Æschyli Septem contra Thebas*, 214.

⁹ Hence the expressions, *genua incurrere Deorum*, Juvenal. Sat. x. 55; *votum in femore statuæ assignare*, Apul. in *Apol.* p. 442. lin. 15.

Solve metu patriam, quæ nunc te vindice freta
Imposuit proræ publica vota tuæ¹.

To this it may be answered, that navigators placed their vows in other places than on the knees of the god; they sometimes inscribed them on the sails of the vessel².

[Figures like those of the Egyptian Phthah or Vulcan here described, and which are said by our author to have resembled the Pataics of the Phœnicians, are found on Egyptian coins and terra cottas³, as well as on coins of Sidon and Ascalon⁴.]

64. Ἐς τὸ οὐ θεμιτὸν ἐστὶ ἐσιέναι ἄλλον γε ἢ τὸν ἱερέα. *The entrance to which is forbidden by the laws to all but the priest.* The Latin translator has rendered the above Greek passage by, 'inaccessum alteri (templum nempe) quam sacerdoti.' This is indeed the general meaning of it; but the particle γε is not rendered at all. Most translators imagine that this and other similar particles are mere expletives introduced only for the sake of harmony. I am convinced, however, that they are mistaken, and that there are very few cases in which these particles are superfluous. The particle γε in the present case, for instance, limits a meaning, which would otherwise be much too general. I cannot make this very distinctly felt in my translation: for to understand thoroughly the use of these particles, requires a correct acquaintance with the Greek language; and the neglect of them frequently perverts the author's meaning. Madame Dacier had a general knowledge of the language; but for want of attention to these particles, she sometimes fails to give the correct meaning of her author. From amongst a thousand examples that I could bring forward, I select the following:

Ὁ δὲ χερμάδιον λάβε χειρὶ
Τυδείδης, μέγα ἔργον, ὃ οὐ δύο γ' ἄνδρε φέροιεν,
Οἷοι νῦν βροτοὶ εἰσι⁵.

Which she thus renders: "Diomedes immediately takes up in his hand a stone of enormous weight, such as two men of the present day could not lift, &c." Whereas she ought to have said, "and which two men, 'at least such as' those of the present day, &c."

[It may be doubted whether this remark be not hypercritical, and ill-founded. The effect of γε is to give emphasis to δύο, as when we say, 'no two men,' but it cannot signify 'at least such as,' since it is not connected with οἷοι.]

XXXVIII. 65. Νόμον πάντων βασιλέα. *Law is sovereign of all.* Herodotus means to say that the sway of custom is so absolute, that no people can by any means be induced to change their customs, however

¹ Propert. IV. Eleg. vi. 41.

² Apul. Metamorph. XI. p. 379, 2.

³ Terra cottas of the British Museum,
by Combe, No. 42.

⁴ Münter, Religion der Karthager,
p. 170.

⁵ Homeri Iliad. V. 303.

objectionable they may be ; and he supports this opinion by a passage from Pindar, who says, that law is the king of all. If we are to believe Plato ⁶, however, Pindar must be here understood to speak of that eternal law, by virtue of which the strong always oppress the weak.

On this passage of Plato, the reader may consult the Abbé Fraguier ⁷. The passage of Pindar, as preserved by his scholiast, runs thus ⁸ :

. . . . κατὰ φύσιν
νόμος ὁ πάντων βασιλεὺς
θνατῶν τε καὶ ἀθανάτων
ἄγει δικαίων τὸ βιαιότατον
ὑπερτάτῃ χειρί ⁹.

‘ Law, the sovereign both of men and gods, governs and restrains with the highest hand whatever is most violent.’ Aristides ¹ also quotes this passage, but more fully, for he adds these words :

τεκμαίρομαι
ἔργοισιν Ἡρακλέους. Ἐπεὶ
ἀπριάτας . . .

And his scholiast subjoins : ἐπεὶ Γηρυόνου βόας Κυκλωπίων ἐπὶ προθύρων Εὐρυσθέως ἀναιρεῖται, καὶ ἀπριάτας ἤλασεν. ‘ I conjecture this from the actions of Hercules, as he drove before him the oxen of Geryon without having bought them, and took them to the palace of Eurystheus, built by the Cyclops.’ It should seem from this passage, that Plato had apprehended its true meaning. The reader may however consult the notes of Valckenaer and Wesseling. The scholiast of Aristides should be corrected by that of Pindar.

XXXIX. 66. Ὅς ἔσχε Σάμον ἐπαναστάς. *Who had taken possession of Samos, by insurrection.* At a solemn ² festival celebrated at Samos in honour of Juno, all the citizens walked in procession to the temple of the goddess, with their arms. Polycrates, having by this means collected a large quantity of arms, distributed them to his partisans, who were headed by his brothers, Syloson and Pantagnotus. When the procession was ended, the Samians laid down their arms, to proceed with the sacrifice. The partisans of Polycrates having seized their arms, massacred all those who were not of their party ; and having taken possession of the most advantageous posts, they brought over from the isle of Naxos Lygdamis, who was tyrant of it, and by his means became masters of the citadel, called Astypalæa.

67. Χιλίους τοξότας. *A thousand archers.* This number appears too small, when we consider the vast power of this prince, and what is

⁶ Plato in Gorgiâ, vol. I. p. 484, B.

⁷ Mém. de l'Acad. des B. L. tom. V. Hist. p. 111.

⁸ See Boeckh's Pindar, II. ii. p. 640.

⁹ Schol. Pindari ad Nem. ix. 35.

¹ Aristid. Orat. i. p. 114. lin. 26.

² Polyæni Strateg. I. xxiii. § ii. pp.

48, 49.

said of it lower down (xlv). But yet, as the strength of a Greek army consisted in its heavy-armed troops, he might have had in his pay 10,000 men, which is a large number; for we know that neither Athens nor Lacedæmon, in the most brilliant times of those republics, could bring a larger number of men into the field.

[The thousand archers here mentioned, are probably the same whom our author afterwards calls (xlv.) τοξόται οἰκήϊοι, domestic archers or household troops. They may have been a body-guard, answering to the δορυφόροι of other sovereigns.]

68. Χαριεῖσθαι μᾶλλον. *That he should afford more pleasure to a friend.* This idea is evidently false; and Libanius appears to me in the right, when he says, in a discourse which has not reached us³, Πέφυκεν ἄνθρωπος οὐχ οὕτως εὐφραίνεσθαι κερδαίνων, ὥς ἀλγεῖν ζημιούμενος. ‘Gain does not naturally give a man so much pleasure, as loss causes him pain.’

XL. 69. Τὸ θεῖον ἐπισταμένῳ ὥς ἔστι φθονερόν. *Knowing the jealousy of the divine nature.* See note 63 of book i. in which I have quoted a valuable passage from Plutarch. This philosopher reasoned like a wise man; but his sound reasoning was little felt by the vulgar, and the absurd notions which that vulgar had formed of the deity prevailed long after the time of our historian. I will give one example. Paulus Æmilius, according to custom, rendering to the people an account of his conduct, thus expresses himself: “From Brundusium⁴ I repaired in one day to the island of Corcyra; from Corcyra I reached Delphi in five days, where I sacrificed to the god (Apollo). In five days more, I reached Thessaly, where I took the command of the army. In fifteen days from that time, I made Perseus prisoner, and subdued Macedonia. Having obtained so rapid a success, I feared lest on my return some reverse should befall the army: but the army having arrived in safety, my fears directly pointed to you; ‘for the gods are jealous.’ But the misfortune having fallen on me alone, my two children having suddenly died, I am, in what regards myself, the most wretched of men, but comforted and tranquil on your account.”

XLI. 70. Σμαράγδου μὲν λίθου. *An emerald.* Pliny thinks, for I know not what reason, that this stone was a sardonyx. “Sardonychen⁵ eam gemmam fuisse constat: ostenduntque Romæ, si credimus Concordiæ delubro, cornu aureo Augusti dono inclusam.” Solinus has⁶, as usual, borrowed from Pliny what he has said of this stone; but he adds, that it came from the borders of the Red Sea⁷, where, however, no such thing was ever found; and that it excited the taste for luxury amongst

³ Anecdota Græca, vol. II. p. 16.

⁴ Plutarch. Vit. Parall. p. 274, c.

⁵ Plin. Hist. Nat. XXXVII. 1. vol. II. p. 764.

⁶ Solini Polyhist. XXXIII. p. 46, B.

⁷ Salmas. Plinian. Exercit. in Solini

Polyhist. p. 393. col. 1.

the Romans, although gems were known and esteemed at Rome long before this sardonyx was brought there.

Polycrates had probably many rings. The account of Pliny, therefore, does not contradict that of Herodotus. St. Clement of Alexandria informs us⁸, that this ring represented a lyre. But as the representation of a lyre does not imply any very admirable workmanship, the loss of which should have been regretted by Polycrates, we may conclude that it was something else that was executed on the emerald mentioned by Herodotus, and that the lyre was on the sardonyx mentioned by Pliny.

71. Ἔργον δὲ ἦν Θεοδώρου τοῦ Τηλεκλέος Σαμίου. *It was the work of Theodorus, son of Telecles, of Samos.* This Theodorus of Samos invented the square, the level, the tower and keys⁹. Pausanias¹, speaking of the art of casting statues, mentions Theodorus of Samos, son of Telecles, and Rhœcus, son of Philæus, as the inventors of it; and then, with reference to Theodorus, speaks of this emerald. In another passage, he joins both these artists in that work². Diodorus Siculus, however³, speaks of Telecles and Theodorus of Samos, both sons of Rhœcus, and clever statuary. Hence it is concluded that these authors differ, and that one of them must be mistaken. But the learned Valckenaer seems to suspect, and with reason, that Rhœcus had given to his two sons the names of his friend Theodorus and that of his father. This conjecture reconciles Herodotus both with Diodorus and Diogenes Laertius. The latter affirms, that of twenty persons of this name, Theodorus, son of Rhœcus⁴, is the first; but he may have confounded the son of Rhœcus with that of Telecles.

Pliny asserts that to engrave on an emerald was forbidden, "decreto⁵ hominum iis parcitur, scalpi vetitis." But if such an interdict was ever promulgated, it did not apply to Greece.

It was Theodorus of Samos, son of Rhœcus⁶, who recommended the use of charcoal for the foundation of the temple of Ephesus, because the situation was moist, and charcoal having lost the nature of wood acquires a solidity impervious to water. For the same reason charcoal was placed under the landmarks or boundaries of fields. "In carbonibus⁷ tanta firmitas, ut nullo humore corrumpantur, nullâ ætate vincantur, usque adeo ut eos substernere soleant, qui limites figunt ad convincendum litigatorem, quisquis post quantalibet tempora exstiterit, fixumque lapidem limitem non esse contenderit." See also, as to this first Theodorus, note 90, book I.

XLII. 72. Γράψας δὲ, ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἐπέθηκε. *Having written, he*

⁸ Clem. Alex. Pædag. III. xi. p. 289.

⁴ Diog. Laert. II. ciii. p. 140.

⁹ Plin. Hist. Nat. VII. lvi. vol. I. p. 414.

⁵ Plin. Hist. Nat. XXXVII. v. vol. II. p. 774.

¹ Pausan. VIII. xiv. p. 629.

⁶ Diog. Laert. ut supra.

² Id. X. xxxviii. p. 896.

⁷ S. Augustin. de Civit. Dei, XXI. iv. p. 621, B.

³ Diod. Sic. I. xcvi. vol. I. p. 110.

gave his letter to be carried into Egypt. This is the true meaning of the passage. Herodotus again makes use of the same expression, V. xcv. But Gronovius, who translates it properly in the first instance, mistakes it in the second. See Valckenaer's note.

XLIII. 73. Ἐπιλεξάμενος. *This prince having read it.* Ἐπιλέγομαι signifies 'I read,' which signification Stephens has not forgotten in his Thesaurus; but he supports it by no authority antecedent to Lucian, though Herodotus has several times made use of it; for example, I. cxxiv. and cxxv; II. cxxv; VII. near the end; VIII. xxii. Hesychius, in his Lexicon, has thought proper to explain the word: ἐπελέξατο, τὰ γεγραμμένα ἀνέγνωσεν.

74. Διαλύεσθαι τὴν ξεινίην. *To renounce his alliance.* Such a motive in my opinion does little honour to Amasis; who appears to greater advantage in the account of Diodorus Siculus. This historian relates, that Polycrates⁸ ill-treated his subjects, and all strangers who came to Samos; that Amasis first sent ambassadors, exhorting him to use his power with greater moderation; but that the tyrant not complying with these suggestions, Amasis wrote him a letter, in which he renounced all friendship or alliance with him, because he foresaw that a prince who treated his subjects so ill must come to an unfortunate end, and he wished to spare himself the mortification of seeing his friend overtaken by such a fate.

XLIV. 75. Ἄν καὶ παρ' ἐωυτὸν πέμψας . . . δέοιτο στρατοῦ. *That sending to him he would demand troops.* Just before we have, 'begged of him.' Ἐδεήθη (Καμβύσεα) ὅπως ἂν . . . δέοιτο στρατοῦ. The verb δεῖσθαι is here taken in two different senses. It signifies to 'entreat,' and also 'to send to seek, to demand.' This escaped the Latin translator, who has rendered the passage, 'oravit (Cambysem) ut nunciis etiam ad se in Samum missis, rogaret aliquid copiarum⁹.'

76. Ἐντειλάμενος Καμβύσῃ ὀπίσω τούτους μὴ ἀποπέμπειν. *Enjoining Cambyzes not to send them back to Samos.* A passage of Apuleius authorizes the inference that Pythagoras was of the number of Samians sent by Polycrates to Cambyzes, and whom that prince kept as prisoners. Indeed he says¹⁰, that "some assert that Pythagoras was sent to Egypt at that time amongst the prisoners of king Cambyzes, and that he was ransomed by Gillus, prince of Crotona." At that time there was no Gillus, prince of Crotona, but a Gillus of Tarentum, who, having been banished from that city, went to live at Crotona. This Gillus ransomed the Persian noblemen, who in traversing Greece by order of Darius had been made prisoners, and restored them to that prince¹. But we no where hear that he ransomed any Greeks. Apuleius himself

⁸ Diod. Sic. I. xcv. p. 106.

⁹ See Wytttenbach, Selecta Princ. Historic. p. 345.

¹⁰ Apul. Florid. xv. p. 792. edit. Delphin.

¹ Herod. III. cxxxviii.

considered this forced journey of Pythagoras only as a popular report, unworthy of credit; for he adds, shortly afterwards, that a better founded report was, that Pythagoras had gone voluntarily into Egypt to study the sciences of the Egyptians.

XLV. 77. Παραστήσασθαι. *To reduce it.* Παρίστημι, in the preterite, and in the second aorist, signifies, 'I am subdued, I am obliged to submit².' In the middle voice it has an active signification, and implies, 'I subdue, I compel to submit;' except in the first future, where again it has a passive sense. An example of this occurs in clv.

XLVI. 78. Θύλακον. *A leathern bag.* Θύλακος is properly a leathern bag. Hesychius explains it by ἀσκὸς δερμάτινος: it is also explained in manuscript glossaries, 'Vas ad ferendum panem ex corio, quod milites ferunt.' See Thomas Magister under the word Θύλακος, and the note of the late M. Oudendorp.

79. Περιεργάσθαι. *These words were superfluous.* Περίεργα are properly the superfluous ornaments which painters add to their pictures. Thus τῷ θυλάκῳ περιεργάσθαι signifies that it was sufficient to show the bag; that the words with which they accompanied it were superfluous.

The Lacedæmonians made the same answer to the men of Chios³, or rather it is the same anecdote told of another people.

The best authors often use this term in this sense⁴: Εἰ μὲν γὰρ μὴ ἐχρῆν, ἀλλὰ τὴν Μυσῶν λείαν καλουμένην, τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὔσαν ὀφθῆναι, ζώντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ ὄντων, περιείργασμαι μὲν ἐγὼ, περὶ τῶν τοιούτων εἰπὼν· περιείργασται δ' ἡ πόλις ἡ πεισθεῖσα ἐμοί.

'But if Greece must needs become, under the eyes of the Athenians, the prey of Mysians, as we say with the proverb—I have taken superfluous trouble; and the city, urged by my reasoning, has done so too.'

XLVII. 80. Ἐόντα μὲν λίνεον, κεκοσμημένον δὲ χρυσῷ καὶ εἰρίοισι ἀπὸ ξύλου. *Being made of linen, ornamented with gold and tufts of wool from wood.* Julius Pollux⁵ remarks, that in Egypt they manufacture stuffs of which the warp is of linen, and the woof is of cotton. This cotton comes from a nut which grows on a tree. [It can hardly be doubted that by εἶρια ἀπὸ ξύλου, or tree-wool, our author meant cotton⁶.]

81. Τὸν ἀνέθηκε Ἀμασις. *Of which Amasis made a present.* "Mirentur⁷ hoc ignorantes in Ægyptii quondam Regis, quem Amasim

² See note 17 of this Book.

³ Sextus Empiric. II. adv. Rhetores, p. 293.

⁴ Demosth. Orat. pro Corona, § cxxii. p. 147.

⁵ Jul. Pol. VII. xvii. § lxxvi. vol. II.

p. 741.

⁶ Plin. Hist. Nat. XIX. i. 'quem (fruticem) aliqui gossipion vocant, plures xylon.' See also note 231, book II.

⁷ Id. XIX. i. vol. II. p. 155. lin. 25.

vocant, thorace, in Rhodiorum insulâ ostendi in templo Minervæ, ccclxv. filis singula fila constare: quod se expertum nuper prodidit Mucianus ter Consul, parvasque jam reliquias ejus superesse hoc experientium injuriâ."

"You could⁸ no more destroy it (the nest of the halcyon) with iron, than the vaunted corselet which Amasis consecrated to Lindian Minerva."

Herodotus has spoken of this corselet in a preceding passage, (II. clxxxii.) where we see the reasons which induced Amasis to send it to the Lindians.

XLVIII. 82. Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τοῦ κρητῆρος τῇ ἀρπαγῇ. *About the time of the carrying off of the cup.* The cup was sent to Cræsus several years before the taking of Sardis. Periander died, according to some authors, 41 years before that event, that is to say, in the year 4128 of the Julian period, and 586 years before our era: for it appears we must apply to the captivity of Cræsus the passage of Sosicrates, in which⁹ this date is mentioned. Eusebius likewise agrees with this author¹ within a year. But if this were so, how could Herodotus say that the cup was sent to Cræsus about the same time that Periander sent the 360 Corcyreans to Alyattes?

M. Gibert² does away with this embarrassment: he supposes that the Lydian prince had two names; that Alyattes was called Cræsus, and that Cræsus bore likewise the name of Alyattes, and that this confusion of names occasions the apparent contradiction remarked in the account of Herodotus. But had M. Gibert any exclusive information as to the kings of Lydia? at least, as he does not specify this, we may be permitted to doubt it.

It appears that it is on the authority of Sosicrates³ and of Eusebius, that the death of Periander has been assigned to a period so long antecedent to the taking of Sardis. This prince was living a few years before the accession of Cræsus to the throne. The war which Hegesistratus⁴, the son of Pisistratus, maintained against the Mitylenians, was terminated by the mediation of Periander. Now this war could have been but a few years antecedent to the first government of Pisistratus over Athens, which occurred in the year 4154 of the Julian period, 560 years before the vulgar era; it will therefore follow that Periander was alive in the year 4150 of the Julian period, 564 years before our era.

We may safely conclude that this prince was not dead at the commencement of the reign of Cræsus, and for this amongst other reasons. When Cræsus sent presents to the oracle of Delphi, some of them were borne by Æsop. Now Plutarch⁵, who states this fact, relates at the

⁸ Ælian. Hist. Anim. IX. xvii. p. 501.

⁹ Diog. Laert. I. xcv. p. 60.

¹ Euseb. Chronic. Canon. p. 161.

² Mém. de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres, tom. XXI. p. 143.

³ Diog. Laert. Euseb. locis laudatis.

⁴ Herod. V. xciv. and xcv.

⁵ Plut. Conviv. Sept. Sap. p. 150, A.

De his qui sero à numine puniuntur, p. 556, F.

same time that *Æsop* was present at the assemblage of the seven wise men before *Periander*. This prince therefore was alive in the year 4155 of the Julian period, 559 years before our era, as *Crœsus* did not ascend the throne till that year.

This last reason however is the weakest ; for *Æsop* was precipitated from the *Hyampæan* rock the year before⁶ ; and *Crœsus* having been associated in the government, as we may infer from a passage of *Plutarch*⁷, might have sent these presents in the lifetime of his father.

Messrs. *Bouhier* and *De la Nauze* have written at length upon this point ; but the limits of a note do not permit me to canvass their opinions. My own idea of the matter is this. The Spartans sent troops against *Polycrates*, tyrant of *Samos*, in the year 4189 of the Julian period, 525 years before our era. The proof of which is this : when *Cambyzes* marched against Egypt, *Polycrates* sent him succours ; and as he mistrusted a part of his subjects, he took that opportunity of getting rid of them. These, instead of proceeding to Egypt, repaired to *Lacedæmon*, and returned to *Samos* with the *Lacedæmonians*. The conquest of Egypt took place in the year 4189 of the Julian period, 525 years before our era. If the *Corinthians* were offended by the *Samians* a generation before this expedition, as *Herodotus* says, (§ xlvi.) and if about the same time the *Samians* carried off the cup which the *Lacedæmonians* sent to *Crœsus*, this insult of the *Samians* and the carrying off of the cup must have happened about the year 4159 of the Julian period, 555 years before the vulgar era. The carrying off of the cup agrees very well with this date : 1. it took place 30 years before the *Lacedæmonians* sent troops against *Polycrates* : 2. it was a few years before the taking of *Sardis*, which was in the year 4169 of the Julian period, 545 years before our era : 3. this date accords perfectly with the account of *Herodotus* ; for the uneasiness of *Crœsus* on the growing power of *Cyrus* was in the year 4156 of the Julian period, 558 years before the common era. *Crœsus* at different times sent to consult the *Delphian* oracle, and, having satisfied himself of its veracity, he sent to inquire of it with what people he should ally himself. The oracle advised him to enter into alliance with the most powerful people of Greece. *Crœsus* in consequence applied to the *Lacedæmonians*, and sent them presents ; and the *Lacedæmonians* in return sent him a magnificent cup. These journeys backwards and forwards must have included a space of at least three years ; and then all our historian's facts correspond with each other.

As to the insult of which the *Corinthians* complained, it does not strictly accord with this date. *Periander* was yet living when they were insulted by the *Samians*, and he certainly died in the year 4151 of the Julian period, 563 years before our era. By supposing that the *Samians* rescued the 360 *Corcyreans* in the year 4149 of the Julian period, 565 years before our era, it will follow, 1. that there was a period of only

⁶ See my *Essay on Chronology*, chap. xix. p. 541.

⁷ *Plutarch. de Fraterno Amore*, p. 884.

ten years between this insult offered by the Samians and the carrying off of the cup by the same Samians. This is not so far distant, but that Herodotus might say that both circumstances occurred about the same time ; it would follow, 2. that Alyattes, to whom Periander sent the children, was still alive, and 3. that Periander was then very old, near the close of life, as all that Herodotus says of him proves he was at that period.

83. Περικλῆς. *Periander*. This tyrant is reckoned amongst the seven wise men. Plato, however, puts in his place⁸ Myson, of Chena in Laconia. I am not of opinion that this philosopher judged him unworthy of that title, because he was a tyrant, as St. Clement of Alexandria thinks⁹. I am rather inclined to think that the traditions of these seven sages were very doubtful, as sometimes Anacharsis was substituted for Periander¹, sometimes Epimenis of Crete, sometimes Arcesilaus of Argos, and sometimes Myson of Chena.

84. Ἀπὴν γὰρ ἐς Κέρκυραν οἱ Σάμιοι. *The Samians took them back to Corcyra*. Plutarch thinks² that it was the Cnidians who saved the Corcyrean children ; and that the honours and immunities granted by the Corcyreans to the Cnidians, and the decrees published by them on the occasion, prove this. In fact, it was the Cnidians, continues he, who came to Samos with a fleet, drove the guards of Periander from the temple, embarked the 300 young Corcyreans in their vessels, and carried them back to Corcyra. He supports his opinion by the authority of Antenor of Crete, and that of Dionysius of Chalcis in his work on the founding of cities.

This appears in some measure to contradict the account of Herodotus : but let us inquire into the point. Either the Samians did not feel themselves strong enough to carry off these children from the guards of Periander, or they were compelled to keep some terms with that prince. But in either case it appears they had recourse to the Cnidians. Herodotus has not named the latter people, because he seldom mentions all the circumstances of any transaction ; and his main object was to convey that the Samians had been chiefly instrumental in the preservation of the Corcyreans.

Pliny³ says, that some sea-lampreys (the Echineis or Remora) stopped the ship which was carrying these children, and that at Cnidus they offer homage, near the temple of Venus, to the shells of the animals which had done this miracle. "Plenam ventis stetit navem, portantem a Periandro, ut castrarentur nobiles pueri : conchasque quæ id præstiterint, apud Gnidiorum Venerem coli."

This fish derives its name (Ἐχένηις) from its faculty of stopping vessels in their course. But, fabulous as this is, it is attested by Cardinal de Tournon and by Pelissier, who maintain that they have experienced it, according to Rondelet, who affirms that he was an eye-

⁸ Plato in Protagorâ, vol. I. p. 343, A.

⁹ Clem. Alex. Strom. I. p. 351.

¹ Id. ibid. p. 350.

² Plut. de Herod. Malign. p. 860, B.

³ Plin. Hist. Nat. IX. xxv. p. 514.

witness of it, as Hardouin remarks in his note on this passage of Pliny. Had this property of the echeneis or remora appeared true to Aristotle, he would scarcely have failed to notice it. I give his account of this fish⁴: "The echeneis is one of those small fish that delight in rocky situations. Some use them as philtres for the purpose of gaining law-suits. They are not eaten. Some people think that they have feet, because their fins have the appearance of them."

M. Camus⁵, in a note on this passage, cites one from M. Beckman, which might lead us to believe that what is said of the echeneis is not fabulous.

XLIX. 85. Ἐπεὶ τε ἔκτισαν τὴν νῆσον. *From the time that they colonized the island.* Eusebius⁶ fixes the foundation of Corcyra in the 18th Olympiad; but Strabo fixes it about the time⁷ that Archias founded Syracuse. Now, according to the Oxford Marbles⁸, this latter city was founded in the 21st year of the perpetual archontate of Æschylus, which answers to the 3d year of the 5th Olympiad, that is to say, the year 3956 of the Julian period. St. Clement of Alexandria⁹ indirectly confirms this date, by making the poet Eumelus contemporary with Archias; and according to Eusebius, that poet flourished in the 3d Olympiad.

I have therefore fixed the foundation of Corcyra in the year 3958 of the Julian period, 756 years B.C.

Timæus¹ places the same epoch 600 years after the Trojan war; but we may more safely rely on Strabo, who makes the founder of this island contemporary with Archias. Archias, says this geographer², sailing towards Sicily, left Chersicrates, of the race of Hercules, with a part of his army, to colonize the island now known by the name of Corcyra, and which was previously known by that of Scheria. This latter drove from it the Liburni who then occupied it, and founded a colony there. According to the same Timæus, Chersicrates, chief of this colony and of the house of the Bacchiadæ, was exiled from Corinth, or rather had voluntarily withdrawn thence, because he had been proclaimed διὰ ἀτιμίαν. If this be true, the enmity between the colony and the metropolis is not surprising. This manifested itself in early times; witness the famous naval battle between these two states, which took place about 260 years before the Peloponnesian war, that is to say, in the first year of the 29th Olympiad. This, according to Thucydides³, is the most ancient naval fight on record.

⁴ Aristot. Hist. An. II. xiv. p. 788, D. xxxii. (p. 66. edit. Maitt. Lond. 1732.)

⁵ Histoire des Animaux d'Aristote, par M. Camus, tom. II. p. 725.

⁶ Euseb. Chronic. liber posterior, p. 119.

⁷ Strabo, VI. p. 414, B.

⁸ Marmora Oxoniensia, p. 25. Epoch.

⁹ Clem. Alex. Strom. I. vol. I. p. 398.

¹ Schol. Apoll. Rhodii, IV. 1216.

² Strabo, VI. p. 414, A.

³ Thucyd. I. xiii. p. 12.

L. 86. Ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ τὴν ἑωυτοῦ γυναῖκα Μέλισσαν ἀπέκτεινε. *After he had killed his wife Melissa.* “Pythænetus⁴ relates in the 3d book of his History of Ægina, that Periander having seen Melissa, the daughter of Procles of Epidaurus, clothed according to the custom of the Peloponnesians, without a robe, and in a simple tunic, pouring out liquor for the workmen, fell in love with her, and married her.

“He had by her⁵ two children, Cypselus and Lycophron Some time afterwards, giving way to anger, on the false report of his concubines, he killed her, by giving her a kick whilst she was pregnant. He afterwards caused them to be burned.”

Near Epidaurus⁶ was seen the monument of Melissa. Had Periander sent back the body of his wife to Procles, to receive the rites of sepulture? or was this a cenotaph? This is more than I can undertake to decide; nor is it of any great importance for us to know.

87. Προκλῆς, ἐὼν Ἐπιδαύρου τύραννος. *Procles being tyrant of Epidaurus.* The poets frequently confound the τύραννος with the βασιλεύς; but the prose writers seem to mark the distinction: for instance, they have never called the kings of Persia, of Lacedæmon, or of Athens, ‘tyrants;’ but they have given that name to the kings of Syracuse, to Pisistratus, &c. ‘Tyrant,’ with the Greek writers, ordinarily signifies a usurper, one who governs the people against their will, without their consent, even though he should regulate his administration strictly according to justice. Pisistratus therefore was a tyrant, though his government was mild; Hieron was so likewise, though Xenophon gives him great praise in the treatise which he has entitled, ‘Hieron sive Tyrannicus.’ In this work he always calls him τύραννος; and this has given some room to imagine that amongst the Greeks the term conveyed no reproach. But let us hear what Xenophon says on this point: “Socrates thought⁷ that tyranny and kingly rule were two species of government essentially different. That in which the subjects were governed by their own consent, and according to known laws, he considered regal or kingly government; but that he deemed a tyranny, in which the subjects were governed against their will, contrary to law, and according to the caprice of the prince.”

Cornelius Nepos⁸ also says, “Omnes autem et habentur et dicuntur Tyranni, qui potestate sunt perpetuâ in eâ civitate, quæ libertate usa est.”

To these authorities I will add that of Herodotus himself. When the Lacedæmonians wished to restore the Pisistratidæ in Athens, Sosicles of Corinth said to them⁹, “If it seems best to you that cities should be governed by tyrants, why do you not give an example by establishing one over yourselves?” It appears then that he made a

⁴ Athen. Deipnos. XIII. vi. p. 589, F.

⁵ Diog. Laert. I. xciv. pp. 58, 59.

⁶ Pausan. II. xxviii. p. 177.

⁷ Socrat. Mem. IV. vi. § xii. p. 256.

⁸ Corn. Nepos, Miltiad. iii. p. 60.

⁹ Herodot. V. xcii.

decided difference between the *τύραννος* and the *βασιλεύς*; for we know that the Lacedæmonians were governed by kings.

LII. 88. Ὅσῳ αὐτός σφε ἐξεργασάμην. *Inasmuch as I myself made away with her.* The only difficulty in this passage appears to me to arise from the critics having considered that ἐξεργασάμην signifies here the same thing as ἔπραξα, and that it should be referred to συμφορὴν, represented by the pronoun σφε. I think, on the contrary, that ἐξεργασάμην here signifies ἐφόνευσσα, as in xxx. of the same book, ἐξεργάσατο τὸν ἀδελφεόν, and in xxxi. ἐξεργάσατο τὴν ἀδελφεήν. This signification of ἐξεργασάμην σφε, ('I have killed her,' i. e. 'your mother,') being admitted, I think we may suffer ἐν αὐτοῖσι to remain, understanding πρήγμασι, συμβεβηκόσι, συμπτώμασι, or παθήμασι.

89. Φθονέεσθαι κρέσσον ἐστὶ ἢ οἰκτείρεσθαι. *It is better to inspire envy than pity.* A proverbial expression in our language, which I have not thought it necessary to vary from the terms in which it is usually conveyed. Pindar has said the same thing, with that nervous conciseness which characterizes his style¹: Κρέσσων οἰκτιρμῶν φθόρος. 'Envy is better than pity.'

LIII. 90. Τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ τῶν παίδων. *His elder son.* His name was Cypselus. (See above, note 86.) The late M. Wesseling has corrected the error of Paulmier de Grentemesnil², who thought from a passage of Aristotle³, that he was called Gordius. But Gordius, or rather Gorgias, as we read in Plutarch⁴, was a brother of Periander, and not his son; and consequently Psammetichus, son of Gorgias, who succeeded Periander, was the nephew of that prince, and not his grandson.

91. Τὸν οἶκον τοῦ πατρός. *The effects of your father.* Οἶκος means the goods of his father, his patrimony⁵. Πῶς οὐ δεινὸν εἰ ἕτεροι μὲν οἴκοι ταλαντιαῖοι καὶ διτάλαντοι καταλειφθέντες ἐκ τοῦ μισθωθῆναι διπλάσιοι καὶ τριπλάσιοι γεγόνασιν; 'Is it not frightful that others should have doubled and even have tripled their patrimony by such methods?' Τούς⁶ ἰδίους οἴκους οὗτοι μὲν ἂν ἐκ τῶν πράγματων μεγάλους ἐκτήσαντο, ὑμεῖς δὲ διὰ τὸν πρὸς ἀλλήλους πόλεμον ἐλάττους εἴχετε. 'They augmented their patrimony in times of trouble, whilst your intestine wars diminished yours.'

92. Τυραννὶς, χρῆμα σφαλερόν. *Sovereign power is an unstable property.* The original literally rendered is, 'Tyranny is a thing which slides away.' Euripides⁷ puts the same sentiment into the mouth of Agamemnon when speaking of the supreme power:

Τοῦτο δέ γ' ἐστὶ τὸ καλὸν σφαλερόν.

'This honour is insecure.'

¹ Pyth. Od. i. 164.

² Palmer, Exerc. in Auct. Græc. p. 15. p. 508.

³ De Republicâ, V. xii. p. 411, B.

⁴ Conviv. Sept. Sap. p. 160, c.

⁵ Demosth. in Aphobum, Orat. i.

⁶ Lysias contra Eratosthenem, p. 128.

⁷ Euripid. Iph. in Aul. 21.

93. Πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῆς ἐρασταί εἰσι. *Many are enamoured of it.* "Supreme power⁸ is on all sides exposed to the attacks of those who have conceived a violent desire for it; you must, my father, be on your guard against them." This is a fragment of Euripides, preserved by Stobæus⁹. I translate it according to M. Valckenaer's correction, who reads, in the second verse,

Δεινῶς ἐρῶσιν, οὓς φυλακτέον, πάτερ.

See his note on this passage of Herodotus. Dr. Musgrave adopts M. Valckenaer's correction, without acknowledging his obligation to this learned man.

94. Κτείνουσι τὸν νεηνίσκον. *They kill the young man.* The scholiast of Thucydides¹ thinks that this murder occasioned the naval action between the Corinthians and the Corcyreans; but as that took place 260 years² before the end of the Peloponnesian war, which terminated in the year 4310 of the Julian period, this battle must have happened in the year 4050. But Cypselus, father of Periander, did not reign in Corinth till the year after.

The late President Bouhier thought³ that an error had crept into the text of Thucydides, and that we should read 160 years instead of 260. This indeed would agree with what I have said before of the age of Periander. But why should we alter the text of an author without necessity? We have seen before (note 85), that the founder of Corcyra was an exile from Corinth. It is probable that those who joined him may have borne great ill-will to their countrymen: the time, too, will then agree very well; Corcyra having been founded in the year 3958 of the Julian period, and the battle, according to Thucydides, having taken place in the year 4050, there will then be a space of 92 years between the foundation of the city and the battle it had with the mother country. In this time it might have acquired power enough to enable it to engage in the conflict.

LV. 95. Λυκώπη. *Lycopas.* All the translators, as well into Latin as into modern tongues, write this Lycopes. Gregory, archbishop of Corinth, however, has informed us, that the Ionians⁴ terminated in ης all words of more than two syllables, whose nominatives end in ας. For instance, they say Ἑρμείης instead of Ἑρμείας, Σωσίης instead of Σωσίας. He then adduces this passage of Herodotus.

LVI. 96. Ταύτην πρώτην στρατηίην ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην Λακεδαιμόνιοι Δοριέες ἐποιήσαντο. *This was the first expedition of the Lacedæmonian-Dorians into Asia.* I am inclined, with M. Valckenaer, to

⁸ Eurip. incertæ Tragœdiæ, 114. p. 507.

⁹ Stobæi Sentent. Tit. xlvii. p. 343.

¹ Schol. Thucyd. ad lib. I. xiii.

² Thucyd. I. xiii. p. 12.

³ Rech. et Dissert. sur Hérodoté, p. 167.

⁴ Gregorius de Dialectis, p. 172.

omit the word 'Lacedæmonian;' Dorian is quite sufficient, its meaning being clearly indicated by what has gone before. See his note. This was also the opinion of the late M. Wesseling. I have restored, in conformity with the observations of these learned critics, *πρώτην*, which Gronovius had expunged in his edition. The Lacedæmonians had previously intermeddled in the affairs of Asia, as we have already seen, (I. clii.) but this was their first expedition.

LVII. 97. *Τὰ δὲ τῶν Σιφνίων πρήγματα ἤκμαζε.* *The affairs of the Siphnians were then in a very flourishing condition.* The prosperity of these islanders gradually diminished. They sent some assistance however to the Greeks when attacked by Xerxes, as we shall find hereafter, (VIII. xlii.) But in the time of Demosthenes they were very inconsiderable, as we may infer from his harangue *περὶ Συντάξεως*: "If I could persuade myself," says he⁵, addressing the Athenians, "that you were Siphnians, Cythnians, or a people of that rank, I would counsel you to adopt more humble sentiments."

98. *Ὁμοία τοῖσι πλουσιωτάτοισι.* *Equal to the richest treasures.* I can scarcely believe that Herodotus meant, the richest 'of all the treasures in the universe;' but that he meant only those kept in the temple of Apollo at Delphi. *Τοῖσι πλουσιωτάτοισι* appears to me clearly to refer to *θησαυρὸς ἐν Δελφοῖσι*.

Most of the states of Greece had separate chapels in this temple, in which they placed their respective treasures. But in the time of Pausanias this custom had ceased.

"The Siphnians established⁶ a treasury for this reason also. Their island contained gold mines; Apollo had commanded them to offer a tenth part of the produce at Delphi. They built the treasury, and offered the tenth; but when, induced by avarice, they withheld the offering, the sea burst in upon their mines, and destroyed them."

"Lead," says M. Tournefort⁷, "is very common in Siphnus; the rain exposes it on every side. The ore is grey, glossy, and yields a lead approaching to the nature of tin. When the peasants want to hunt, they dig it up in the fields, and melt it to make shot. This lead, which is a natural ceruse, easily vitrifies, and this renders the kettles of this island excellent. Theophrastus⁸ and Pliny⁹ both inform us, that at Siphnus they cut with the chisel, from a certain soft stone, pots for the fire, which became black and very hard after they had been heated with boiling oil. The goblets that were manufactured in this island were also much esteemed¹."

⁵ Demosth. *περὶ Συντάξεως*, p. 102.

⁶ Pausan. X. xi. p. 823.

⁷ Relation d'un Voyage du Levant, par Tournefort, Lettre iv. tom. I. p. 175.

⁸ Theophrast. lib. de Lapidibus, p. 9.

⁹ In Siphno, lapis est qui cavatur tornaturque in vasa coquendis cibis utilia,

vel ad esculentorum usus: quod in Comensi Italiae lapide viridi accidere scimus.

Sed in Siphnio singulare, quod excaletus oleo nigrescit, durescitque, naturâ mollissimus. Plin. Hist. Nat. XXXVI. xxii. vol. II. p. 752.

¹ Steph. Byzant. voc. Σίφνος.

As to the mines of gold and silver, M. Tournefort says, "They now scarcely know where to find them. In order to show us the most famous, they took us to the sea-shore, near San-Sosti, a half-ruined chapel; where we saw something that might be taken for the entrance to a mine, but we could not advance into it, from the darkness and other obstructions." [The Siphnus of the ancients is now called Sifanto.]

99. *Ξύλινόν τε λόχον.* *An ambushade of wood.* The god expresses himself, as usual, in an enigmatical manner. If this oracle was actually delivered, it must allude to the men embarked on the Samian vessel. *Λόχος* is a snare or ambushade. Euripides uses the same expression in speaking of the wooden horse which enclosed within it the most valiant of the Greeks². *Πεύκα ἐν οὐρείᾳ ξεστὸν λόχον Ἀργείων Θεᾷ δώσω.* 'In abiete montanâ edolatam latebram Græcorum . . . Deæ consecraturus.' See also Tryphiodorus on the taking of Troy, verse 2.

LIX. 100. *Τῆς Δικτύννης νηόν.* *The temple of Dictynna.* "It is related³ that Britomartis, surnamed Dictynna, was born at Cænus in the isle of Crete, of Jupiter and Carne the daughter of Eubulus, whose mother was Ceres. She is said to have invented nets for hunting, and thence comes her surname. As she was often with Diana, some confound her with that goddess. The Cretans consecrated temples and offered sacrifices to her. Those who say that she was surnamed Dictynna, because she took refuge in the nets of a fisherman from the pursuit and meditated violence of Minos, appear to me to deviate from the truth; for it is not probable that a goddess, descended from the sovereign of the gods, should be reduced to such extremity as to need the aid of a mortal; nor is it just to impute such an impiety to Minos, who, by the admission of all the world, was a lover of justice, and led a moral life."

Callimachus varies in some respects from the account of Diodorus Siculus. 1. According to this poet⁴, Britomartis was a nymph of the goddess Diana, by whom she was greatly esteemed on account of her skill in archery. She had not therefore either the rank or the power of a goddess. 2. She did not take refuge in nets; but being pursued by Minos, and on the point of falling into his hands, she jumped from a rock into the sea, for the purpose of avoiding him. Fortunately she was caught in some fishing-nets which were there by chance, and it was to these nets she owed her safety. The Cydonians named her Dictynna, from this adventure; the Greeks call a net *δίκτυον*.

Antoninus Liberalis⁵ and Pausanias⁶ relate the same story with some slight variation; but it appears that they both give credit to the part which Minos is said to have taken in it. But whatever other difference may exist, all these authors agree in the main point, that Dictynna,

² Euripid. *Troad.* 534.

³ Diod. Sic. V. lxxvi. vol. I. p. 392.

⁴ Callimach. *Hymn. in Dian.* 190 &c.

⁵ Antonini Liberalis *Transformat.*

Conger. xl. p. 266.

⁶ Pausan. II. xxx. pp. 180, 181.

Britomartis, and Aphæa, are three names for one and the same goddess. Βριτὺ⁷ is a Cretan word, which signifies the same thing as γλυκὺ, 'sweet or soft,' and μαρτὶς, 'a virgin.' "Cretes⁸," says Solinus, "Dianam religiosissimè venerantur, Britomarten gentiliter nominantes, quod sermone nostro sonat virginem dulcem." See Hesychius, under the word Βριτόμαρτις. But Solinus is mistaken in asserting that the Cretans in their language called Diana 'Britomartis,' or at least they did not invariably do so. We find the Latians, a people of that island, making the distinction between the two goddesses. In the treaty with the Olontians, another people of the same island, they say, "We swear⁹ by Vesta, Jupiter born in Crete, Juno, Jupiter¹ Tallæus, Neptune, Amphitrite, Latona, Diana, Mars, Venus, Ceres, Britomartis," &c. [These contracting parties inhabited the neighbouring towns of Lato and Olon.]

101. Ἀμφικράτεος βασιλεύοντος ἐν Σάμῳ. *Amphicrates reigned at Samos.* I know not who this Amphicrates was, or at what time he reigned in Samos. Herodotus, I believe, is the only author who mentions him.

LX. 102. Ὀρυγμα . . . ἀμφίστομον. *A tunnel open at both ends.* This tunnel was eight feet high, and as many wide. The canal of the aqueduct was three feet wide; there was therefore a space of two feet and a half on each side of the canal, which served as a passage to enable them to repair the aqueduct in case of need.

[This tunnel was 4250 feet in length, and was cut through a hill 900 feet high. Modern travellers are silent respecting vestiges of this remarkable work. But the great fountain, called Gigartho or Leucothea², which was filled from the tunnel, appears to be still in existence³.]

103. Εὐπαλῖνος Ναυστρόφου. *Eupalinus, son of Naustrophus.* I find no mention of this architect in any other author, with the exception of Eustathius in his commentary on verse 533 of Dionysius Periegetes, and he seems to have copied Herodotus.

104. Ῥοῖκος Φίλεω. *Rhæcus, son of Philæus.* After these words, Herodotus finishes the paragraph as he commenced it: "It is on account of these works that I have expatiated on the Samians."

Rhæcus, son of Philæus, was not only a skilful architect, but, in conjunction with Theodorus of Samos⁴, he invented the art of making moulds of clay, long before the Bacchiadæ were driven from Corinth; they were also the first who cast statues of molten brass⁵. Pausanias repeats the same thing in another place; and he adds⁶, that on the

⁷ Hesych. voc. Βριτὺ.

⁸ Solini Polyhistor. xi. p. 21.

⁹ Chishull, Antiq. Asiat. p. 136.

¹ Hesychius says, Ταλλαιὸς ὁ Ζεὺς ἐν Κρήτῃ. Ταλλαιὸς, a surname of Jupiter in Crete. This surname was derived from the Tallæau mountains, in which

he was adored.

² Panofka, Samiorum Res, p. 4.

³ Tournefort, Voy. du Lev. I. p. 179.

⁴ Plin. Hist. Nat. XXXV. xii. vol. II. p. 710.

⁵ Pausan. VIII. xiv. p. 629.

⁶ Id. X. xxxviii. p. 396.

balustrade which surmounts the altar of Diana, called Protothonia, at Ephesus, is seen a statue by this same Rhœcus. It is of a woman, in bronze, said by the Ephesians to represent night. He had two sons⁷, Telecles and Theodorus, both skilful statuary.

LXI. 105. *Πρὸς ταῦτα βουλευσας τάδε.* *In addition to those circumstances, devising the following expedients.* *Πρὸς ταῦτα* refers to the death of Smerdis; *τάδε* to what follows; that is to say, to the assumption by Smerdis the Magus of the character of Smerdis the Prince. Ctesias calls⁸ Smerdis 'Tanyoxarces,' gives to the Magus the name of 'Sphendadates,' and relates the whole story in the most absurd manner. Justin⁹ approaches more nearly to Herodotus; but he calls the Magus 'Oropastes.'

106. *Προερέοντα τῷ στρατῷ.* *To proclaim to the army.* "The Magi were a peculiar sect, powerful in numbers, skilled in insinuating themselves into the favour of the prince, and in rendering themselves necessary at court. They aimed at the monarchy, and they attained it. It does not appear that there was any other sect either in Media or in Persia. If a single sect or society could thus open for themselves a passage to the throne, what might not have been apprehended, had there been in Persia and Media a vast number of other sects or societies disguised under different religious pretences, ready to support and further the designs of the most powerful? Would it have been possible to dethrone these usurpers, or would any one have dared to attempt it?"

"The word Magus was synonymous with deceiver, juggler, &c. Both Hesychius and Varinus Phavorinus explain *Μάγον, τὸν ἀπατεῶνα, φαρμακεύτην*. Impostors of this kind are often more dangerous than declared enemies. The word Magus was also synonymous with Religious, Pious, Theologian, Priest, Philosopher, Philotheist, according to the same lexicographers. But it is plain from history that these masters of the deceptive art sustained the first definition of the word better than the second." BELLANGER.

This note is not very much to the purpose, and I have transcribed it only for the purpose of showing M. Bellanger's opinions. I shall henceforth suppress all of the same character.

107. [*Εὗρισκε γὰρ Καμβύσεα καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἑόντα τῆς Συρίας ἐν Ἀγβατάνοισι.* *He found Cambyses and the army at Agbatana in Syria.* According to Pliny¹⁰, the Syrian Ecbatana (for thus he writes the name) was situate on Mount Carmel. Hyde¹¹ supposes Agbatana to be a corruption of Al Batana (Bethany). Josephus¹² states that the death of Cambyses took place at Damascus.]

⁷ Diod. Sic. I. xcvi. vol. I. p. 110.

⁸ Ctesiae Persic. x.

⁹ Justin. Hist. I. ix. p. 44.

¹⁰ Hist. Nat. V. xix.

¹¹ Relig. Vet. Pers. pp. 416. 541.

¹² Antiq. Jud. XI. ii. § ii.

LXIV. 108. Τοῦ κουλεοῦ τοῦ ξίφεος ὁ μύκης ἀποπίπτει. *The sheath of his sword fell off.* Nicander¹ uses the same expression, μύκης ὅθι κάππεσεν ἄρπης. But whilst we are so little informed, as we now are, as to the make of the Greek and the Persian swords, we can come to no certain conclusion on the subject. It should seem from the scholiast of Nicander², that the μύκης kept the sheath closed. But we have no idea of what this was. Those critics who have interpreted it by the iron ferule which covers the point of the sword at the extremity of the sheath, amongst whom was M. Toup³, appear to me to be in the wrong; at least, all the ancient grammarians are against them. I have therefore preferred a general expression to the risk of making Herodotus say otherwise than he has said.

109. Ὡς οἱ καιρίῃ ἔδοξε τετύφθαι. *As it appeared to him that he was mortally wounded.* We must understand πληγῇ. This is a very usual ellipsis. Sophocles thus expresses himself in his Antigone⁴:

Τί μ' οὐκ ἀνταίαν
Ἐπαισέ τις ἀμφιθήκτῳ ξίφει;

'Why do they not deal me a mortal wound with a two-edged sword?'

Ἐπρώθη καιρίαν⁵. 'He had received a mortal wound.' See also M. Valckenaer on verse 1440 of the Phœnissæ of Euripides, and Lamberti Bos Ellipses Græcæ, p. 176.

110. Ἀγβάτανα. *Agbatana.* Ctesias⁶ makes this prince to have died in Babylon; but that is not the only instance in which he contradicts Herodotus. I have written Agbatana instead of Ecbatana, because I so find it in the Royal MSS., and because it was so written in the time of Herodotus. Æschylus in his tragedy entitled Persæ, verse 16, says, οἷτε τὸ Σούσων ἢ δ' Ἀγβατάνων, 'those of Suza and Agbatana.' See also verse 957.

LXV. 111. Τῶν λοιπῶν. *But at length.* Τῶν λοιπῶν is the same as τοῦ λοιποῦ, and signifies 'tandem,' 'quod ad reliquum attinet,' 'cæterum'. [It seems more just to consider τῶν λοιπῶν as depending on ἀναγκαιότατον: 'in the next place, that which is most necessary to be enjoined of what remains.']

LXVI. 112. Τὰ τε ἐσθῆτος ἐχόμενα εἶχον, ταῦτα κατηρέκοντο. *They tore the garments which they had on.* This verb taken actively would signify that the Persians tore the garments of others; which is ridiculous. Being in the middle voice, it means that they tore their

¹ Nicandri Alexipharm. p. 135.

² Scholiast. ad Alexipharm. vers. 103.

³ Emendat. in Hesych. vol. III. p. 500. vol. IV. p. 62.

⁴ Sophocl. Antig. 1308.

⁵ Ælian. Var. Hist. XII. iii. p. 725.

⁶ Ctesiae Excerpta, xii.

⁷ Marklandi Animadv. ad Max. Tyr. Dissert. xvii. p. 682.

own garments. I notice this only because this signification of the middle verb has been doubted by persons of learning. I refer them to the excellent treatise of Kuster de Verbis Mediis, to the notes of M. Ernesti⁸ on the Memorabilia of Socrates, and to those of M. Hemsterhuis⁹ on the Ephesiacs of Xenophon of Ephesus. Τὰ τῆς ἐσθῆτος ἐχόμενα is for τὰς ἐσθῆτας.

113. Ἑπτὰ ἔτεα καὶ μῆνας πέντε. *Seven years and five months.* St. Clement of Alexandria allows to this reign ten years¹, and Ctesias eighteen. See the extract from his History of Persia, published by Photius, (xii.) with my note. [It is remarkable that the Persian historians are silent respecting Cambyses and Smerdis; whence Malcolm concludes² that the reigns of these two princes are included in that of Lohrasp, to which native writers assign 120 years.]

114. Ἐξαρνος ἦν μὴ μὲν ἀποκτεῖναι. *He strongly denied that he had killed, &c.* Not only did the poets use μὲν for μὴν, but all the prose writers who adopted the Ionic dialect. Herodotus frequently makes use of it, especially in the formula of an oath; when affirmative, he employs ἦ μὲν, when negative μὴ μὲν. This is confirmed by the Archbishop of Corinth³, τὸν συμπλεκτικὸν μὲν σύνδεσμον ἀντὶ τοῦ παραπληρωματικοῦ μὴν προσλαμβάνουσιν. ὡς παρ' Ἡροδότῳ μὴ μὲν ἔχειν Ἑλένην.

LXX. 115. Εἰσάγεται Ἰνταφέρνεα. *Engaged Intaphernes of his party.* The Greek implies, 'he introduced Intaphernes.' But where did he introduce him? I read ἐπάγεται, 'he drew him over to or associated him with his party.' Zonaras⁴ appears to have found this word in his MS. Ἐδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἑτέρους προσεταιρίσασθαι, καὶ Ὀτάνης μὲν ἐπάγεται Ἰνταφέρνην. See M. Valckenaer's note, from which mine is borrowed.

LXXI. 116. Συνελθόντες δὲ οὗτοι ἐόντες ἑπτὰ. *These seven nobles being assembled.* Mithridates, king of Pontus, who gave the Romans so much trouble⁵, was descended from one of these seven conspirators.

LXXII. 117. Ἐνθα γάρ τι δεῖ ψεῦδος λέγεσθαι. *When it is necessary to lie.* This is rather a lax morality: but it should be observed that this is not applied to those lies which are injurious to another.

LXXIV. 118. Ὑπὸ τὸ βασιλῆϊον τεῖχος. *Under the walls of the palace.* This was the citadel: kings formerly for their security fixed their residence there. Herodotus has already said, (lxviii.) that the

⁸ Xenoph. Memor. IV. iv. § v. note E, p. 202.

⁹ Misc. Observ. vol. V. chap. iii. p. 64.

¹ Clem. Alex. Strom. I. p. 395. lin. 14.

² Hist. of Persia, I. p. 46.

³ Gregorius de Dialectis, p. 223.

⁴ Zonar. Annal. IV. p. 128, B.

⁵ Polyb. Hist. V. xliii. p. 540. Diod.

Sic. XIX. xl. vol. II. p. 348.

Magi never came out of the citadel; and again (lxxix), that the conspirators left in the citadel such of them as had been wounded in the attack of the Magi.

LXXV. 119. Ἀπῆκε ἑωυτὸν ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν φέρεσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου κάτω. *He precipitated himself from the tower, head-foremost.* How can we reconcile this decided and bold action with the base and pusillanimous answer (xxxv.) of the same man to the Persian despot? Here what energy! there what cowardice! Could a man possessed of courage enough to kill himself under such circumstances, and from so noble a motive, coldly stand by to see his son inhumanly butchered, and basely applaud the skill of the murderer? Education, a habit of submission, and the power of despotism, may sometimes press down the elasticity of the mind; but so far from being destroyed by these causes, it will often re-act with irresistible energy. Hence the contrarieties we may remark in the same man, the mixture of baseness and of grandeur, which would otherwise be unaccountable.

LXXX. 120. Ἐμοὶ δοκέει, ἓνα μὲν ἡμέων μούναρχον μηκέτι γενέσθαι. *In my opinion, we ought no longer to be subject to one sole ruler.* By monarch, Herodotus understands a despot, and by monarchy a despotic government, one which is essentially and radically unjust: and a few lines further on, he calls the monarch 'tyrant.' The opinion of Otanes may appear astonishing to those who are acquainted with the Persian form of government.

[We need not believe that Herodotus had any authority for the deliberations which he ascribes to the Persian insurgents. His reasonings on the merits of the different forms of government breathe a spirit wholly Greek.]

121. Διαβολὰς δὲ ἄριστον ἐνδέκεσθαι. *He most willingly lends his ear to calumny.* The text implies, 'he is excellent for admitting calumny.' This appears to me too far-fetched to be an expression of Herodotus. M. Wyttenbach⁶ corrects this passage by ἀρεστὸς (i. e. ἀρεσκόμενος,) ἐνδέκεσθαι, 'qui lubens admittit calumnias.'

122. Πληθος δὲ ἄρχον οὖνομα πάντων κάλλιστον ἔχει, ἰσονομίην. *The commonalty ruling owns the fairest of titles, equal rights.* Euripides expresses the same opinion in his Medea: "The character of tyrants is harsh; meeting with no contradiction, always performing their own will, they are with difficulty appeased. It is better to have been accustomed to live in a state of equality . . . for in the first place this name is more excellent than any other, and experience teaches us that it is the most advantageous state for mortals⁷."

Δεινὰ τυράννων λήματα, καὶ πῶς
Ὀλίγ' ἀρχόμενοι, πολλὰ κρατοῦντες,

⁶ Selecta Princ. Histor. p. 356.

⁷ Euripidis Medea, 119—125.

Χαλεπῶς ὀργὰς μεταβάλλουσι.
 Τὸ γὰρ εἰθίσθαι ζῆν ἐπ' ἴσοισι,
 Κρεῖσσον

 Τῶν γὰρ μετρίων, πρῶτα μὲν, εἰπεῖν
 Τοῦνομα νικᾷ, χρῆσθαι τε μακρῶ
 Λῶστα βροτοῖσι.

I am not aware whether any author promulgated these maxims in Athens before Euripides; but at all events they were in the mouths, and, what is more, in the hearts of all those people who gave the preference to the democratic form of government. I am therefore convinced that Herodotus did not borrow them from Euripides; and what confirms me in this opinion beyond a doubt is, that our historian was born four years before the tragic poet; and when the latter represented his *Medea* under the archontate of Pythodorus, Herodotus was 53 years old.

LXXXI. 123. Ὀμίλου γὰρ ἀχρητοῦ οὐδέν ἐστι ἀξυνετώτερον, οὐδὲ ὑβριστότερον. *There is nothing more stupid or more insolent than a worthless rabble.* The epithet ἀχρήιος, 'inutilis,' should, I think, be taken in the sense of pernicious, as the word 'inutilis' is in the following verse of Horace:

An hoc inhonestum et inutile factu
 Necne sit, addubites, flagret rumore malo cum
 Hic, atque ille?—Sat. I. iv. 124.

A comic poet, whose name is unknown, has drawn a similar portrait of the people. "The people⁸," says he, "resembles the sea: if for a time it is calm, soon do its waves, agitated by the winds, roll this way and that, accumulating and roaring: the people is an evil, in which there is no stability; on the slightest impulse it devours the citizen."

Δῆμος ἄστακτον κακόν,
 Καὶ θαλάσση πάνθ' ὅμοιον, ὑπ' ἀνέμου ῥιπίζεται,
 Κεῖ γαληνός ἐστ' ἡχῶ πᾶν πνεῦμα βραχὺ κορύσσεται.
 Κῆν τις αἰτία γένηται, τὸν πολίτην κατέπιεν.

The third verse is corrupt. The reading was, καὶ γαληνός ἐντ' ἡχῶ: but M. Reiske has corrected it.

M. Goguet remarks⁹, that "the best writers of antiquity have uniformly declared in favour of royalty. Herodotus, Plato, Aristotle, Xenophon, Isocrates, Cicero, Seneca, Tacitus, Plutarch, &c., have considered monarchic government as the most advantageous and most

⁸ Dio Chrysost. Orat. XXXII. p. 368, B.

⁹ De l'Origine des Loix, &c. tom. I. p. 12, note.

perfect that men have ever invented; and what is remarkable is, that the greater part of these writers lived under republics."

124. Οὐδ' οἰκήϊον. *Nor what is decent.* It seems probable that οἰκήϊον, being synonymous with προσῆκον, sometimes takes the metaphorical signification of the latter, that is to say, that of πρέπον, 'decent.' I give a passage of Isocrates, in which that orator employs οἰκεῖον in nearly the same sense, joining it, as Herodotus does, with καλόν. Ἀλλὰ¹ πειρασόμενόν σε προτρέπειν ἐπὶ πράξεις οἰκειότερας τε καὶ καλλίους, 'better and more becoming actions.' It appears even that the word ἴδιος, which is also synonymous with οἰκεῖος, sometimes takes this signification, especially when it is joined with καλός. The same orator, in his Panathenaicus, says², οὐδένα γὰρ εὐρήσομεν τῶν ἀπάντων, οὗτ' ἰδιωτέρας πράξεις μεταχειρισάμενον, οὔτε καλλίους κ. τ. λ. Ἰδιωτέρας is here for μάλλον προσηκούσας, πρεπωδεστέρας.

125. Χειμάρρῳ ποταμῷ ἵκελος. *Like a torrent.* "Illæ³ undæ comitiorum, ut mare profundum et immensum, sic effervescunt quodam quasi æstu, ut ad alios accedant, ab aliis autem recedant."

126. Οἱ Πέρσῃσι κακὸν νοέουσι. *Those who feel hostile to the Persians, &c.* The opinions of Megabyzus and of Darius against democratic governments seem conclusive; at the same time it is to be feared that they may not make the same impression, after comparing the state of degradation in which the Athenians languished under their princes, with the glory they attained after they had acquired their liberty.

But I may venture to assert that this comparison is not fair. 1. We ought to compare Athens under her kings, with Athens under her popular government, and not with Athens under the Pisistratidæ. If Pisistratus himself governed the country mildly, it was perhaps rather the effect of policy than of his natural character; and there was no excess to which his sons Hipparchus and Hippias, who succeeded him, did not abandon themselves. They put to death the most illustrious citizens, and amongst others Cymon, father of Miltiades, and forbade the people of the country to appear in the city in any other habit than that of a slave.

2. If the Athenians did not, under their kings, signalize themselves by any of those memorable actions that have since immortalized them, it may be remarked that they wanted opportunity only to display their excellence in war; that it requires the process of time to bring to maturity the powers of intellect; and that with time they would have become under their kings what they were under a democratic government. Moreover, it is neither conquest nor genius which constitutes the true happiness of a people. Conquest frequently is fatal to the well-being of the conquerors, and the gifts of the mind often

¹ Isocr. Or. ad Philipp. vol. I. p. 236.

³ Cicero pro Plancio, vi.

² Idem, Panathen. vol. II. p. 217.

pave the way to its corruption. Under the government of their kings the people were happy; under the democracy they never were. Animated only by their passions and caprices, they destroyed one day what they had done the day before; directed by their demagogues, they fancied they governed, whilst in fact they were slaves; in short, they knew neither how to command nor how to obey. They frequently changed the form of government, and never could fix it; like invalids who change their posture every moment, fancying ease only in that in which they are not.

If, indeed, these various changes had been effected quietly, no great injury might have accrued to the people; but they never occurred without a violent commotion, which shook the state to its very foundation. The ruling faction, governing with a rod of iron, sacrificed to its suspicions, or forced into exile, such of the citizens as were most distinguished for their riches, their talents, or their virtues; for all these are offensive to tyranny.

3. Had the Athenians been corrupted before the expulsion of their kings, the democratic government never could have acquired any stability. The germs of those vices inherent in this sort of government, finding a soil most apt for their nourishment, would have rapidly developed themselves. Murders, proscriptions, and evils of all kinds would have given the finishing blow to the existence of the nation; and had they not become the slaves of the neighbouring nations, they would have been happy to fly for protection to the clemency of the princes they had outraged, rather from want of reflection than from determined principle.

LXXXII. 127. Ἀπέβη ἐς μοναρχίην. *It declines into monarchy.* 'Abire solet.' This is one of the peculiarities of the aorist.

LXXXIII. 128. Γινῶμαι μὲν δὴ τρεῖς αὗται προέκεατο. *Such were the three opinions proposed.* To what Herodotus has said on these different systems of government, may with propriety be added the judicious reflections of Polybius.

"Would not the most perfect of all governments be that in which the integral parts should operate as a check upon each other; in which the authority of the people should repress the excessive power of the kings⁴, and in which an elective senate, in no wise dependent on the prince, should form a curb to the licentiousness of the people? Such was the form of government established at Sparta by Lycurgus, instructed by the errors of neighbouring states: such was the form adopted by the Romans, admonished by their own."

129. Ἰσονομίην. *Isonomy.* Isonomy is the equality of the laws, equal distribution of justice, without respect to persons or rank. In Stobæus

⁴ Polybii excerpta è lib. VI. viii. ix.

we find Ἰσοτιμίην, and some may perhaps prefer this reading. But this, says M. Wesseling, is in opposition to Herodotus. To the reasons adduced by that learned critic we may add, that the original reading is authorized by the famous Song of Harmodius, in which we read :

Ἐν μύρτου κλαδὶ τὸ ξίφος φορήσω,
Ὡσπερ Ἀρμόδιος κ' Ἀριστογείτων,
Ὅτε τὸν Τύραννον κτανέτην,
Ἰσονόμους τ' Ἀθήνας ἐποίησάτην.

'I will carry my sword enveloped with myrtle-leaves, as did Harmodius and Aristogiton, when they killed the tyrant, and established the equality of the laws in Athens.'

130. Στασιῶται. *Insurgents*. The Latin translator has rendered the above 'Socii.' This at the first glance may be considered an error; but when we reflect, that Otanes would scarcely choose to designate either himself or his companions by the epithet 'rebels,' it is clear that we must seek for some other interpretation of the word. Hesychius interprets στασιῶται, οἱ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς τάξεως, or rather στάσεως, as I think we must read, people of the same party. And this very well suits the present passage.

LXXXIV. 131. Ἡλίου ἐπανατέλλοντος. *At sun-rise*. The Persians⁵ used to adore the rising sun. But it was not meant to interpret the neighing of the horse as a prognostic; it was merely an agreement made amongst the conspirators to be governed by it. The passages cited by the Abbé Brotier⁶ to prove that the Persians drew omens from the neighing of horses, are far from amounting to a demonstration. In the first instance, it was a conventional decision; in the next, the sacred horses only are in question, and then not with reference to an omen.

LXXXV. 132. Τοιαῦτα ἔχω φάρμακα. *I have an infallible drug*. Φάρμακον is an equivocal term, sometimes taken in a good, sometimes in a bad sense. See the remark of the MS. Lexicon of Philemon⁷, the essence of which has been given by Villosin in his notes on the Lexicon of Apollonius.

LXXXVI. 133. Κατὰ συνεθήκαντο. *According to their compact*. Κατὰ is put Ionically for καθὰ, as I have remarked elsewhere.

134. Ὡς βασιλῆα. *For their king*. When Cyrus died, Darius was about twenty years old⁸. Cambyses reigned seven years and five months⁹; the magus Smerdis occupied the throne but seven months¹:

⁵ Procop. de Bello Pers. I. iii.

⁶ Ad Tacit. de pop. Germaniæ, x. vol. IV. p. 19.

⁷ Not. ad Apollonii Lexic. p. 820. col.

2. lin. 2.

⁸ Herod. I. ccix.

⁹ Id. III. lxvi.

¹ Id. ibid. lxvii.

consequently Darius was about twenty-nine years old when he came to the crown.

LXXXVII. 135. Ἐν τῇσι ἀναξυρίσι. *Under his girdle.* The Greek has, 'in his anaxyrides.' The anaxyrides were a species of loose trowsers which came down to the heels.

LXXXVIII. 136. Οὐδαμᾶ κατήκουσαν ἐπὶ δουλοσύνῃ. *They have never been slaves.* The Arabs have never been subjugated, and still maintain their independence. "This nation² has at all times been extremely jealous of its liberty; it never admitted any foreign prince. Neither the kings of Persia, nor after them those of Macedon, have ever been able to subjugate them. A foreign force can never occupy their country, because it is partially a desert, and without water, which is found only here and there, in hidden wells, known to the inhabitants alone."

God, in speaking of Ishmael, the father of the Arabs, says³, "And he will be a wild man; his hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him."

[The central provinces of the Arabian peninsula and Yemen are now held in subjection by the Turks of Egypt.]

137. Τοῦ Ὀτάνεω θυγατέρα. *Daughter of Otanes.* Darius had no children by this woman, but he had twelve princes by his legitimate wives, which were six in number. By the daughter of Gobryas he had three children, Artobazanes⁴, Ariabignes⁵, and Arsamenes⁶; by Atossa, daughter of Cyrus, Xerxes, who succeeded him, Masistes, Achæmenes, and Hystaspes⁷; by Artystone, Arsamus and Gobryas⁸; by Parmys, Ariomardus⁹; by Phrataguna, Abrocomas and Hyperanthes¹.

138. Σύν τε τοῦ ἵππου τῇ ἀρετῇ, καὶ τοῦ ἵπποκόμου Οἰβάρεος. *By the merit of his horse and of his groom Œbares.* I have thought it necessary to use two words to express the original ἀρετῇ, 'virtute,' which refers both to the horse and the groom. Father Viger² has remarked, that amongst other acceptations of this word, it is taken for the good quality peculiar to any one thing, and of this he cites an example from Thucydides.

LXXXIX. 139. Τὸ δὲ Βαβυλώνιον τάλαντον δύναται Εὐβοϊδᾶς ἐβδομήκοντα μνέας. *The Babylonian talent is of the value of seventy Euboic minæ.* The Euboic talent, says M. de la Barre³, is precisely

² Diod. Sic. II. i. pp. 113, 114.

³ Genes. xvi. 12.

⁴ Herod. VII. ii.

⁵ Id. ibid. xevii.

⁶ Id. ibid. lxxviii.

⁷ Id. ibid. lxiv. lxxxii. xevii.

⁸ Id. ibid. lxix. lxxii.

⁹ Id. ibid. lxxviii.

¹ Id. ibid. ccxxiv.

² De Præc. Gr. dict. Idiotismis, III. iii. § v. p. 79.

³ Mém. de l'Acad. d. B. L. tom. XII. p. 226.

the same with that sometimes called the Attic talent. When Antiochus sued to the Romans for peace, and the submissions of the plenipotentiaries of that prince had been received by the council of war, Scipio Africanus, who spoke on the occasion, declared that they should pay for the expenses of the war 15,000 Euboic talents; 500 in the first instance, 2500 as soon as the treaty should have been ratified by the senate and people, and the rest by twelve yearly instalments: "pro impensis deinde in bellum factis, quindecim millia talentûm Euboicorum dabit; quingenta præsentiâ," &c.

Polybius attributes to the illustrious Roman the same language: *πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Εὐβοϊκὰ τάλαντα ἐπιδόῦναι μύρια καὶ πεντακισχίλια Ῥωμαίοις ἀντὶ τῆς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον δαπάνης, &c.* The treaty was ratified some time afterwards; and, as Antiochus had already paid 3000 talents, it remained only for the Romans to secure the 12,000 still due, which they did in the following manner: "Argenti probi XII. millia Attica talenta dato intrâ duodecim annos pensionibus æquis⁴." It is certain that the talents here mentioned are the same for which Scipio had stipulated; and we find that in the first passage they are called Euboic, and in the second Attic talents. This difference of denomination, it is clear, made none in the value.

Father Panel, to relieve himself from a perplexity which he felt on comparing these two passages of Livy, has recourse to Polybius; and as that historian, in quoting the treaty, does not mention Attic talents, but talents of good Attic money, *Ἀργυρίου δὲ δότῳ Ἀντίοχος Ἀττικοῦ Ῥωμαίοις ἀρίστου τάλαντα μύρια δισχίλια ἐν ἔτεσιν ἑβ'*, &c., he thinks that Livy has erroneously translated Polybius.

The celebrated Antonius Augustinus, quoted by Fulvius Ursinus in his notes on Livy, had suggested the same thing before Father Panel. But M. de la Barre takes upon himself to declare that this manner of getting rid of a difficulty is unworthy of an able critic. How can it have escaped him, he asks, that Livy professes to give an exact copy of the treaty, in the very words in which it was penned; whereas Polybius only refers to it as an historian, in a manner which shows certainly that he was well acquainted with it, but did not pretend to give its exact expressions? The treaty was no doubt written in Latin, in that language read to the senate, proposed to the people, and published, after it had been ratified by the necessary parties.

If we examine the sequel of the treaty, we shall be still more convinced that the talents which Antiochus promised to pay, and which in the first instance were termed Euboic talents, were in point of fact no other than Attic talents. M. de la Barre, in his Dissertation on the Roman pound⁶, has proved that this pound contained 96 denarii;

⁴ Tit. Liv. XXXVII. xlv.

⁵ Idem, XXXVIII. xxxviii.

⁶ Mém. de l'Acad. des Inser. tom. VIII. p. 372, &c.

that the denarius weighed 75 grains, and the Attic drachma 84: so that the Attic talent, consisting of 6000 of these drachmæ, weighed 70 Roman pounds. We know that the Roman republic, in receiving foreign money in payment, always required a clear profit of $\frac{1}{8}$ th: so that the Attic talent would be valued by them at 80 pounds of any foreign money. And this was precisely what they required of Antiochus; "talentum ne minùs pondo LXXX. Romanis ponderibus pendat;" and the consequence is evident.

Antiochus, it should seem, wished to take advantage of the uncertainty attached to the word 'talent,' after the introduction of the coin called 'tetradrachma' in Europe, and 'cistophorus' in Asia; that is to say, he wished his cistophorus to be taken as worth four drachmæ. This would have saved him, upon the sum total, three or four thousand talents: but the Romans, who were not a people to be easily duped, having first made him pay 3000 real talents, in order to prevent all mistakes or disputes, specified in the treaty at what the talent should be valued.

What then can have misled Father Panel, and those whose opinions he has followed? It is perhaps that Herodotus⁷ observes that the Babylonian talent was valued at 70 Euboic minæ, and again, that Ælian⁸ asserts that this same Babylonian talent was worth 72 Attic minæ: from which it has been concluded that the Attic talent was to that of Eubœa as 35 to 36.

And this inference would be strictly just, were the text of those two authors correct; but this is not the case, according to M. de la Barre, who will have it that that of Herodotus is wrong. This historian has given us (III. xc.) an exact statement of the sums paid as tributes by the different provinces of Persia since the time of Darius, in conformity with the orders of that prince; and it is there that he observes that the Babylonian talent was worth 70 Euboic minæ. By this reckoning the Euboic talent would be to that of Babylon as six to seven; but he himself tells us that it was in the proportion of five to six⁹. But how can this be? Because the whole empire was divided into 19 departments, each of which contributed in proportion to its extent and its riches different sums in Babylonian talents, amounting in the whole to 7740 talents; to which must be added 240 Euboic talents for the produce of the fishery of the lake Mœris. The first department paid 400 talents, the second 500, the third 360, the fourth 500, the fifth 350, the sixth¹ 700, the seventh 170, the eighth 300, the ninth 1000, the tenth 450, the eleventh 200, the twelfth 360, the thirteenth 400, the fourteenth 600, the fifteenth 250, the sixteenth 300, the seventeenth 400, the eighteenth 200, and the nineteenth 300. M. de la Barre

⁷ Herod. III. lxxxix.

⁸ Var. Hist. I. xxii.

⁹ Herodotus does not name it all; but we may infer, that it was in the propor-

tion of about 5 to 6 $\frac{1}{8}$.

¹ M. de la Barre forgets 700 talents in wheat. See xci. infra.

maintains, that to this is to be added the produce of the fishery of lake Mœris, because Herodotus himself² in speaking of Egypt says, that it pays 1000 talents, besides the sum derived from the fishery of lake Mœris, *πάρεξ τοῦ ἐκ τῆς Μοίριος λίμνης γινομένου ἀργυρίου*. He adds, that this produce amounted to 240 Euboic talents; this historian having informed us in his History of Egypt, (II. cxlix.) in which no mention is made of Babylonian talents, that during six months of the year this fishery produced one talent a day, and during the other six months 20 minæ, which were paid to the king. The same author, wishing to convey to the Greeks a just idea of the riches of the king of Persia, having reported the particular sums of Babylonian talents which he received from the provinces, reduces it to a sum total of Euboic talents, and this sum is 9540 talents: *τὸ μὲν δὴ ἀργύριον τὸ Βαβυλώνιον πρὸς τὸ Εὐβοικὸν συμβαλλεόμενον τάλαντον, εἶναι τεσσαράκοντα καὶ πεντακόσια καὶ εἰνακισχίλια τάλαντα* (III. xcν.): whence we draw a sure conclusion, founded on numbers; for with the ratio of seven to six, 7740 talents of Babylon would amount³ but to 9030 Euboic talents; whereas, in the ratio of six to five⁴, they amount to 9288; and if to this we add the 240 of lake Mœris, we shall have the sum of 9528 talents, which is within twelve of the sum at which Herodotus values the tribute received in money by the kings of Persia. The twelve that are wanting stand in the place of the ten Babylonian talents omitted by the historian in the detail of the departments, some of which paid one or two more talents than he has specified, as he himself allows at the close of the enumeration, *τὸ δ' ἔτι τούτων ἔλασσον ἀπείεις, οὐ λέγω*. Now, if the Euboic talent and that of Babylon were to each other as five to six, it is evident that instead of *τὸ δὲ Βαβυλώνιον τάλαντον δύναται Εὐβοϊδας ἐβδομήκοντα μνέας*, which we have hitherto read in the text of Herodotus, we should read, as in Ælian, *Εὐβοϊδας δύο καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα μνέας*, 'the talent of Babylon is equal to 72 Euboic minæ.' BELLANGER.

The passage from Livy does not appear to me altogether decisive on this point. Scipio had agreed with Antiochus that the payment should be in Euboic talents. The Romans, who probably did not know the value of that talent, added, that the talent should not weigh less than 80 Roman pounds. It is not absolutely certain that in the time of Livy this treaty between Antiochus and the Romans was in existence, and therefore that he has quoted exactly the terms of it. Perhaps he has not taken the precise meaning of Polybius, for we know that in many places he has varied from it; or perhaps his text

² Herodotus, II. xci. Had he intended to include this sum, he would doubtless have said so. He has omitted to value the 700 talents in corn which the Egyptians furnished, and the 360 horses given

by the Cilicians.

³ That would make but 6634.

⁴ M. de la Barre is again in error; it would make but 6450.

may have been vitiated. But however this may be, all that M. de la Barre has advanced to prove that the text of Herodotus is corrupt, and that we should read 72 minæ instead of 70, fails of convincing me. Most of the MSS. of this historian have 70, in words at length. Julius Pollux⁵ says positively that the Babylonian talent was 70 minæ. Neither does the passage of Ælian, quoted⁶ to prove that it was 72 minæ, decide the point, being itself doubtful.

But to make this matter short, the contributions of the 19 departments amounted to 7740 talents, which, reduced into Euboic talents, amounts to 9880. The imposts of the twentieth department were paid in gold, and, being 360 talents, equalled the imposts of all the other nineteen departments together. The 360 talents of gold therefore ought to be equal to 9880 Euboic talents of silver; but the proportion of gold to silver being as thirteen to one, these 360 talents multiplied by thirteen give but 4680 talents of silver. Now how the 4680 talents, produced by the imposts of the twentieth department, can equal the 9880, produced by the nineteen other departments, requires a more skilful man than I to explain.

But, notwithstanding all these difficulties, it appears to me that the Euboic talent, as Appian⁷ remarks, was worth 7000 drachmæ of Alexandria, that is to say, 70 minæ. The Babylonian talent was therefore of the same value, and either of them about 261*l.* 10*s.* sterling. The talent of Alexandria was 80 minæ, that is to say, 300*l.* sterling. "Talentum⁸ autem Ægyptium pondo LXXX. patere Varro tradit."

The Abbé Barthélemy⁹ values 14,560 Euboic talents at 3,916,666*l.* sterling, which is the amount of the imposition that Darius received from all his dominions. The Euboic talent would in that case amount to no more than 257*l.* 10*s.* sterling. The deep learning of that writer, and his thorough acquaintance with the subject, should incline the balance in his favour; but as he has not communicated the reasons for his decision, we must still suspend our judgment.

[Boeckh decides¹, on evidence not to be controverted, that the Euboic talent was not the same as the ordinary Attic talent, but that it agreed with the ancient and heavier Attic talent, which ceased from the time of Solon to be used in computations of currency, though otherwise referred to in trade.

The same accurate and sagacious writer considers the assertion of Ælian, that the Babylonian talent equalled 72 Euboic minæ, to be correct; Herodotus and Pollux said 70 minæ merely from the preference of round numbers.

But though the Babylonian talent be thus raised with respect to the

⁵ Poll. Onom. IX. vi. § lxxxvi. p. 1068.

⁸ Plin. Hist. Nat. XXXIII. iii. § xv.

⁶ Ælian. Var. Hist. I. xxii. vol. i. pp. 39, 40.

vol. II. p. 614.

⁷ Appian. de Rebus Siculis, ii. vol. I. p. 94.

⁹ Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis, tom. I. p. 100, edit. 4to. p. 157, 8vo.

¹ Metrolog. Untersuchungen, p. 108.

Euboic in the proportion of 6 to 5, yet this does not explain how the 7740 talents contributed could be equal to 9540 Euboic talents, these numbers being nearly in the proportion of 4 to 5. Larcher, who instead of 9540 would read 9880, increases one difficulty in the endeavour to avoid another.

Herodotus does not appear to have been a good arithmetician, and this passage is full of errors; but he nowhere utters the absurdity attributed to him by Larcher, nor does he say that the 360 talents of gold were equal to 9540 talents of silver.]

140. Ἦν κατεστηκὸς οὐδὲν φόρου πέρι. *There was no regulation with respect to tribute.* This seems in contradiction with what has been said before, (lxvii.) that the Magus exempted the Persians from all tribute for the space of three years. It is to be remarked, that these imposts were not perpetual; that they were levied only in time of war, and then it was rather in the shape of a voluntary contribution than of an impost. Those that Darius imposed were perpetual. Herodotus therefore does not contradict himself.

141. Δαρεῖος μὲν ἦν κάπηλος. *That Darius was a merchant.* It is to this passage that the Emperor Julian alludes: ἦ γὰρ² οὐκ ἠκηκόατε Δαρεῖον τὸν Περσῶν μονάρχην πολυτελεῖς ἐπιτάττειν φόρους; ὅθεν αὐτῷ τὸ κλεινὸν ὄνομα γέγονε, κατὰ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐκφανές. 'Are you then ignorant that Darius, monarch of the Persians, loaded the people with imposts? Whence he has that *illustrious* name, spread throughout the world.'

Mr. Davies, in his notes upon Maximus Tyrius, wishes to alter κλεινὸν to καπήλου. He did not perceive that τὸ κλεινὸν ὄνομα was an irony, and that the Greeks often made use of χρηστὸς, γενναῖος, &c. ironically.

It is necessary that subjects should contribute to the expenses of government; they have therefore no reason to complain except when imposts become exorbitant, or are diverted by the prince from their legitimate object. To levy them according to a fixed rule was praiseworthy in Darius³, and what was still more so, was his consulting the first persons in the state to know if they were not too heavy: and although these all bore testimony to their great moderation, he nevertheless generously reduced them one-half.

XC. 142. Μαγνήτων. *The Magnetes of Asia.* For the purpose of distinguishing them from those of Europe who were in Thessaly.

143. Ὑγεννέων. *The Hygennians.* The Greek has Ὑγεννέων, the name of an imaginary people, &c. M. Wesseling substitutes the Obigenians, the inhabitants of Obigena, a province of Lycaonia. He relies on the following passage of Pliny: "attingit⁴ Galatia et Pamphylia

² Julian. Orat. ii. p. 85, c, d.

³ Plutarch. Apophthegm. p. 172.

⁴ Plin. V. xxxii. vol. I. p. 290.

Cabaliæ : et Milyas Item Lycaoniæ partem Obigenen." But he does not suggest this with any degree of confidence.

[For geographical remarks on the nations enumerated in this and the following paragraphs of Herodotus, see the Notes on the account given of the army of Xerxes in the seventh book.]

144. Πεντακόσια τάλαντα. *Five hundred talents.* Equal to 112,500*l.* sterling. It may excite surprise that this satrapy, the smallest of the twenty, should furnish so large a contribution : but we must remark, that it comprised Lydia, a very rich country ; and that the Pactolus, which flowed through it, rolled golden sand.

XCI. 145. Ἀρξάμενον. *Beginning.* The Greek word is an impersonal participle, as is Δέον, 'cum deceat,' Εξόν, 'cum sit permissum,' Παρόν, 'cum adsit facultas,' Ενδεχόμενον, 'cum fieri possit,' &c. From want of attention to this, Erasmus would have us read, in St. Luke, (xxiv. 47.) ἀρξαμένων, where some read ἀρξάμενος, and others ἀρξαμένην, making it relate to ἄφεςιν.

146. Ἀμφίλοχος. *Amphilochus.* This Amphilochus, son of Amphiaræus and Eriphyle, was a celebrated prophet⁵. He was king of Argos⁶ ; but not being able to maintain his sovereignty there, he left it, and went to found the city of Argos Amphilochium⁷ in the gulf of Ambra-cia. He also built Mallos in Cilicia⁸. The Pamphylians⁹ who served in the Persian fleet were descended from the Greeks, who, with Amphilochus and Calchas, had been dispersed by the tempest after the taking of Troy. It can be no other than the same Amphilochus¹, as Strabo speaks of the voyage of Amphilochus, son of Amphiaræus, with Calchas.

At Orope he shared² divine honours with his father Amphiaræus. His oracle at Mallos in Cilicia was celebrated³. Its answers were delivered in the form of dreams⁴. This oracle subsisted down to the time of Plutarch⁵.

147. Ἐν τῷ Λευκῷ τείχεϊ. *In the White Castle.* Memphis was composed⁶ of three parts, the third of which was the castle : which, its walls being built of white stone, obtained the name of 'the white wall.' It was in this third division that Inarus⁷ besieged the Medes and Persians, who had taken refuge there with the Egyptians, who had had no share in the revolt.

148. Ἀπαρύται. *The Aparytæ.* In my Geographical Table I have said that I did not know where to place them ; and I must again confess

⁵ Pausan. II. xviii. p. 150 ; xx. p. 156 ; V. xvii. p. 420.

⁶ Cicero de Divinat. I. xl.

⁷ Thuc. II. lxviii. Some authors will have it, that Amphilochus, the founder of Argos Amphilochium, was not the son of Amphiaræus, but of Alcmaeon his brother.

⁸ Strabo, XIV. p. 993, a.

⁹ Herod. VII. xci.

¹ Strabo, XIV. p. 951, b, c.

² Herod. I. xlvi. note 6.

³ Lucian. Alex. xxix. vol. II. p. 237.

⁴ Dio Cassius, LXXII. vii. p. 1208.

⁵ Plut. de Orac. defectu, p. 434, d.

⁶ Thucyd. I. civ. p. 67, et ibid. Schol.

⁷ Id. ibid.

my ignorance. Major Rennell⁸ has placed them in Margiana, because, according⁹ to Isidorus of Charax, there is an Apabartic city between Nisæa and Antioch of Margiana. But I cannot myself discover any relation, however remote, between the words Aparytæ and Apabartic; and even if there were any perceptible analogy, we must not always decide on the identity of two nations from a resemblance or even a conformity of names. All that we learn of them from Herodotus¹ is, that they were not very far distant from the Gandaritæ and the Dadicæ.

XCIII. 149. Τετρακόσια τάλαντα. *Four hundred talents.* Independently of this sum, "the Armenians² gave every year to the king, during the festival of Mithra, 20,000 young horses." These horses came from the Nisæan plain. It should seem from this, that Strabo considered that plain to be in Armenia, whereas in fact it was in Media. But perhaps in his time it was considered a dependence of Armenia.

XCIV. 150. Αἰθίοπες οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας. *The Asiatic Ethiopians.* These are not the Indians whom Herodotus names further on, but the Colchians.

This people was originally from Egypt, as we have already seen. (II. civ.) Their woolly hair, and their dark colour, had procured for them the name of Ethiopians. St. Jerome affirms³ that St. Matthew preached the gospel in the second Ethiopia, where the Apsarus and the port of Hyssus are situated: "in alterâ Ethiopiâ, ubi est irruptio Apsari et Hyssi portus." But the Apsarus⁴ and the port of Hyssus are near the Phasis, and belong to Colchis. Sophronius, an ecclesiastical writer, in speaking of St. Andrew, says⁵: "He preached at the greater Sebastopolis, in the vicinity of which the Apsarus as well as the Phasis throws itself into the sea. This country is inhabited by Ethiopians."

XCV. 151. Τεσσεράκοντα καὶ πεντακόσια. *Five hundred and forty talents.* The former reading was 540 talents; but the addition of that sum and of the sum of 4680 would make but 14,220, whereas Herodotus says that these two sums added to the rest made 14,560. The MS. of Sancroft has ὀγδῶκοντα καὶ ὀκτακόσια, though this has been struck out. But in the margin we find the numeral letters ΘΩΠ, which signify 9880, and which I have not hesitated to admit into the text. We also read in that MS., as well as in the MS. A of the Royal Library, γίνεται, instead of εἶναι, which appears to me preferable.

⁸ The Geographical System of Herodotus explained, pp. 295, 296.

⁹ Isidor. Characenus inter Geographiæ veteris Scriptores minores, vol. II. p. 7.

¹ Herod. III. xci.

² Strabo, XI. p. 802, B.

³ In Catalogo de Apost. Matthiâ.

⁴ Scylax, Peripl. p. 32. Arrian. Peripl.

Ponti Euxini, p. 6.

⁵ This author thus styles it, to distinguish it from the city of Dioscurias, otherwise called Sebastopolis, which was then almost deserted, and which was situated near the opposite extremity of Colchis.

[This reading of the Sancroft MS. has not been adopted by Gaisford, being manifestly a corruption derived from a gloss; nor would the change proposed cause all difficulty to disappear from our author's text.]

152. Τὸ δὲ χρυσίον τρισκαιδεκαστάσιον λογιζόμενον. *The gold being reckoned thirteen-fold, i. e. multiplied by thirteen.* The proportion of gold to silver has varied at different times according to the abundance or scarcity of the respective metals. It was as thirteen to one in the time of Darius, twelve to one in the time of Plato⁶, and ten to one in the time of Menander, the comic poet⁷.

XCVII. 153. Σήματι μὲν χρέωνται τῷ αὐτῷ. *They observe the same customs with regard to the dead.* I have followed the correction of M. Valckenaer, who reads σήματι, 'sepulture.' That of M. Wesseling bears, in fact, the same meaning. Σπέρματι, which was the former reading, appears unworthy of Herodotus. It were scarcely worth remarking, that people so distant as the Ethiopians and the Calatiæ ate the same kind of grain.

154. Ἀπύρον χρυσοῦ. *Of fine gold.* Of the pure ore such as it is found in the mine, before it has undergone any change by fire, and which is naturally fine. Pliny says the same: "hoc (Heliochryso⁸) coronare se Magi, si et unguenta sumantur ex auro, quod Apyron vocant, ad gratiam quoque vitæ gloriamque pertinere arbitrantur;" but, as is his custom, he only translates Theophrastus: εὐδοξεῖ δὲ καὶ ἄν τις τοῦ Ἐλειοχρύσου⁹ τῷ ἄνθει στεφανοῦνται, μύρω ῥαίνων ἐκ χρυσοῦ ἀπύρον. Χρυσίον ἀπύρον is a box of fine gold, in which perfumes were kept. As this gold was measured by the chœnix, it was probably gold dust.

155. Διηκοσίας φάλαγγας ἐβένου. *Two hundred blocks of ebony.* "In¹ tributi vicem Regibus Persidis è materie ejus (ebeni) centenas phalangas tertio quoque anno pensitasse Æthiopus."

Pliny has trusted rather too implicitly to his memory as to the number of the blocks of ebony. But they were not properly trunks or blocks, but thick branches, long and round. Φαλάγγια, says Hesychius, στρογγύλα ξύλα καὶ σύμμετρα, round pieces of wood of a certain thickness. The scholiast of Apollonius Rhodius² defines the phalanx to be a long round piece of wood. These pieces of wood, adds he, served to drag vessels on land; they were placed under them, and the vessels slid upon them. The Latins also called them 'Phalangæ.' Nonius³ gives the following definition after Varro: "Phalangas dicuntur fustes teretes, qui navibus subjiciuntur, cùm attrahuntur ad pelagus, vel cum ad littora subducuntur."

⁶ Plat. Hipparch. vol. II. p. 231, D.

⁷ Jul. Pol. Onomast. IX. vi. § lxxvi. vol. II. p. 1050.

⁸ Plin. Hist. Nat. XXI. xi. vol. II. p. 244.

⁹ Theophrast. Hist. Plant. ix. p. 118.

¹ Plin. Hist. Nat. XII. iv. vol. I. p. 656.

² Schol. Apoll. Rhod. ad lib. II. 845.

³ Nonius, II. 725.

156. Ἐλέφαντος ὀδόντας μεγάλους εἴκοσι. *Twenty large elephants' teeth.* "Quos⁴ Juba cornua appellat, Herodotus tanto antiquior, et consuetudo melius, dentes."

These teeth are of a prodigious size. Lopez⁵ amused himself with weighing several of these, each of which weighed about two hundred weight. Kolben⁶ says, they weigh from 60 to 120 pounds.

XCVIII. 157. Τοὺς αἰρέουσι. *Which they catch.* M. Wesseling's correction ὀρμενόμενοι appears to me proper. Ὀρμεντής, in Hesychius, is a fisherman. M. De Pauw reads ὀρμιώμενοι, which comes to the same thing. It comes from ὀρμιὰ, a line. But this verb, though founded on analogy, is not in common use. Perhaps we should do better to leave the usual reading ὀρμεώμενοι, which indicates the ardour with which this people pursued their fishery; but we must read ὀρμεόμενοι, according to the Ionian dialect, and the MS. A of the Royal Library.

158. Ἐκ πλοίων καλαμίνων ὀρμεώμενοι. *Fishing for them from canoes of cane.* Pliny adds⁷, a skiff capable of containing three men. In another place he says⁸, that the canes of India are as large as trees, as may be seen from those which are sometimes placed in temples as a curiosity; that the space between the knots is sufficient to make a boat, "navigiorum vicem præstant singula internodia," and that these large canes grow principally on the borders of the river Acesines, &c. Ctesias⁹, in his History of India, relates, that those canes are so large, that two men can scarcely encircle them with their arms. "In the Indies," says Diodorus Siculus¹, "the parts adjacent to rivers and marshy places produce canes of a prodigious size; it is as much as a man can do to clasp them. They make canoes of them."

159. Ἐσθῆτα φλοῖνην. *Clothing made of bast.* In the Greek, 'of phleos.' This phleos is a plant found in marshy places, and resembling the bulrush.

XCIX. 160. Καλέονται δὲ Παδαῖοι. *They are called Padæi.*

Impia² nec sævis celebrans convivia mensis

Ultima vicinus Phœbo tenet arva Padæus.

This people is the same with the Pædalians, mentioned by Nicolaus of Damascus, and who³ demanded of the gods only justice.

Major Rennell⁴ observes, that in the Sanscrit the Ganges is called Padda, and the word Ganges is only an appellative term. Hence he conjectures, with much appearance of probability, that the Padæi of Herodotus are the same with the Gangaridæ of later writers. It might

⁴ Plin. VIII. iii. vol. I. p. 436.

⁵ Histoire générale des Voyages, tom. V. p. 78.

⁶ Ibid. p. 190.

Plin. Hist. Nat. VII. ii. vol. I. p. 372.

⁸ Id. XVI. xxxvi. vol. II. p. 27.

⁹ Photii Biblioth. Cod. lxxiii. p. 144.

¹ Diod. Sic. II. xvii. p. 131.

² Tibull. IV. Carm. i. 144.

³ Excerpta ex Nicol. Damasc. p. 514.

⁴ The Geographical System of Herodotus explained, p. 310.

be inferred from this, that the Persians had extended their conquests in India to the mouth of the Ganges.

161. Οἱ μάλιστα οἱ ὀμιλέοντες κτείνουσι. *Those most intimate with him, kill him.* This has been said before (xxxviii.) of the Calatiæ, a people of India, who had the same custom. This is so barbarous a practice, and so revolting to nature, that one is almost tempted to rank it among the fables imposed on Herodotus, and which his credulity has transmitted to us. Nevertheless, very respectable travellers assure us that this custom still subsists among the Hottentots. "The custom⁵ of sacrificing their children and their old people appears the climax of barbarity As to their aged, they maintain that it is an act of humanity ; and that at that time of life, it is better to be delivered from the miseries of existence by the hands of friends and relations, than to die of hunger in a hut, or become the prey of wild beasts."

[The Hottentots were never open to the charge of cannibalism. In exposing their infants, and putting the aged and infirm to death, they chose a hard alternative, but one, nevertheless, to which the general misery of their lives lent a show of reason.]

C. 162. Κτείνουσι οὐδὲν ἔμψυχον. *They kill no animal.* Nicolaus of Damascus⁶ has preserved to us the name of this people: they were called Aritionians. "The Aritionians," says he, "never killed any animal, and they keep vases of earth enclosed in cases of gold."

CI. 163. Μίξις ἐμφανής ἐστι. *Sexual intercourse among them is unconcealed.* This infamous custom was common to many nations. [Such were the manners of the Society Isles, when they were first visited by Cook.]

164. Ἡ γονὴ δὲ αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐστὶ λευκὴ ἀλλὰ μέλαινα. *Their seed is not white but black.* Our historian's mistake in this instance was well known to Aristotle⁷: "In animals which have hair the seed is viscous ; in others it has not this viscousness, but in all the colour is white : Herodotus is mistaken in supposing that that of the Ethiopians is black."

CII. 165. Μύρμηκες μεγάθρα ἔχοντες κυνῶν μὲν ἐλάσσοινα, ἀλωπέκεων δὲ μέζονα. *Ants less in size than dogs, but bigger than foxes.* These animals had probably some resemblance to the ant, and have hence obtained this name.

"Indicæ⁸ formicæ cornua, Erythris in Æde Herculis fixa, miraculo fuere. Aurum ex cavernis egerunt terræ, in regione septentrionalium Indorum, qui Dardæ vocantur. Ipsius color felium, magnitudo Ægypti luporum. Erutum hoc ab iis tempore hyberno, Indi furantur æstivo

⁵ Histoire des Voyages, tom. V. p. 147.

⁶ Excerpta ex Nicol. Damasc. p. 510. Stob. Serm. xxxvii. p. 115.

⁷ Aristot. Hist. An. III. xxii. p. 812, E.

⁸ Plin. Hist. Nat. XI. xxxi. vol. I. p. 610.

fervore, conditis propter vaporem in cuniculos formicis: quæ tamen odore sollicitatæ provolant, crebroque lacerant, quamvis prævelocibus camelis fugientes: tanta pernicitas feritasque est cum amore auri."

"Nearchus⁹ never saw any of them alive; but he relates in his journal that he had seen a great number of the skins of this animal in the Macedonian camp. Megasthenes declares that what has been said of these ants is true; that they dig up gold, not for any love they have of that metal, but to form a nest for themselves, as our little ants burrow under the ground. He adds, that these ants are larger than foxes, and that the holes which they dig for themselves are of a proportionate size. The earth that they throw up is mixed with gold; and hence the abundance of that metal which is observed in India. But as Megasthenes reports only what he has heard, and as I," continues Arrian, "have no better information, I think it best to say no more on the subject."

Themistius makes allusion to this account¹ when he says, "The ant of the Indies will make a great figure in your story."

The small degree of commerce which the Greeks had with India, prevented them from obtaining any correct information as to this animal; and their taste for the marvellous induced them to add to the description given by Herodotus. Demetrius Triclinius² says, on the Antigone of Sophocles,—no doubt borrowing from some ancient scholiast,—'There are in India certain winged animals, which they call ants, who dig up gold,' Herodotus and Pliny do not give them wings.

Most readers will be inclined to look on these ants as a fabulous animal. Yet M. de Thou, an author worthy of credit, relates that Schah Thamas, sophi of Persia, sent to Soliman, in 1559, such an ant. "Nuntius³ etiam a Thamo oratoris titulo quidam ad Solimanum venit cum muneribus: inter quæ erat formica Indica canis mediocris magnitudine, animal mordax et sævum." [Busbequius, with whom this story originated, has been much misunderstood. Speaking of the Persian mission to Soliman, he says (Epist. iv.), that it brought the presents usual on such occasions. Among these usual gifts he enumerates strange animals, adding, 'qualem memini dictum fuisse allatam formicam Indicam,' &c. Here we have a mere hearsay without reference to a precise time.]

CIII. 166. Ἡ κάμηλος. *The camel.* See what Bochart says of this animal⁴. When Herodotus says that the camel has two thighs and two knees to each of its hinder legs, he is wrong; Aristotle⁵ corrects this error, without naming the author: he even furnishes an excuse for it, when he says that its belly is considerably raised at that part. M. Camus, however, appears to have read Herodotus rather cursorily, as he makes him say⁶, that the camel has two knees on each fore leg.

⁹ Arriani Hist. Ind. xv. § iv.

¹ Themist. Orat. xxvii. p. 337, c. d.

² Demetr. Tricl. ad Soph. Antig. 1037, p. 178, col. 1, ex edit. Brunck.

³ Thuanus, XXIII. p. 461.

⁴ Hierozoicon, pars I. ii. § i. p. 73.

⁵ Aristot. Hist. An. II. i. p. 779, d.

⁶ Aristot. de Camus, vol. II. p. 185.

CIV. 167. Θερμότατος δέ ἐστι ὁ ἥλιος τὸ ἑωθινόν. *The sun is most powerful in the morning.* Some traveller had told Herodotus, that when it was nine o'clock in the morning in Greece, the sun was vertical in India; but had this historian possessed any acquaintance with the respective longitudes, he would have suspected that it might be noon in India, when it was nine o'clock in Greece. The wonder then would have disappeared. But what shall we say to Ctesias, who⁷ pretends that in the greater part of India it is cold at sun-rise, and during one half of the day, but that during the other half it is very hot.

CV. 168. Θυλάκια. *Leathern bags.* ⁸ Θυλάκιον δέ ἐστι δερμάτινον σακκίον. 'The θυλάκιον is a small leathern bag.'

169. Τοὺς μὲν νυν ἔρσενας τῶν καμήλων καὶ παραλύεσθαι. *The male camels are now loosed off.* This passage, which is truly difficult, has exercised the ingenuity of MM. Wesseling and Valckenaer. In my translation, I had adopted the opinion of the former; but in this second edition, I cannot help giving the preference to the explanation given by the learned translator of the Characters of Theophrastus, M. Coray, in a MS. note which he has been kind enough to communicate to me. His opinion is as follows: "Τοὺς μὲν νυν ἔρσενας τῶν καμήλων, εἶναι γὰρ ἡσσονας θεῖν τῶν θηλέων, καὶ παραλύεσθαι ἐπελκομένους, οὐκ ὁμοῦ ἀμφοτέρους. We are now to decide what is the meaning of the word παραλύεσθαι. If we give it the signification of ἀσθενεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ κόπου, the sense would then be, 'The male camels, not running so fast as the females, would soon be exhausted by fatigue, if they were not drawn on by the side of the female.' We often find it in this sense in the Septuagint, as in Genesis xix. 11, and in Deuteronomy xxxii. 36. Hesychius explains παρελύθησαν by ἡσθένησαν: but I prefer looking for the meaning of the word in Herodotus himself. It should seem that this author uses it only in the sense of χωρίζεσθαι, ἀποσπᾶσθαι, ἀπολείπεσθαι, 'to separate,' 'to remove from,' 'to go to a distance from,' 'to remain behind.' Thus he says (I. cxlix.), that Smyrna was separated from the Æolian cities by the Ionians: σφέων παρελύθη ὑπὸ Ἰώνων. III. cxxxvi. τὰ πηδάλια παρέλυσεν τῶν Μηδικῶν νεῶν, 'he took away the rudders from the Median vessels;' that is to say, 'he separated them from the vessels:' and V. lxxv. παραλυομένου δὲ τουτέων τοῦ ἑτέρου, καταλείπεσθαι καὶ τῶν Τυνδαριδέων τὸν ἕτερον. It is in a sense very nearly bordering upon this, that we find it in Thucydides, II. lxn. Περικλῆς ἐπειρᾶτο τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τῆς τε ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὀργῆς παραλύειν, 'Pericles endeavoured to divert the Athenians from the anger which they felt against him.' According to this idea, therefore, the meaning of the passage in Herodotus will be, 'The male camels would separate from the females (remain behind), if they were not dragged on together and beside them.' "

⁷ Ctesiae Indica, § ix.

457. See above, note 78.

⁸ Etymol. Magn. voc. Θύλακιον, col.

[There is certainly nothing conditional in the expression used by Herodotus. His meaning must be, either that the male camels were turned loose; or else that the cords by which they were fastened to the females were slacked off in the course of the flight. This will be intelligible enough if considered merely as the embellishment of a fable.]

CVI. 170. Τὰ δὲ δένδρεα τὰ ἄγρια αὐτόθι φέρει καρπὸν εἴρια. *But the wild trees there bear for fruit, wool.* It is cotton. The ancients called it 'byssus,' and sometimes considered it as a kind of linen, sometimes as a kind of wool which grew on a tree in India⁹. "The Indians," says Arrian¹, "clothe themselves, according to Nearchus, with linen stuffs, I mean of that linen which is gathered from trees." Theophrastus² calls these shrubs ἐριοφόρα δένδρα, trees which bear wool. Ctesias says, on the authority³ of Varro, that in India there are trees which bear wool. Pomponius Mela confirms this⁴. "India," says he, "is so rich and fertile, that honey drops from the leaves of the trees, and wool grows in the woods." He then adds that the Indians are clothed in linen, or rather in the wool he had mentioned. This author confounds linen with cotton, the former of which was unknown to the Indians.

CVII. 171. Λιβανωτὸς καὶ σμύρνη. *Incense, myrrh, &c.* ⁵ The tree which bears incense (i. e. frankincense) grows only in Arabia; it is found particularly in that part called Regio Thurifera, in a province which is in the middle of Arabia, near the Atramitæ, close to the city of Saba, capital of the country of the Sabæi. This province is naturally inaccessible, being entirely surrounded with rocks. Here are found whole forests of incense, twenty schoeni long and ten wide. They are near the Minæi, who inhabit another country, through which the incense is brought, and hence this incense was anciently called 'thus Minæum.' For the Minæi were the first who gathered and carried away this incense, by paths almost impracticable⁶.

Dioscorides⁷ says, that some is brought likewise from India; that the male incense of Arabia is white and oily within when broken, whereas that of India is red and dull. They make⁸ an incision in the bark of the tree, from which flows a liquor; this they suffer to fall on small hurdles of palm, which are placed beneath, upon the ground, carefully levelled around the tree, and there they let it congeal: the incense which falls upon the hurdles is more pure and shining, and that which falls on the ground is heavier, duller, and of less virtue. As to the shape and appearance⁹ of the tree which produces the incense, I find no description of it in the Latin writers, though the Romans carried on

⁹ Poll. Onomast. VII. lxxv.

¹ Arrian. Indic. XVI. p. 582.

² Theophrast. IV. p. 53.

³ Serv. in Virg. Æneid. I. 649.

⁴ Pompon. Mela, III. vii. 289.

⁵ Plin. H. N. XII. xiv. vol. I. p. 663.

⁶ See also Theophrastus, IX. p. 105.

⁷ Dioscor. Opera, I. lxxxix. p. 45, B.

⁸ Plin. H. N. XII. xiv. vol. I. p. 663.

⁹ Plin. ibid. lin. 22.

several wars in Arabia. Even the Greeks, who have spoken more fully on it, do not agree amongst themselves. Theophrastus¹ says, that this tree was reckoned to be five cubits high, that it had many branches, that its leaves were like those of a pear-tree, but smaller, that they were the colour of the herb called rue, and that the bark was smooth like that of the laurel. He adds, however², that above Sardis, near a certain temple, one of these trees was seen, which had leaves like a laurel.

The incense is gathered twice a year. The first incision is made in summer, about the beginning of the dog-days, and the incense which falls from it is not gathered till autumn³: this incense is the whitest and most pure. The second incision is made in winter, and the incense gathered in spring: this incense is red, and is much less valuable than that gathered in summer. Besides that which falls on the hurdles or on the ground, a considerable quantity of the incense remains attached to the tree⁴. This is torn off with instruments, and is consequently full of fragments of the bark.

Pliny asserts, that at the time of the siege of Troy, this incense was not used in the worship of the gods. "Iliacis⁵ temporibus nec thure supplicabatur." That may be true as respects Greece and many other countries, but it is certainly not so with regard to Egypt. In Leviticus it is said positively⁶, "And thou shalt put oil upon it, and lay frankincense thereon; it is a meat-offering. And the priest shall burn the memorial of it, part of the beaten corn thereof, and part of the oil thereof, with all the frankincense thereof; it is an offering made by fire unto the Lord."

The incense⁷ formerly brought from Arabia Felix was not all of the growth of that country. Arrian⁸ says that it came from Malao, 800 stadia from the gulf Avalites. On the south-east coast of Arabia, in the environs of Kescheen, Dofaar, Meerbaat, Haseek, and especially in the province of Schahr, is now cultivated only that kind of incense called by the Arabians 'liban, or 'oliban⁹, and this kind is very bad.

CVIII. 172. Οὕτω δὴ τι πολύγονόν ἐστι. *It is indeed so prolific a creature.* What Herodotus says of the hare is strictly true. The prodigious fecundity of this animal has induced some authors to believe it to be hermaphroditical, and that all the species had indiscriminately the power of gestation. This opinion was for a long time current; but is now entertained only by such as are totally ignorant of natural history.

173. Ἐπικυΐσκεται μούνον. *It is the only one which conceives, while already pregnant.* "The hare," says Aristotle¹, "copulates and

¹ Theophrast. Hist. Plant. IX. p. 105, in aversâ parte. Plin. vol. I. p. 663.

² Id. ibid. p. 106, in aversâ parte.

³ Plin. H. N. XII. xiv. vol. I. p. 664.

⁴ Id. ibid.

⁵ Id. XIII. i. p. 679.

⁶ Levitic. ii. 15, 16.

⁷ Description de l'Arabie, par M. Niebuhr, p. 126.

⁸ Peripl. Maris Erythr. p. 6.

⁹ The Greeks called incense λίβανος, and with the article ὁ λίβανος.

¹ Aristot. Hist. An. VI. xxxiii. p. 885.

brings forth at all times of the year. The females are subject to superfetation, and bring forth every month." That is to say, that she conceives, though previously pregnant. This however is not peculiar to the hare, for the rabbit does the same thing. We must remark, however, that the rabbit was known to the Greeks only at a very late period, and that the *δασύπους* of Aristotle is no other than the hare, as M. Camus has very ingeniously proved in his translation of Aristotle's History of Animals, vol. ii. p. 277 and following.

174. *Συνεκβάλλει τῷ τέκνῳ τὰς μήτρας.* *It ejects its womb with its offspring.* All that Herodotus says of the lion is absolutely false. The lioness usually brings forth two young ones² at a time, never more than six, and sometimes only one. The lionesses of Syria bring forth as often as five times. Aristotle likewise treats as fabulous the account of the womb of the lioness coming away with the young. But this has not prevented Antigonus Carystius³ from seriously repeating the same fable, together with that of the vipers, which Herodotus relates in the succeeding paragraph.

M. Camus⁴, in his notes on Aristotle's History of Animals, has given a very interesting article on the lion; which I recommend to the perusal of all lovers of natural history. He observes that⁵ Buffon thought the period of gestation of the lioness was six months: a work which has lately fallen into my hands remarks, that this is taken from Philostratus. Now it is certain that Philostratus does not say a word about it. But on whatever authority M. De Buffon, a man whom the city of Dijon will be for ever proud of having produced, has founded this opinion, it is now ascertained that her period of gestation is no more than 100 days. The lioness in the Botanical Garden (Jardin des Plantes) of the king of France, was covered on the 23d of July, 1800. She brought forth her first young one on the night of the 9th or 10th of November, about ten o'clock, the second at a quarter before eleven, and the third at two in the morning. They are born with their eyes open.

CIX. 175. *Εἰ ἐγίνοντο ὥς ἡ φύσις αὐτοῖσι ὑπάρχει.* *If they were to continue as nature allows them.* I read with M. Reiske, *εἰ διεγίνοντο ὥς, &c.* 'If they lived the whole length of time that nature assigns them.'

176. *Ἡ θήλεα ἀπτεται τῆς δειρῆς, καὶ ἐμφῦσα, οὐκ ἀνίει πρὶν ἂν διαφάγη.* *The female (viper) seizes (the male) by the neck, and clinging to it does not relax her hold till she has eaten it through.* What Herodotus relates of the vipers is fabulous. It was the vulgar opinion of his time, and of a considerable period afterwards. Nicander, who lived at least 300 years after our historian, repeats these fables, in his work

² Id. *ibid.* xxxi. p. 884, D.

³ Antig. Caryst. Hist. Mirab. xxv. tom. II. p. 480 et suiv.

p. 25.

⁴ Histoire des Animaux d'Aristote,

⁵ Id. *ibid.* p. 485.

entitled *Theriaca*⁶. Aristotle, who was much better skilled in natural history, mentions nothing of the sort in his *History of Animals*.

M. Camus, in his notes upon this work, observes, after Charax, “that the small vipers⁷ when born are enveloped in a membrane which opens at the end of three days. Perhaps these remains of the amnion have given rise to the fables which we find, not in Aristotle, but in Ælian and several other authors. They affirm that the young vipers come forth from their mother’s womb only by tearing open her belly: thus avenging their father, says Ælian, whose head the female viper devours immediately after copulation.”

This manner of explaining the fable is ingenious. I only regret that he should have said that the female viper eats the head of the male: according to Ælian, she cuts (i. e. bites) it off.

CX. 177. Τὴν δὲ κασίην, ὥδε. *The cassia (they collect) in this way.* Andromachus priscus⁸, in his *Theriaca*, written in elegiac verse, calls it κασίη. But Andromachus junior, in the same receipt in prose⁹, adds to this name that of syrx, ‘fistula.’ By a tradition which has been handed down from the time of this Andromachus to ours, says Galen, those who prepare this medicine for the emperor, always join the name of ‘syrinx’ to that of ‘cassia.’

The translator of the Song of Solomon calls it calamus. ‘Spike-nard¹ and saffron, calamus and cinnamon,’ &c. The cassia of Herodotus is the French ‘cannelle.’ Modern writers have been led into error by a resemblance of names².

The xylocassia appears to have been a branch of cinnamon with its outer bark; unless we say in preference, that the cassia was a tree of which our cinnamon is the bark, and the cinnamomum was a tree which is now unknown. There were several species of tree, however, which produced cinnamon; the most esteemed was called³ ‘Gizi,’ the second ‘Moto,’ the third ‘Arebo,’ and the fourth ‘Daphnitis;’ but doubtless these were all varieties of the ‘cinnamomum.’

[The name casia or cassia, was borrowed by the Greeks from the Phœnicians; kasiyah in the Hebrew language⁴ (of which the Phœnician was a dialect) signifying bark or rind, or the parts broken off. It was sometimes written in the plural⁵ by the Hebrews, and also by Latin authors⁶, who in this respect imitated no doubt the language of Eastern merchants⁷. The rind or bark of the cassia and cinnamon trees rolls up, as it dries, into a tubular form; and to this circumstance

⁶ Nicandri *Theriaca*, p. 8, ver. 23.

⁷ Hist. des Anim. trad. par M. Camus, tom. II. p. 834.

⁸ Galen. de Antidotis, I. p. 429, col. 2, ver. 17.

⁹ Id. ibid. p. 434, lin. 46.

¹ Canticles iv. 14.

² Salmasius, Exerc. Plin. p. 743.

³ Galen. de Antid. I. p. 434, lin. 40.

⁴ Exod. xxx. 24; Ezek. xxvii. 19.

⁵ Ps. xlv. 8.

⁶ Plin. Hist. Nat. XII. xix. ‘cinnamomum et casias.’

⁷ See Celsii Hierobotanicon, tom. II. p. 360.

probably it owes its frequent association with the descriptive terms *syrinx*, *fistula*, and *calamus*. Hence also its modern Italian name *canella*, and the French *canelle*.

Galen, in describing the different kinds of cassia, does not say that they were respectively the produce of different trees. The name of the first kind that he mentions, *γίζι*, may probably be but a corrupt or vulgar Arabic form of *kasiyah*, the original of *casia*. *Daphnitis* is a Greek name, equally applicable to all the cinnamon and *casia*-bearing trees. Of the other two names, *μοσῶ* and *ἀρήβω*, it is not so easy to give a satisfactory account; the former seems to be African, the latter of Semitic origin.]

CXI. 178. *Τὸ κιννάμωμον. The cinnamomum, &c.* This is the name⁸ given by the Greeks and the Latins of the lower empire to our cinnamon, which is the cassia of Herodotus, and the cassia *syrinx* or cassia *fistula* of the generality of authors. But the ancients by the word 'cinnamomum' understood the tree itself which yields the cinnamon. "Cinnamomo⁹," says Salmasius, "veterum nullo modo congruit, quod non erat cortex merus, sed surculus plenus ac solidus cum suo cortice." The 'cassia' or cinnamon was the bark, the 'cinnamomum' a branch with its bark.

We see from this the absurdity of the distinction introduced by the barbarians between 'cinnamum' and 'cinnamomum.' According to them, the cinnamum was the thicker and less aromatic bark, that of the trunk; the cinnamomum, the more delicate and odoriferous, that of the branches. Several different kinds of cinnamomum are known, distinguished by the names of the places where they grow, or where the traffic in them is carried on. Yet I doubt very much whether there ever grew any at Mosylon, a promontory and port of Ethiopia, in the Avalitic gulf; but as a considerable traffic in it was carried on in that port¹, it thence obtained the name 'cinnamomum Mosyliticum.' The best² is black, bordering on grey, smooth and polished, putting forth slender branches, surrounded and divided by knots. Besides an exquisite odour which is peculiar to it, a flavour may be remarked in it, approaching to that of rue or cardamum. The cinnamomum of the mountains is short, thick, and reddish. The third species is very fragrant; it is black, branchy, and without knots. The fourth is spongy, white, hollow, and gibbous; it easily breaks, and has a large root. The fifth is reddish, and its bark has no veins. The least odoriferous of all are those which smell of incense, amomum, &c. There is also a bastard cinnamon, in appearance greatly resembling the real, but without its odour or properties; it is called 'Zingiber.' Galen says³, that

⁸ Salmas. Exercit. de Homonymis in Hudson's Geogr. Min. tom. I. Hyles Iatricæ, xciv. p. 139.

⁹ Id. ibid.

¹ Arrian. Peripl. Mar. Erythr. p. 7.

² Dioscoridis Opera, I. xiii. pp. 12—

14.

³ De Antidotis, I. p. 433, lin. 47, &c.

all the different kinds of cinnamomum are little shrubs, which from a single root put forth some six, some seven branches, more or less. According to Theophrastus, Dioscorides, and Galen, the cinnamomum grew in Arabia. According to Strabo, it grew also in that part of India which stretches to the south. "This country⁴," says he, "being as hot as Arabia and Ethiopia, produces all the aromatics which grow in Arabia and Ethiopia, such as cinnamon, nard, &c." We cannot doubt that it is a tree, or shrub, since Galen affirms that a chest of it was brought to Rome four cubits and a half in length, in which was an entire plant of cinnamomum of the first species. Theophrastus⁵ says that it is of the size of the *Agnus Castus*.

This author does not appear to me to be very accurate, any more than Pliny, his perpetual copyist, in making the cassia and the cinnamomum two different shrubs. "*Frutex⁶ et cassia est, juxtaque cinnami campos nascitur.*" Cassia is the bark of the cinnamomum, which we call cinnamon, and the cinnamomum is the shrub on which it is found. This can scarcely be doubted, unless we suppose the cinnamomum to be wholly extirpated. But independently of the improbability of this, the Portuguese, who have visited the country where it grows, attest its existence, and affirm that the cinnamon is the bark of this tree. But there are other proofs. Pliny⁷ says, that he saw in the temple which Livia had built in honour of Augustus, on the Mons Palatinus, a root of cinnamon of considerable weight, from which yearly there issued drops which afterwards hardened. This agrees perfectly with what is said of the root of the plant which now produces the cinnamon. A liquor oozes from it, which becomes hard: but the making of incisions in the root is forbidden, because they destroy the plant. But if this be not deemed conclusive, another proof may be adduced from Galen, which is perhaps more so. Although this celebrated physician was convinced that the cassia and the cinnamomum were two different shrubs, he admits⁸ that the cinnamomum resembled the best cassia. And in another passage of the same book he says, that the cassia⁹ very much resembles the cinnamomum, that it changes into cinnamomum; so that a cinnamomum plant has been seen exactly resembling a cassia plant, and some of the larger branches of the cinnamomum exactly resembling the branches of the cassia. From all which it is clear enough that out of one plant they made two; but Galen maintained his prejudices.

Theophrastus¹ also makes two different shrubs of them; but as he gives but one description, we may conclude that he likewise has made the two out of one.

What was sold for cinnamon, was the smaller branches, or shoots of the plant with their bark. These could not be cut off without exposing the plant to perish. Hence the scarcity of cinnamon in Italy, where

⁴ Strabo, Geog. XV. p. 1018, A.

⁵ Theophrast. Hist. Plant. IX. p. 107.

⁶ Plin. H. N. XII. xix. p. 669, lin. 19.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Galen. de Antidotis, vol. II. p. 433.

⁹ Ibid. p. 434, lin. 18.

¹ Hist. Plant. IX. p. 107, lin. 6.

none was found but in the cabinets of the emperors. Pliny attributes² this scarcity of the cinnamomum to the invasion of the barbarians, who set fire to the forests, and to the south wind, which, he observes, is so hot in those countries that in summer it burns up the forests. This may be true in some degree; but a much more extensive cause of the scarcity, was the cutting away the branches of the tree, by which it was exposed to perish³.

[Larcher's information with respect to these aromatics was much less perfect than that of Galen, who plainly distinguishes between cinnamon, cassia, and cassia syrx or fistula; not casually, or in equivocal terms, but he repeatedly adverts to the difficulty of discriminating between cinnamon and cassia; and with respect to the difference between the latter, and what was called cassia syrx, he observes that the inferiority of this, which he represents as the outer bark, was obvious and well-known. From numerous passages in the writings of the Greek physician, we are justified in concluding, that there existed no broad distinction between cinnamon and cassia, as would be the case if the one were the wood and the other the bark of the same tree; but on the contrary, that they resembled each other so closely that none but adepts, relying on taste and smell, could distinguish between them⁴; and that both of these articles were brought to market in the form of wood (young boughs probably) as well as in that of bark of different qualities.

Galen speaks of xylocinnamomum, xylocassia; cinnamomum, cassia, pseudocinnamomum (which was also called cinnamis), and pseudocassia. He also names four species of cassia, and alludes to different species of the cinnamomum. Among those various kindred products, he prefers those of a ligneous character. Xylocinnamomum, he says, is easily distinguishable (from cinnamomum, no doubt, which was itself hardly distinguishable from cassia), by its woody fibre and large twigs. He observes in one place, that if, in mixing a theriac, cinnamomum cannot be procured, a substitute for it may be found in double the quantity of cassia; but again in his treatise on Substitutes, he makes xylocassia equivalent to cinnamomum⁵.

Botanists of the present day are acquainted with several trees (all referred to the genus Laurel) which yield cassia or cinnamon in greater or less perfection. The L. Cassia, a native of India, is supposed to be the cassia of the ancients. The L. Cinnamomum is peculiar to Ceylon, where it is called Kasse Koronde; it furnishes the cinnamon of modern commerce. The L. Multiflora of India closely resembles the true or Cingalese cinnamon. The L. Dulcis, also found in India, is suspected to be the species which yields the sweet and highly odoriferous cassia of the Chinese⁶. It must be observed that the tree named Cassia

² Plin. XII. xx. p. 669.

³ See Antigonus, Hist. Mirabil. xlix. and note, p. 84, Beckmann's edit.

⁴ Galeni Opera a Kühn, vol. XIV. p. 257, de Theriacâ.

⁵ Galen. De Simpl. Remed. vol. XII. pp. 56, 70; de Theriacâ, XIV. p. 257 et seq.; de Succedaneis, XIX. p. 732.

⁶ Roxburgh's Flora Indica, vol. II. p. 295.

Fistula by modern botanists is totally different from that which yielded the product anciently called by the same name⁷.

Larcher, though habitually enslaved by erudition, is at times capriciously disposed to revolt from the authority of even Greek writers. He doubts whether cinnamon ever grew at Mosylon; and it is evident that his doubt, though expressed only respecting that locality, extends to Africa altogether. Yet there is abundant proof that the coast on both sides of Cape Gardafui produced drugs and spices. Galen says that the best kind of cassia was called by the natives Mosyllon⁸. This being the native name, may be presumed to point out rather the place where the best cassia was produced than whence it was exported. Arrian informs us that a great quantity of cassia, with other aromatics, was exported from Mosyllon; and among the productions of Tabæ, a little south of Cape Gardafui, he enumerates cassia, gizir (γίζειρ, probably the γίζι of Galen), and moto⁹. This writer proceeds to give a mercantile account of the coasts of Arabia, the Indian peninsula, and Ceylon; and his statements, taken together, establish the fact, that in his time Europe was supplied with spices, drugs, and aromatics chiefly from the Eastern extremity of Africa.

It may be thought singular that Herodotus should attribute to Arabia the sole production of precious commodities, for which that country, notwithstanding the uninterrupted activity of its commerce, has never since been noted; and which were supplied to the Roman world, a few centuries after his time, not from Arabia (as we know from abundant evidence), but from the opposite shores of Africa. In truth, this passage of our author has never been fairly interpreted. Herodotus nowhere confines the name Arabia to the peninsula now so called. According to him the Red Sea was not a boundary of Arabia, but a gulf entering into that country. The tract lying between the valley of the Nile and the Red Sea is named by him Arabia; he speaks of the Arabians above the Nile; and immediately adjoining to the odoriferous Arabia, in the south-west, he places Ethiopia, the furthest part of the habitable world¹. We shall, therefore, make our author speak more consistently with himself, and more in harmony with subsequent writers, if we suppose that the cinnamon-bearing Arabia, the remotest inhabited country of the earth (a characteristic evidently derived from its contiguity to Ethiopia²), was no other than the Eastern tract of Africa, now possessed by the Somâly, who are probably a very ancient offset of the Arab race.

The increased intercourse between Europe and India, brought about by the discovery of the monsoons in the first century, together with the

⁷ It is described by Bruce, Travels, Hudson's Geogr. Min. vol. I. &c. vol. VII. p. 327.

⁸ De Theriacâ, vol. XIV. p. 257, ed. Kühn.

⁹ Peripl. Mar. Eryth. pp. 7, 8, in

¹ Herod. II. vii. xi; III. cvii. exiv.;

VII. lxix.

² Compare the first sentences of cvii.

and cxiv. III.

general superiority in riches and industry of the latter country over Eastern Africa, gradually caused a complete change in the spice trade. Eastern Africa still furnishes abundance of fine gums³, but its spices are now hardly known; yet we are not without authority to maintain that cassia and cinnamon are still produced near the site of the ancient Emporium Aromaticum. Bruce, speaking of the cathartic drug, called by the moderns Cassia Fistula, observes⁴ as follows:

“It has been confounded with cinnamon from its name; that is, with that bastard kind of cinnamon, called by the Italians canella, which, notwithstanding what Bellonius says, and before him Pliny, grows plentifully among the incense and myrrh at Cape Gardafui, the Mosylon promontorium, or promontorium Aromaticum; and here only the distinction obtains of mountain cassia and that which grows on the plain. This second sort is very nearly equal to that of Ceylon, if it is not absolutely so; and both sorts grow in the island of Ceylon likewise, where the canella or zelo (xylo) cassia, that is, cassia lignea, grows also, of a woody, earthy taste, not better than that of the same kind which grows at the cape before mentioned; and I do really believe, that as the cinnamon tree was from the earliest antiquity declared to be part of the produce of the promontorium Aromaticum, it was originally brought from thence, and planted in the island of Ceylon, where it grows in some part of the island only I have seen and compared both sorts from both places, as well the island of Ceylon as Cape Gardafui.”

It appears certain that the cassia of Africa was known in Europe long before that of the East; but we are not therefore justified in denying that some species of the aromatic laurel were indigenous in India also, and the Eastern islands. Cinnamon is named in Sanskrit dar Chiní, or Chinese wood; whence it may be inferred, that at an early period, that spice was introduced into India from China: specimens of this precious commodity would probably reach Europe in the course of trade, and it deserves the consideration of etymologists whether the foreign element (κιν) in the Greek name cinnamomum, does not point to the Chinese origin of the production so named.]

179. Τὰ ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ Φοινίκων μαθόντες, κιννάμωμον καλέομεν. *Which we have learned from the Phœnicians to call cinnamon.* This is the true meaning of this passage, which Pliny did not discover. He makes Herodotus say that the cinnamon (cassia) and the cinnamomum were found in the nests of certain birds, and especially in that of the phœnix. “Cinnamomum⁵ et casias, fabulose narravit antiquitas, princepsve Herodotus, avium nidis et privatim phœnicis, in quo situ Liber Pater educatus esset, ex inviis rupibus arboribusque decuti.” Pliny did well to treat the account as a fable; but he should not have imputed that fable to Herodotus, who does not say a word about it.

³ Travels, &c. vol. VII. p. 329.

⁴ Capt. Saris mentions the odoriferous gums produced at Filuk, near the ancient

Mons Elephas, Purchas His Pilgrims, vol. I. p. 340.

⁵ Plin. XII. xix. vol. i. p. 668.

The authority of Pliny has misled not only Statius⁶,

Phariæque exempta volucris
Cinnama

(for 'pharia volucris' is the phoenix) and Avienus⁷,

Internis etiam procul undique ab oris
Ales amica Deo largum conguessit amomum,

but also Van Stapel in his commentary on Theophrastus⁸.

Pliny had certainly read Herodotus too hastily, for this author's account is perfectly clear. Neither Suidas nor the Etymologicum Magnum (under the word *κινάμωμον*) have misunderstood him.

CXII. 180. *Λήδανον*. *Ladanum*. The 'ledum' is an odoriferous⁹ shrub, which grows to the height of two or three feet. It is amply described by Tournefort¹. Goats browse on the leaves of the ledum, upon which there is a gummy matter that adheres to their beards². The peasants carefully collect this, with wooden combs made for the purpose; they then melt it, and run it into a mass; this is what is called 'ladanum' or 'labdanum.' This substance adheres not only to the beards of the goats, but runs down the hair of their thighs to their legs.

The labdanum was gathered, in Greece and in Arabia, by passing a string several times over the surface of the leaves. "Hujus³ pingue insidere itaque attractis funiculis."

"It is now gathered with⁴ a kind of whip with a long handle and a double thong, which is passed over these plants. By shaking and rubbing it over the leaves, the thongs become loaded with a species of odoriferous glue, which adheres to the leaves. When the whips are saturated with this matter, the thongs are scraped with a knife, and the substance rolled into a mass; and this is what we call 'labdanum.' To increase the weight of this drug, they adulterate it with a very fine black sand; and when this is well mixed with the labdanum, it is very difficult to detect the fraud. It must be chewed for some time, to discover whether it is at all gritty, and then, after being dissolved, it must be filtered, for the purpose of separating the extraneous matter."

The ledum is the shrub, the labdanum the fatty substance which it produces. The best labdanum is that which is fragrant, bordering upon green, easily softened, and which is neither sandy nor mouldy, but resinous.

⁶ Consolatio ad Flav. Urs. Silv. II. vi. tom. I. lettre ii. p. 75.

87.

⁷ Descriptio Orbis Terræ, 1126.

⁸ Theophrast. Hist. Plant. p. 984.

⁹ Pliny calls it a plant, 'herba;' but Dioscorides a shrub, *θάμνος*.

¹ Relation d'un Voyage du Levant, &c.

² Dioscor. Mat. Med. I. cxxviii. p. 65.

³ Id. ibid. Plin. Hist. Nat. XII. xvii. vol. I. p. 666.

⁴ Tournefort, Relation d'un Voyage du Levant, tom. I. lettre ii. pp. 72, 74, &c.

The ledum is a species of cistus ; and Galen⁵ and Dioscorides⁶ affirm that labdanum is produced from the cistus⁷, τὸ δὲ καλούμενον λάδανον, ἐξ αὐτοῦ (i. e. κίσθου) γίγνεται. Pliny, according to all appearance, read ἐκ κισσοῦ, as he translates⁸, 'ederæ flore deroso.' This is the opinion of Dalechamps, which Father Hardouin should not on such slight grounds have rejected ; for it would not be the first time that through negligence or haste Pliny had fallen into error. If κίστος, or κίσθος, was said, as in the passages cited of Galen and Dioscorides, it appears that κισσὸς was said also, from the following verse⁹ of Rufus of Ephesus ;

Κισσοῦ ἀνθήεντος ἐπέδμεναι ἄκρα πέτηλα.

181. Τὸ καλέουσι Ἀράβιοι λάδανον. *Which the Arabs call ladanon.* The Arabs called it 'ladan¹,' as M. Wesseling remarks. The Greeks added the syllable 'on,' in conformity with the genius of their language. [From labdanon we have made laudanum ; though this name has passed to a different drug, labdanon and laudanum resembling each other in nothing but odour.]

CXIII. 182. Τὰς οὐρὰς ἐπὶ πῆχυν πλάτος. *Their tails a cubit in breadth.* In the country of Yemen and of Zeyla in Africa², says the author of 'l'Histoire des Voyages,' is a sheep whose tail is as broad as its buttocks. It is seven or eight inches long, and resembles a pillow without corners.

Between Senegal and the Gambia³ are seen sheep, the tails of which are so large and so heavy, that the shepherds are obliged to place under them a little car to support them, and to enable the animal to walk.

What is most remarkable in the sheep⁴ of the Cape of Good Hope, is the length and thickness of their tails, which weigh between 15 and 20 pounds.

This singularity does not constitute them a different species of sheep, but is attributable to the climate and the pasturage. The English⁵ carried eight ewes to Table Island : Admiral Spilberg killed seven of them ; the eighth was afterwards killed by Admiral Matelief, a Dutchman. It was so prodigiously fat, that its tail was 25 inches thick, and weighed 19 pounds.

[Barthema relates⁶, that on the road to Sana, the capital of Yemen, he saw sheep, the tails of which weighed 44 pounds ; they were so fat, he adds, that they were hardly able to walk. At Zeyla, on the opposite

⁵ Galen. de Simp. Medic. Virtute, lin. 8. VII. p. 91.

⁶ Dioscor. I. cxxviii.

⁷ Galen. de Simp. Medic. Virtute, VII. p. 91.

⁸ Plin. Hist. Nat. XII. xvii. vol. I. p. 666.

⁹ Galen. de Comp. Med. I. p. 160.

¹ Ol. Celsii Hierobotan. pars i. p. 284.

² Hist. Gén. des Voyages, tom. V.

³ Id. ibid. tom. III. p. 297.

⁴ Id. ibid. tom. V. p. 189.

⁵ Id. ibid. tom. VIII. p. 354.

⁶ Ramusio, tom. I. fol. 155, A and E.

shore, he saw two remarkable kinds of sheep, one with a broad tail weighing 25 pounds, the other with a tail a yard long, and curled upwards. The story of European sheep acquiring large tails at the Cape of Good Hope, is, we believe, without foundation.]

CXIV. 183. Ἐλέφαντας ἀμφιλαφίας. *Enormous elephants.* In the Ionian Lexicon of Æmilius Portus, may be found the reasons which have induced me so to translate ἀμφιλαφής.

CXV. 184. Οὐτε ἔγωγε ἐνδέκομαι Ἡριδανόν τινα καλέεσθαι πρὸς βαρβάρων ποταμόν. *I do not believe that there is a river called by the barbarians Eridanus, &c.* The Abbé Bellanger thought that Herodotus meant to speak of the Eridanus, a river of Italy⁷, as to which this historian confesses his ignorance. Pliny⁸ was of the same opinion; but considers it as astonishing that Herodotus should assert, that notwithstanding all his researches, he had never met with any one who had seen that river; whereas that historian had passed part of his life at Thurium, in Græcia Magna. “Auctor ille (Herodotus) historiam condidit Thuriis in Italiâ. Quo magis mirum est, quod eidem credimus, qui Padum amnem vidisset, neminem ad id tempus Asiæ Græciæque, aut sibi cognitum.” This might have proved both to Pliny and M. Bellanger, that our historian alluded to another Eridanus.

Herodotus cannot believe what has been told him of this river Eridanus, from which the amber comes, because the word Eridanus is Greek. He did not reflect that the real name of the river might have been changed in passing through many mouths, and that the Greeks, in adopting it, had given to it a Greek form, as they have to so many other words. This Eridanus is, and can be no other than the Rhodanus, which flows into the Vistula near Dantzic. A considerable quantity of amber is still found on those shores⁹.

185. Οὐτε νήσους οἶδα Κασσιτερίδας ἐούσας. *Nor do I know of the existence of the islands called Cassiterides.* The Phœnicians were the only people who carried on commerce with these islands. As it was of great importance to them, they very carefully concealed the situation of them, lest other nations should wish to share the profits of the trade. And hence, when they had any occasion to mention them, they spoke very obscurely. Herodotus, who lived at a time when the Phœnicians monopolized this commerce, could never, even in Phœnicia itself, discover anything satisfactory as to these islands, and he therefore considered himself authorized to treat them as altogether fabulous. The islands were nevertheless in existence, and it appears that they are the same as the Scilly Isles; but as the Phœnicians procured tin from Bri-

⁷ Essais de Critique, &c. p. 292.

⁹ See Rennell's Geogr. Syst. of Hero-

⁸ Plin. Hist. Nat. XII. iv. vol. I. dotus, p. 35.
p. 657.

tain likewise, they seem to have comprised that island, too, under the same name.

CXVI. 186. [Πρὸς δὲ ἄρκτου τῆς Εὐρώπης πολλῷ τι πλεῖστος χρυσὸς φαίνεται ἑών. *In the north of Europe there appears to be the greatest abundance of gold.* Our author acknowledges that he does not know how this abundant gold is procured. He proceeds then to speak of the Griffons and Arimasps, respecting whom we shall find more hereafter¹. Heeren, followed by all the recent commentators on Herodotus, supposes² that the gold mines here alluded to, must be those of the Altai mountains, the name of which means ‘golden.’ The Altai chain, however, is neither in Europe nor in the north, but in the heart of Asia. The recent discovery of gold in the Uralian mountains³, suggests a more natural explanation of our author’s statement.]

CXVII. 187. Τὸν μὲν γὰρ χειμῶνα ὕει ὁ θεός. *In winter it rains.* In the Greek, “in winter, the god (Jupiter) rains.” Such was the usual form of expression. Τί γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς ποιεῖ; ‘What weather is it?’ Χὼ Ζεὺς ἄλλοκα μὲν πέλει αἶθριος, ἄλλοκα δ’ ὕει, ‘Sometimes it rains, and sometimes it is fine.’

CXVIII. 188. Καὶ ὁ ἀγγελιηφόρος. *And the message-bearer.* This was one of the most honourable and important offices of the Persian court. Herodotus Ionically calls it ἀγγελιηφόρος: it was properly termed εἰσαγγελεὺς, introducer, and Herodotus himself, two lines before, had used the word ἐσαγγεῖλαι. This post was undoubtedly the second in the empire. Tithraustes, who held it, occupied, according to Cornelius Nepos⁶, the second rank. This author, it is true, does not name the office; but Ælian supplies his deficiency. This Tithraustes was the person who presented communications to the king⁷, and introduced those who desired an audience, ὁ τὰς ἀγγελίας εἰσκομίζων τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ τοὺς δεομένους εἰσάγων.

CXIX. 189. Ἀνὴρ μὲν μοι ἂν ἄλλος γένοιτο. *I may find another husband, &c.* This seems a singular sentiment; it was however a very general one in the age of Herodotus, and stamped by universal approbation, as we find that Sophocles had not hesitated to put into the mouth of Antigone, “After⁸ the death of a husband, another may replace him: the birth of a son may compensate for him that is gone: but when the authors of our days are hid in the tomb, we can no more look for the birth of a brother.” When an opinion of any sort is generally received by a people, and is looked on as an undoubted truth, a tragic author

¹ Herod. IV. xxvii.

² Ideen, I. i. p. 93.

³ Rose, Reise nach dem Ural, 1837.

⁴ Aristoph. Av. 1501.

⁵ Theoc. Idyll. iv. 43.

⁶ Corn. Nepos in Conone, iii. p. 251.

⁷ Æliani Var. Hist. I. xxi.

⁸ Sophoclis Antig. 909.

may fairly appropriate it, without exposing himself to censure. I cannot therefore sanction the reproach which one of our best writers⁹ levels at Sophocles on this account.

CXX. 190. Ὀροίτης. *Orætes*. The word is written *Orætes*. But Dio Chrysostom¹, who relates the same story, calls him *Orontes*; and as this last name is more common amongst the Persians than the other, I have little doubt that it is the true one.

191. Ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλῆος θυρέων. *At the court*. There is in the Greek, 'at the door of the king.' The great lords attended at the door of the king in Persia. This custom, established by Cyrus, subsisted as long as the monarchy, and still does in Turkey, where the court is called the Ottoman Porte.

CXXI. 192. Ἀνακρέοντα τὸν Τήϊον. *Anacreon of Teos*. It is not at all surprising to see at the court of a tyrant a poet who perpetually celebrates love and wine. His verses are full of the praises of Polycrates. That prince being dead, Hipparchus, tyrant of Athens, sent a galley of fifty oars to fetch *Anacreon*². He remained at Athens till the death of that tyrant, by whom he was loaded with honours and favours. What a contrast with the conduct of Pythagoras! That philosopher³, perceiving that tyranny was about to be introduced into Samos, travelled to Egypt and Babylon to pursue his studies. Finding, on his return to his country, that the tyranny still subsisted there, he set sail for Italy, where he ended his days.

CXXII. 193. Μίνωός τε τοῦ Κνωσσίου. *Minos of Cnossus*. The Lydians⁴, the Rhodians, the Phrygians, the Phœnicians, the Egyptians, the Milesians, the Carians, &c. possessed, it is true, the empire of the sea; but the passage of Herodotus relates only to princes and tyrants, as has been judiciously remarked by M. Wesseling.

What Herodotus says of the superiority of Minos on the sea, is confirmed by Thucydides⁵ and by Diodorus Siculus; the latter of whom says, in express terms⁶, that he was the first of the Greeks who rendered himself master of the sea.

As to Polycrates, the testimony of Herodotus is supported both by Thucydides⁷ and by Strabo⁸.

194. Τῆς δὲ ἀνθρωπότητος λεγομένης γενεῆς. *But as to what are called the historical times*. This is the true meaning of the passage, as has been well explained by Scaliger⁹. Ἀνθρωπότης γενεή, the times of men, true and historical, are opposed to μυθική, the fabulous times.

⁹ Barthélemy, *Voy. du Jeune Anacharse*, tom. IV. p. 65.

¹ Dio Chrysost. *Orat.* xvii. p. 251.

² Plato, *Hipparch.* vol. II. p. 228, c.

³ Strabo, XIV. p. 945, c.

⁴ Causabon ad Polyb. p. 192.

⁵ Thucyd. I. iv. p. 5.

⁶ Diod. Sic. IV. lx. vol. I. p. 304.

⁷ Thucyd. I. xiii. p. 12.

⁸ Strabo, XIV. p. 945, b.

⁹ Canon. Isag. III. pars ii. p. 278.

CXXIII. 195. Λάρνακας ὀκτὼ πληρώσας λίθων. *Having filled eight chests with stones.* Hannibal made use of a similar stratagem to escape from the danger with which he was threatened by the cupidity of the Gortynians. He filled some amphoræ with lead¹, the surface of which he overlaid with gold and silver, and placed them, in presence of the chiefs of the country, in the temple of Diana, as if he had entrusted to them his whole fortune.

196. Καταδήσας δὲ τὰς λάρνακας. *Having fastened the chests with a knot.* Before the use of locks, it was the custom in ancient times to close doors, chests, &c. with knots. Some of these were so exceedingly difficult to unfasten, as to defy the efforts of any but the person possessed of the secret. Every one has heard of the famous Gordian knot. We find frequent allusions to this custom in Homer.

Αὐτίκ' ἐπήρτυε πῶμα, θοῶς δ' ἐπὶ δεσμὸν ἦλε
Ποικίλον, ὃν ποτέ μιν δέδαε φρεσὶ πότνια Κίρκη².

'He immediately closed the lid, and quickly fastened on it a complicated knot, the secret of which had been communicated to him by Circe.' "This knot," says Eustathius³, "was to all appearance very secure. It may even pass for a proverb as to things which are well fastened. It was the custom of the ancients to make use of this kind of fastening. Keys are a modern invention, ascribed to the Lacedæmonians."

It is surprising that the Lacedæmonians, whose goods were in common, should first have invented keys for the securing of property. They must have greatly degenerated from the virtue of their ancestors.

The account of Herodotus is so brief, that we can hardly discover the reason why Orætes inflicted on the unhappy prince so dreadful a punishment. Diodorus Siculus, however, acquaints us with a circumstance which throws a great deal of light on this passage⁴. "Orætes," says he, "governed Lydia with much severity. Some of the Lydians fled to Samos with considerable riches, and implored the mercy of Polycrates; but he, in the sequel, put them to death, and seized on their riches." We find by this, that Orætes did no more than take a just vengeance for the perfidy of Polycrates.

CXXV. 197. Ὅτι γὰρ μὴ οἱ Συρηκουσίων γερόμενοι τύραννοι. *If we except the tyrants of Syracuse.* Herodotus alludes to Gelo and his brother Hiero, and especially to the former, who having attained the supreme power by unfair means, gave such examples of clemency, moderation, and magnanimity, that after his death he was regretted by the warmest lovers of liberty. Hiero protected men of letters, enticed them to his court, and gave them a most liberal reception. Amongst

¹ Corn. Nepos, XXIII. ix. p. 592. lin. 47 et seq.
Justin. Hist. XXXII. xv. p. 596.

² Homer. Odyss. VIII. 447.

³ Eustath. in Homer. vol. III. p. 1603.

⁴ Diod. Sic. Excerpta de Virtut. et Vitiis, vol. II. p. 557.

others, may be mentioned Simonides, Pindar, Bacchylides, and Æschylus⁵.

198. Ἀποκτείνας δέ μιν οὐκ ἀξίως ἀπηγήσιος. *Having put him to death in a manner not fit to be told.* Orætes undoubtedly flayed him alive. This punishment was not unusual in Persia. See M. Wesseling's note.

CXXVIII. 199. Βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος ἀπαγορεύει ὑμῖν μὴ δορυφορεῖν Ὀροίτεα. *King Darius forbids you to be the guards of Orætes.* "In common⁶ usage, superfluous negations, such as 'I forbid you not to do this,' instead of 'I forbid you to do it,' are of frequent occurrence."

Olympius used a method somewhat similar to put⁷ to death Stilicho.

CXXX. 200. Τεχνάζειν, ἐπιστάμενος. *That he equivocated, although he knew.* The meaning of the phrase is the same as if it stood, κατεφάνη τε τῷ Δαρείῳ τεχνάζειν, καὶ περ ἐπιστάμενος. 'It appeared to Darius that he dissembled his knowledge in medicine, though in fact he was a physician.' I doubt whether Wesseling, who has done so much honour to literature, has seized the correct meaning of Herodotus, in making τεχνάζειν depend on ἐπιστάμενος.

201. Ἡπια μετὰ τὰ ἰσχυρὰ προσάγων. *Applying mild remedies after the violent ones.* "The question concerns a dislocation of the foot, which had been improperly treated by the Egyptian doctors. Democedes could not remedy the mischief that these ignorant fellows had committed by beginning with mild applications. As the foot had probably been ill set, he was very likely obliged to dislocate it again, and this, in itself, is a very painful operation. I am of opinion, therefore, that ἰσχυρὰ as well as ἥπια both relate to the treatment prescribed by Democedes. After the operation to which he had been obliged to subject his patient, μετὰ τὰ ἰσχυρὰ, to soothe the pain, he administered some narcotic, ἥπια, as opium, for instance, to make him sleep. Thus, when it is considered necessary to employ powerful remedies, Hippocrates advises that they should be alternated with such as are mild and soothing, that the patient may not be exhausted by pain; or in the case of external applications, that the part may not be inflamed or ulcerated by the continued application of acrid matter: ἀρχόμενος ἐκ μαλθακῶν εἰς ἰσχυρότερον (I read ἰσχυρότερα) τελευτᾶν δὲ αὐθις εἰς μαλθακά⁸. This Greek method, which Herodotus means by Ἑλληνικοῖσι ἰήμασι, is practised at this day by all skilful physicians."—CORAY.

[Dio Chrysostom did not understand ἥπια φάρμακα to refer to opiates. He says⁹ that Demodocus (Democedes) cured Darius in a few days,

⁵ See Ælian. Var. Hist. IV. xv. p. 359.

⁶ Gregorius de Dialectis, p. 43.

⁷ Zozimi Histor. V. p. 344.

⁸ Hippocr. de Steril. x. vol. II. p. 623.

⁹ Orat. lxxvii. p. 653, A.

καταπλάττων καὶ καταιονῶν, by means of plasters and fomentations.]

202. Ὑποτύπτουσα δὲ αὐτέων ἐκάστη φιάλη ἐς τοῦ χρυσοῦ τὴν θήκην. *Each* (of the women) *dipping with a plate into the chest of gold.* With regard to the interpretation of the word ὑποτύπτουσα, see note 371, book II. : according to the explanation given in that note of the word ὑποτύπτειν, φιάλη ὑποτύπτειν means, to place the saucer under the heap of gold pieces, and draw it out as full as it could hold.

The Greek word φιάλη refers to the office of the cup-bearer ; and to form an accurate idea of it, we must know what the duty of that office was. 1. A certain quantity of water and of wine, according to the strength of the wine and the taste of the guests, was poured into large vases, which were called 'crateres' from the circumstance of the mixture of the two liquors. 2. They dipped into these crateres with a cyathus, a vessel of smaller size ; and the liquor was then poured into the drinking-cup, which was called ἔκπωμα. 3. This drinking-cup was presented to the guests on a utensil which they called 'phiala.' The 'phiala' was a large saucer, salver, or plate ; I mean a kind of flat and broad vase, on which the cup was handed. 4. Cup-bearers who were dexterous held the phial or saucer with three fingers, as we find from a passage of the *Cyropædia*¹.

CXXXI. 203. Τρίτῳ δὲ ἔτεϊ Ἀθηναῖοι ἑκατὸν μνέων. *In the third year the Athenians gave him a hundred minæ.* I suspect that this passage must have been altered by the copyists. Athens, in the time of its greatest splendour, allowed their ambassadors but two drachmæ a day. Now a mina is 100 drachmæ. Nor is there any probability that the Athenians ever allowed a pension to a foreign physician, as we may learn from Aristophanes². "Can there be any physicians in a city where they are so ill paid and so despised?" If at the time when Athens was so rich, it allowed but two drachmæ a day to an ambassador, how, before the Persian war, when it was very poor, could it afford a pension of 100 minæ to a physician?

If all that Herodotus relates of this physician be strictly true, he must have been of a very mean spirit to prefer residing at Samos, an enslaved country, where all who lived were slaves, to a fine city like Athens, for the sake of 20 minæ more which he received from the tyrant.—VALCKENÆER.

M. Valckenaer might have made the same reproach to Anacreon, and indeed to all those who prefer the favour of despots to the charms of liberty.

CXXXIV. 204. Αὐξανομένῳ γὰρ τῷ σώματι συναύξονται καὶ αἱ φρένες. *As the body grows, the mental faculties grow also.* Homer

¹ Xen. *Cyrop.* I. iii. § viii.

² Aristoph. *Plut.* 407.

had before said³, "My soul grew within me." Galen has imitated Herodotus in his commentary on what Plato in his *Timæus* has borrowed from physic, ἐξηγήσεις⁴ τῶν ἰατρικῶν ἐν τῷ Τιμαίῳ γεγραμμένων; and Eustathius uses the same expression as Herodotus⁵, only substituting for αἱ φρένες, the words τῆς λογικῆς ψυχῆς αἱ δυνάμεις.

The reader will perhaps not be displeased to see here some verses of Lucretius on this subject⁶.

Præterea, gigni pariter cum corpore, et una
Crescere sentimus, pariterque senescere mentem.
Nam velut infirmo pueri teneroque vagantur
Corpore, sic animi sequitur sententia tenuis.
Inde ubi robustis adolevit viribus ætas,
Consilium quoque majus, et auctior est animi vis :
Post ubi jam validis quassatum est viribus ævi
Corpus, et obtusis ceciderunt viribus artus,
Claudicat ingenium, delirat linguaque mensque,
Omnia deficiunt, atque uno tempore desunt.

'We see it (the soul) born with the body, grow and become old with it. A child is weak of body, and walks tottering: its ideas have no greater degree of strength. Age, as it fortifies the limbs, ripens also the intellect, and increases the vigour of the soul. At length, when the force of years has bowed down the body, blunted the senses, and exhausted the strength, the judgment totters, the mind becomes affected, as also does the tongue, and all the springs of the machine give way together.'

Aristotle, who will scarcely be suspected of believing in the immortality of the soul, says, "The soul⁷ is a kind of substance not subject to corruption. If it were so, this would be especially perceivable when our senses are blunted by age. But it is with it, as with our senses. If an old man could see with the eye of a young man, he would see like a young man. No sort of change happens to the soul, either in drunkenness or sickness. The vessel that contains it may break, but it does not corrupt, nor is it subject to external injury."

205. Σὺ δέ μοι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατεύεσθαι. *Conduct an expedition against Greece.* Another method was likewise employed, if we may believe what Dinon says⁸, in his *History of Persia*; for I cannot doubt that he alludes to Darius, though that prince is not named in the passage. It was customary to serve up at the table of the king, says that historian, all the various kinds of provision which his different states produced. He who first reigned in that country, thought that the king should use neither food nor drink that came from a foreign land.

³ Hom. Odyss. II. 315.

⁴ Galen. de Hippocratis et Platonis Dogmatibus, vol. I. p. 323.

⁵ Eustath. ad Odyss. II. p. 1447, 27.

⁶ Lucret. III. 446, &c.

⁷ Aristot. de Animâ, I. v. p. 625, c;

vel ex edit. Sylburgii, I. iv. p. 15. lin. 10.

⁸ Athen. Deipnos. XIV. xviii. p. 652,

B, C.

This afterwards became a law. A certain eunuch having served up with the dessert some Attic figs, the king asked him from what country they came. When he learned that they came from Athens, he ordered them to be sold to the merchants who dealt in the public square, till he should be able to take them when he might wish without buying them. It was thought that the eunuch had done this with the express view of calling to the king's mind his projected expedition to Athens.

It should seem however from the end of this passage, that Darius had already resolved to carry the war into Greece, but that he had either forgotten or was indifferent about it.

CXXXV. 206. Οὐ τι ἐπιδραμών. *Without showing much eagerness.* Ἐπιτρέχειν signifies 'to seize on with avidity.' See the learned note of M. Wesseling and M. Facius on Pausanias (vol. III. p. 65, note 18).

CXXXVI. 207. Ἐκ ῥηστώνης τῆς Δημοκίδεος. *From kindness to Democedes.* The old reading was ἐκ κρηστώνης τῆς Δημοκίδεος, which was perceived by Valckenaer and Wesseling to be absolutely without meaning. The latter substitutes for it, from a MS. of Dr. Askew's, ἐκ ῥηστώνης τῆς Δημοκίδεος. This reading I have followed, rendering it as M. Wesseling does, 'ex indulgentiâ Democedis.'

CXXXVII. 208. Τοῖσι σκυτάλοισι ἔπαιον τοὺς Πέρσας. *They beat the Persians with sticks.* Some authors say that the Crotoniats⁹ stripped the Persian who attempted to arrest Democedes, and clothed the lictor of the principal magistrate with his clothes. From that time the lictor, in company with the principal magistrate, made a practice of visiting every seven days, in these very clothes, the altars of the gods; but this was neither from luxury nor effrontery, but in contempt of the Persians. This dress was purple¹.

209. Τοῦ παλαιστέω Μίλωνος ἦν οὖνομα πολλὸν παρὰ βασιλεῖι. *Milo the wrestler had a great name with the king.* Milo the wrestler obtained the prize six times² at the Olympic games, and seven times at the Pythic. He died miserably. He was become old, and had for many years given up his profession, when passing along through a forest in Italy, he saw an oak which was cracked; putting his fingers into the crack, he endeavoured to rend the tree asunder. He split it half-way up the trunk; but the wood closing instantly upon his hands, prevented him from withdrawing them: so that he was devoured by wild beasts, having no power to help himself³. A statue of this wrestler was shown at Olympia. It was the work of Damesas of Crotona. Philostratus gives a description of it in his life of Apollonius⁴.

⁹ Athen. Deipnos. XII. iv. p. 522, c.

¹ Ibid. A.

² Aul. Gell. Noct. Attic. XV. xvi.

³ See Pausanias, VI. xiv. p. 486.

⁴ Vita Apoll. Tyan. IV. xxviii. p. 168.

CXXXIX. 210. Συλοσῶν ὁ Αἰάκεος. *Syloson, son of Æaces.* Syloson⁵ had been allowed to remain in a private station by his brother Polycrates. Darius, son of Hystaspes, who was not then king, desiring to possess a garment which he had seen him wear, the latter made him a present of it. When he became king, he acknowledged this gift by conferring on him the government of Samos. Syloson ruled with so much severity, that the island became a desert.

Syloson had a son also named Æaces, and who after him was tyrant of Samos. He was deposed by Aristagoras of Miletus⁶.

CXLI. 211. Ἔστειλλε τὴν στρατιήν. *He embarked his troops.* Στέλλω is said as well of a voyage by sea, as of a journey by land. Euripides has said⁷ στέλλειν στρατὸν, for the passage of the army from Aulis into Asia; and we find in Æschylus⁸, ἀφ' οὗπερ παῖς ἐμὸς στείλας στρατὸν Ἰαόνων γῆν οἵχεται. 'since the time that my son, embarking an army, went into Greece.' The scholiast says very properly upon this passage στέλλω, πλέω.

CXLII. 212. Τέμενος. *The sacred area.* It is the consecrated space around an altar or a temple. Κύκλῳ τε ἐκείνου τοῦ ἱεροῦ εἴτε τέμενος, εἴτε ἱερὸς τόπος ἄσυλος ἔστω⁹. 'Let the immediate environs of the temple, whether ordinary land or the consecrated space, possess the rights of a sanctuary.'

"Fabius¹ scribit in eâ pugnâ Jovis Statoris ædem votam ut Romulus ante voverat: sed fanum tantum, id est, locus templo effatus jam sacratus fuerat."

CXLVI. 213. Τοὺς διφροφορευμένους. *Those who sat on chairs.* Herodotus has before explained this term (cxliv.) by θρόνους θέμενοι, ἐκατέατο, 'having caused seats to be brought, they sat down.' Thus τοὺς διφροφορευμένους here signifies persons, 'sitting upon seats.'

"I am not satisfied with the explanations given by grammarians of διφροφορευμένους: they explain it as if it were passive, and I think it should be taken as the middle voice. Διφροφορέω, 'I bring a chair,' διφροφορέομαι, 'I have a chair brought to me,' or rather, 'I am followed by a slave carrying a chair, of which I make use on occasion.' The chief luxury of those times, known even to the Athenians², consisted in being followed by a servant, who carried a folding stool, which he presented to his master, as often as the latter wished to sit down. Herodotus, to show that they were Persians of distinction who were slain on this occasion, says τῶν Περσέων τοὺς διφροφορευμένους τε καὶ

⁵ Strabo, XIV. p. 945, D.

⁶ Herod. VI. xiii.

⁷ Eurip. Iphig. in Aul. 661.

⁸ Æschyl. Pers. 175.

⁹ Monumentum Aphrodisiense. Vide Antiq. Asiat. p. 154.

¹ Tit. Liv. X. xxxvii. vol. III. p. 145.

² See Kuhnus ad Var. Hist. iv. 22.

λόγου πλείστου ἰόντας· ‘those of the Persians who were of the highest consideration, and were followed by servants bearing seats.’”—CORAY.

I am still of opinion, however, that διφροφορευμένους signifies no more than the Persians ‘who were seated.’ They were persons of distinction, whose seats had been brought undoubtedly by their slaves, as we have seen before (cxliv.). They were seated that they might more commodiously await the performance of the treaty which had just been concluded, and it was they who were massacred by the infamous perfidy of Charilæus, who broke the treaty.

CXLVIII. 214. Ἐξεκήρυξαν Μαιάνδριον. *They expelled Meandrius by proclamation.* Ælian insists that³ the dispute between Meandrius of Samos and the Athenians occasioned the war between the Persians and the Greeks. I think that he must mistake between Mæandrius and Aristagoras of Miletus, the last of whom, by the bye, had no quarrel with the Athenians. It was rather their close connexion which occasioned the Persian war. Perizonius, too, is in error, when he says, that the truth of what Ælian has advanced is confirmed by Herodotus.

CXLIX. 215. Σαγηνεύσαντες. *Taking as in a net.* The Persians, holding by each other’s hands, completely surrounded and overran the island, whose inhabitants they wished to capture. It is this which occasioned Philostratus, when speaking of the Eretrians⁴, to say they were served like fishes, for they were all caught as in a net. Our author explains in another place (VI. xxxi.) the custom of the Persians, which is here alluded to.

216. Ἐρημον εἶουσιν ἀνδρῶν. *Without a single inhabitant.* Strabo attributes this want of population to the severities of Syloson, and not to the excesses of the Persians. See cxxxix. note 2. Both may be true. The island may have been repopled, and again depopulated by the cruelty of the tyrant.

CLI. 217. Οὐδαμᾶ ἐλπίζων ἂν ἡμίονον τεκεῖν. *Not expecting that a mule would ever bring forth young.* Mules seldom bring forth. When that happened in ancient times, it was looked on as a prodigy. Theophrastus affirms, as we learn from Pliny, that the mule commonly brings forth in Cappadocia; but that it is a peculiar species of the animal⁵. “Theophrastus vulgo parere in Cappadociâ tradit: sed esse id animal sui generis.”

CLIII. 218. Ἐπεάν περ ἡμίονοι τέκωσι. *When mules shall have brought forth.* The particle περ is not wholly superfluous, as has been imagined by some; it adds energy to the expressions, and signifies

³ Var. Hist. XII. liii. vol. II. p. 816.

⁴ Philostr. Vita Apoll. I. xxiii. p. 29.

⁵ Plin. Hist. Nat. VIII. xlv. vol. I.

p. 470.

'mules as they are,' that is to say, when mules, barren as they are, shall bring forth. *Τὰ τε στύγεουσιν θεοὶ περ*, "an abode feared by the gods, gods as they are".⁶

CLIV. 219. *Ἀγαθοεργίαι. Noble actions.* The Greek word used by Herodotus, in speaking of the action of Zopyrus, signifies not benefits but noble actions, grand achievements, such as characterize courageous men devoted to the service of their country, whom Herodotus calls *ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια* (VII. ccxxxviii.), adding that of all the nations of whom he has a knowledge, there is none who honour these actions more than the Persians.

CLV. 220. *Τὰς Νινίων καλεομένας πύλας. The gate of the Ninevites.* *Νῖνος* signifies Nineveh, and *Νίνιος* an inhabitant of that city. See Stephanus of Byzantium and Suidas, under the word *Νῖνος*.

CLVI. 221. *Ἐπὶ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων. At the assembly of the nation.* The Greek phrase signifies either the assembly of the people, or the assembly of the senate and the people, or that of the senate, according to the form of government of the place where it is called. In the present instance, it appears to apply to the second interpretation.

CLIX. 222. *Ἐπεὶ τε ἐκράτησε. Darius after he had made himself master.* "Xerxes⁷, irritated against the Babylonians who had revolted, forbade them, when he had re-conquered them, to carry arms, and commanded them to amuse themselves with songs, musical instruments, and the commerce of lewd women, &c."

The Babylonians did not revolt under Xerxes. Plutarch has preferred following the account of Ctesias⁸ to that of Herodotus, whom he did not like; and yet, with singular inconsistency, he had related, in the preceding page, the revolt and the taking of Babylon in the same manner as Herodotus. Be this as it may, after the reduction of Babylon, the kings of Persia took up their residence alternately in three great cities; they passed⁹ the winter in Babylon, the summer in Media, (doubtless at Ecbatana,) and the finest part of the spring in Susa.

CLX. 223. *Πολλάκις δὲ Δαρεῖον λέγεται γνώμην τήνδε ἀποδέξασθαι. Darius is said to have expressed the following opinion.* "Darius having opened a large¹ pomegranate, some one asked him of what he would wish to be possessed in numbers equal to the grains of that fruit; to

⁶ Hom. Il. xx. 65. See Hoogeveen, Doct. Part. Gr. xliv. § iii. p. 1048.

⁷ Plut. Apophth. p. 4. edit. Maittairii, Lond. 1741, 4to.

⁸ Ctesiae Persica, xxii.

⁹ Plutarch. de Exsilio, p. 604, c.

¹ Id. Apophthegm. p. 3.

which he answered : of Zopyrus." Herodotus ² relates this anecdote of Megabyzus : and Herodotus is most to be depended on.

224. "Ὁς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐστρατήγησε. *Who commanded the army in Egypt.* The Egyptians ³ having revolted under Artaxerxes, elected Inarus for their king. This latter formed an alliance with the Athenians, who sent to his assistance the fleet with which they attacked the island of Cyprus ⁴. They obtained a complete victory over the Persians ⁵; but Artaxerxes having sent into Egypt a numerous army, commanded by Megabyzus, the son of Zopyrus, got the upper hand. Megabyzus and Artabazus, having witnessed the achievements of the Athenians, entered into a treaty with them. This occurred, according to Diodorus Siculus ⁶, under the archontate of Phrasielides, in the first year of the 80th Olympiad. But the war having commenced according to Diodorus ⁷ in the first year of the 79th Olympiad, and having according to Thucydides ⁸ lasted six years, should have terminated in the second year of the 80th Olympiad.

Simson and Petavius place this event in the first year of the 81st Olympiad ; but without assigning any reason for it. Ctesias ⁹ adds to what has been already stated, that Amytis, exasperated at the death of her son Achæmenes, was desirous of avenging it on Inarus and the Greeks who had assisted him. She demanded them of the king, but he at first refused to give them up, as well as Megabyzus, whom also she demanded. At length, by dint of importunities, she obtained Inarus and the Greeks. Inarus was fastened to three crosses ; and the Greeks, to the number of fifty, were beheaded. Upon this, Megabyzus, in disgust, requested permission to retire into Syria, where, soon after his arrival, he revolted. He raised 150,000 men, defeated Osiris, the general of Artaxerxes, wounded him, made him prisoner, and sent him back to the king, after having taken all possible care of him. Another army was sent against him, commanded by Menostanes, son of Artarius, brother of Artaxerxes ; which was likewise beaten, and Menostanes wounded. Artarius then recommended him to make peace ; to which he consented, but on condition that he should not go to see the king, nor be removed from his government. At length, after many conferences and oaths, he consented to go to court. He was pardoned ; but some time afterwards, having killed a lion, which had attacked the king, that prince ordered his head to be cut off. His pardon was again obtained ; but he was confined at Cyrtes, on the Red Sea, where he remained for five years ; at the end of which time he escaped, disguised as a leper, and was restored to the king's favour, through the intercession of Amestris and Amytis. He died at the age of 70, regretted by the king.

² Herod. IV. cxliii.

³ Diod. Sic. XI. lxxi. vol. I. p. 458.

⁴ Thucyd. I. civ. p. 67.

⁵ Diod. Sic. XI. lxxiv. et lxxv. p. 460.

⁶ Id. ibid. lxxvii. p. 462.

⁷ Id. ibid. lxxi.

⁸ Thucyd. I. cx.

⁹ Ctesias apud Phot. Cod. lxxii. p. 121.

lin. 16 et seq.

225. Ζώπυρος. *Zopyrus*. Zopyrus, son of Megabyzus, and grandson of the famous Zopyrus, revolted against Artaxerxes¹ after the death of his father and mother, and set out with the intention of going to Athens, his mother having conferred great benefits on the Athenians. Having reached Caunus by sea, he commanded the inhabitants to surrender their town to the Athenians who were with him. The Caunians answered, that they would willingly surrender the town to him, but that they would not admit the Athenians. Upon which, he ascended the wall; but a Caunian, named Alcides, struck him with a stone, and he fell down dead. His grandmother Amestris afterwards caused this Caunian to be crucified.

¹ Ctesias apud Phot. Cod. lxxii. p. 124, lin. 42 et seq.

END OF VOL. I.

Larcher, Pierre-Henri,

Larcher's notes on Herodotus Hist. and crit. comments on the history of
Herodotus, with a chronological table

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